

# TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND VERTVOVS LADIE, THE LADIE

HARINGTON.

**M**ADAME, the late pestilence in Couentrie, which occasioned my translation &c. of this Historie, moved me also, in part, to addresse the same unto your Honour.

For being altogether restrained then, from free practise of my profession abroad, & no lesse impatient of idlenesse at home, I could not readily thinke of a better course to spend that vacation, than in an Argument having a reference to mine old Grammaticall Muses, and according, in some sort, with my latter studies in Physick. What bowres therefore, either the doubtful or diseased estate of my neighbours, together with the meditations of mine owne mortalitie would afford, I employed gladly in the said Subiect.

A gaine, for as much as the selfe same cause debarred me from access unto your house at Combe (a dutie that otherwise the vicinity of our abroad did require) I fully resolved at the finishing of those my Sedentary labours, to present the same to your view: thereby to shield my selfe (whom it pleased you beforetime to grace with kind entertainments) from the iust imputation of rude negligence in that behalfe. But now, since the same citie so dangerous the yeare before, is become a retyring place of safety for your Household, & hath to mee already yeelded fit opportunitie to excuse my former absence personally by word of mouth, I have presumed nevertheles to dedicate the same unto your Honour, as a token of my thankfulness for your bounteous favour, farre above the proportion of my deserts,

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

deserts, and an earnest penny of that propense minde, which I carie to honour your name, in the best maner I could devise.

And verily calling to my remembrance how courteously you have vouchsafed heretofore to accept even at second hand my trauailes in this kinde, and with good words testified oftentimes the contentment you received therein, I had no reason to doubt the like acceptance of that which out of a loving and devote heart I offer first unto your selfe.

Lastly, when I consider, how together with sincere pietie, rare wisdom, and other eminent vertues, there is seated in your person a singular affection to advance good literature, with an extraordinary respect of learned men, I knew no means out of my small fortunes to do you greater honour, than by entituling you as Patronsse of that, which may benefit young Scholers, my countrymen, that would be learned: to give knowledge unto the word, that all the profit or pleasure whatsoever, which shall grow unto them, from these endeavours of mine, are derived immediatly from you and for your sake bestowed upon them.

These motives, right Honorable, as well of my first enterprise, as of chusing your Patronage, if it please you to approve, (the onely thing that I humbly crave at your hand for this present) I shall not only thinke my pains well taken and choise as well made: prising your acceptance to the worth of a competent guerdon: but also continue my hearty prayers unto the Almighty for your perfect health, proceeding in a vertuous course of life, with increase of true Honour here upon earth, and after the revolution of many new yeares, for eternall happinesse in the highest Heaven.

Your Honours most readie at command,  
Philémon Holland.

## To the Readers.



HAT yee may with better contentment reade these Histori-  
cal reports of the twelve first CÆSARS, which SVETONIUS hath de-  
livered most truly, compiled as compendiously, and digested right  
methodically; I have thought it good with some few advertisements  
præmised, to commend the same unto you.

First therefore, whereas by the judgement of the best  
learned, and the Analogie of other Histories, hee seemeth  
to affect nothing so much as uncorrupt & plaine truth, (the prin-  
cipall vertue of an Historiographer) forbearing to meddle with those \* Emperours in  
whose daies he flourished; because he would not thrust himselfe into danger by revea-  
ling, nor betray the libertie of a writer in concealing the faults; much lesse incur the  
note of Flatterie, extolling above measure the good parts of Princes then living; and to  
that purpose penned their lives, who were lately deceased, as one said very well, *eodem  
libertate quæ ipsi vixerunt*: if haplie in prosecuting of this point, he hath recorded ought  
that may be offensive to chaste and modest mindes, yee shal do well to glance over with  
your eye such places lightly, as I with my pen touched vawillingly.

Secondly, forasmuch as he continueth in generall the Narrations of the said Princes,  
from before their Nativitie unto their Death & Funerals: and in the severall discourses,  
of their ages, affaires, vertues, vices, feature & lineaments of bodie, first, after an uniform  
maner, propoſeth throughout certain heads summarily, and then exemplifyeth the same  
in due order by perticulers (a most lightsome method and way of teaching) keeping him  
selfe still to the Subiect matter, without any digressions at all: my advice is, that for your  
more expedite course in reading the whole, yee direct your minde thereunto. Now, for  
that his LIVIUS CÆSAR setteth not with the rest, but appeareth *dispositus* as whose aunc-  
cestours, birth, childhoode, &c. be not set downe; (which maim I impute rather to the  
iniurie of time, than unto the purpose or oversight of the Authour) I have in some sort  
supplied that defect, with the labours of LÆVIUS VIVENS, TORRENTIVS and others,  
which I finde præfixed in the last and best Editions.

Thirdly, considering that brevité is many times the mother of Obscuritie, may it  
please those among you, who are not so conuerſant in such concise writings, as admit not  
one word superfluous, to have recourse, for the clearing of some doubts unto the margin,  
as also to those briefe Annotations, which for their sakes, out of mine owne readings, to-  
gether with the select observations of BEROALDVS, SABELLICVS, TORRENTIVS  
and CASAVBONVS I have collected. Which also will ease them of many difficulties  
that his succinct style and termes, not els where obvious, interlaced, may otherwise breed.

Finally, if there happen to occur some Errata, that might escape either my pen in writ-  
ting, or the ordinarie diligence of meane Correctors in the printing, ye will of your judi-  
cious candour, I hope, either passe them over with connivency, if they be literall, or else  
taxe with some easie censure in case they bee materiall: So long as for your full satis-  
faction, ye may with small paines before yee begin either to read or iudge, correct what  
is amisse, according to the Exam and Review annexed to the end of all.

Farewell.

\*Nervus  
Traianus  
and Hadrian  
men whose  
eccentricity  
he was.



# A SUPPLEMENT TO THE BEGINNING OF C. IULIUS CESAR DICTATOR.



**T**HE IULIAN lineage, as most men are persuaded, is descended from Alcanius Iulus, the sonne of Aeneas by Creusa: which Iulus, after he had left Lavinium, built long Alba: wherein also he reigned. Others, grounding upon a more assured evidence, have thought it good to derive the same rather from Iulus the son of Alcanius. For when after the death of (this) Alcanius, the Kingdom of the Latines was devolved againe upon Sylvius the sonne of Aeneas and Lavinia, the charge of Religion & sacred ceremonies of the Latin and Trojan Nation both remained yet still in the race and progenie of Iulus: one of which are

springing the Iulij. These (Iulij) with certaine other most nobl. families of Latium, Tullius Hostilius King of the Romans, after he had raised Alba, translated to Rome, and raunged among the Nobilitie. Late it was, ere they rose and mounted to high place of Magistracie; but were reckoned already in the last rank of the Patricians and ancient Nobilitie: & of them, the Iulij are the prynces. For C. Iulius, (sonne of Lucius) surnamed also Iulus, was Consul together with P. Manius Mamerinus Rufus, in the yeare after the foundation of Rome citie \* 264. And seven yeeres after, \* his sonne, with Q. Fabius Vibulanus (Consul) the second time. Againe, some space of time coming betweene, Vopiscus Iulius, sonne of Caius and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Consulshippe with L. Aemilius \* Mamerinus third time Consul, in the yeere \* 280. I finde it likewise, that in the yeere \* 302. Caius Iulius, sonne of Caius, and nephew of Lucius, was a decemvir for the enacting and passing of Lawes, and that in the former Election of that Magistracie: as also, that Caius Iulius sonne of Caius and Nephew of Caius, became Consul with Marcus Geganius Macerinus, in the yeere \* 306. and the selfe same men a second time, with Lucius Verginius Triostus in the yeere \* 318: and immediately in the yeere next following, a third time, with the same Verginius now twice Consul. And thus much for the Iulij. For to rehearse and collect all them of that familie, together with the honorable places of every one, which were many in number, and of sundry kinde; is not our purpose: and besides, the thing is selfe is apparent and upon record in the publick Registers.

Moreover, I have observed in the Iulian line, a certaine house also of the Mentones: and among them, one Caius Iulius, colleague in the Consulshippe with T. Quintus Pennus Cincinatus, in the 222. yeere after the foundation of the citie. I finde likewise, Caius Iulius Denter to be master of the Horsemen, when Caius Claudius Crassus Sabinus Regillensis was Dictator. For to hold their solemn assembly of Election in the yeere 405. There were besides of these Iulij, others going under the name of Libones: and of the same race one triumphed, to wit, Lucius Iulius, sonne of Lucius and nephew of Lucius; companion in the Consulshippe which Marcus Attilius Regulus, in the yeere \* 486. But as touching Caius Iulius sonne of Lucius, and surnamed by Caesar Strabo, whom Suetonius also ment in the 55. chapter of Iulius Caesar, and Cicero praiseth in his Brutus; and in the second booke of his Oratours, I doubt, whether this addition (Strabo,) should not be taken as a by-name. For otherwise there is in our hands a peece of silver come, with the inscription of Lucius Iulius, sonne of Lucius, and surnamed Strabo. The Epigrame of the former is extant among the Antiquities of Rome citie, in this manner.

C. Iulius, L. F. Caesar Strabo, AEd. Cur. Q. Trib. Mil. Bis  
XVII. AGR. Dind. AD TR. IV D. Pontif.

To conclude, I have met with writers, who reckoned also among the Iulij, certaine \* Annales: which for mine owne part verily, I could never yet light upon, in searching the Records & Chronicles of the Libones. But in the eight booke of the Familiar Epistles (of Cicero) and namely in the seventh letter thereof, of M. Caelius unto Cicero, there is mention made among others, of one L. Iulius, sonne of Lucius, Pomp. Annalis: where the writing (as I suppose) is not very certaine and

\* or returned unto

\* or rather 265, according to the Chronology annexed unto Titus Livius.

\* By the computation of Dionysius, T. Livius, C. Godeus & others.

\* C. Iulius, or Iulius.

\* Al. Mamerinus

\* or 318, according to the Chronology of Dionysius.

\* more it is

\* 307, by Livius according to the computation

\* 319.

\* 320.

\* 487.

\* So far as med.

\* Pompeius

\* of the Libones

\* Pompeius

\* Pompeius

\* Pompeius

\* Pompeius

\* Pompeius

\* Pompeius

\* Pompeius

## A Supplement &c:

clearly acknowledge. For besides that the better corrected Copies call him Villius, (for Iulius) Lucie also hath expressly & plainly written in his fortieth booke, that one Lucius Villius a Tribune of the Commons, made a Law which provided and ordained, in what year of mens age they might sue for everie kinde of Magistracie, and be capable thereof. Wherupon unto that familie was given this surname, to be called Annales. Thus farre Lucius. Herunto may be added this moreouer; that the Kinred Iulia, is reckoned in the Tribe Fabia (and not Pomptina), as we have noted in the fortieth chapter of Augustus. I am of opinion therefore, that safer it is to account the Annales among the Villii, and not the Iulii. But thus much briefely, by the way, and as it were passing by. Now proceede we to the rest.

In the language Iulia then, there was a familie also of the Caesars. But what the reason should be of that surname, it is not certainly knowne, no more, than who he was, that first bare the said surname. For before Cæsar the Dictator, and his father and grandfather, there were Iulii named Caesars. As for example; He, who (as Lucie witnesseth in his 27. booke) was in the second Punicke warre sent from the Senate to Cælius the Consul, about the nomination of a Dictator. As for the terme Caesars, those usually the Romans tongue (surnamed so, who were borne, either by rapping their mothers wombe, or with a \* bush of haire growing on their heads; or else by cutting it off). Some will moreouer the tale of an Elephant slain in Aftick, which the inhabitants there call Caesars, and upon that verie cause, this surname first befall unto Cæsar the Dictator. There call Caesars, and upon that verie cause, this surname first befall unto Cæsar the Dictator. Therefore, both Spurius and Servius the Authors hereof, are of the meanest credit and authority. For not his progeny alone, of all the Iulii, had this surname, but many others besides of the Iulii, had it likewise, both long before and also together with him.

Caesar of Iulius Cæsar the Dictator, there were, Sext. Iulius, sonne of Caius, nephew of Lucius, together with Lucius Aurelius Creticus, in the yeere after the foundation of Rome 695. Also Sext. Iulius sonne of Caius, nephew of Sext. was colleague with L. Marcus Philippius in the beginning of the Sociall warre in the yeere after the cities foundation 662. and in the next yeere after, Lucius Iulius sonne of Lucius, and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Consulship with Pub. Rutilius Lupus. Neither before those, were any of the Caesars renowned or advanced to the highest Office of State. Many yeeres after, out of the same familie, Lucius Cæsar, son of Sextus and cousin Germane to that C. Iulius Cæsar, who begat the Dictator, and attained only to the Preturship, who also died at Rome without any evident sickness, even as he did his foresaid morning that L. Cæsar 1st. came to be Consul.

Will. Cæsar the Dictator was borne at Rome, when Caius Marcius and Lucius Valerius Flaccus were Consuls upon the fourth day before the Ides of Quintilis, which month after his death, was by vertue of the Law Antonia called for that cause, Iulie. His bringing up hee had with his mother Aurelia, daughter of Caius Cotta, and his aunt by the fathers side Iulia, the wife of Marcus, wherupon grew the love that hee toke (a Patrian though he were) to the Pictorian Pallium, and the hatred hee bore to Sulla. The Greeke and Latine tongue, the precepts of the most famous Orators, he learned first of Antisthenes Grippus, a French man borne. Who being of an excellent wit and singular memory, contented by desire in his Librarian, and of a kinde of entertainment, taught the Greek and Latine, Grammar, & Rhetoricke, he first in the house of Cæsar, Cæsar the Dictator, was his counsellor, and got much thereby, such was the bounty of his Master, showing that hee never recompensed with them for any wages or reward. Now we will call Cæsar a most famous and able to learne, and framed naturally for eloquence.

His Latine speech was trimly furnished, (tho' not Demostellian acquaintance) by his mother Aurelia, who was a native of the Roman tongue, and elegantly like as the Mucie, L. Lælius, Cæsar the Dictator, might have done, in whole families there arose Orators of great name.

# An Index to the Historie and Marginall Glosse.

A in Agrippa. Accensus.	Page, 83	Killeth himselfe. 44 Taxed for obscurity of speech. 45 Antonie, sonne of M. Antonius killed. 77
Acilius for his valour compared with Cynegirus.	27	Antonius Musa Physician to Augustus 45 Cæsar, honoured by the people. 65
Acroames.	249	Anticyra the Isle. 146 Apelles an Actor, whipped by Caligula. 138
Actours upon the Stage, and Champions in what manner chastised.	44-45	Apollonius Molo: 2 Apollo Palatinus his temple. 51
Ad anthem.	110	Apollo Sandaliarius, 65 Apollo Temenites. 121
Admirus, Cinobelinus sonne.	144	Apollo Intonus & Zosterophorus. 207 Apollo Tottor. 70
Adulterie punished.	54, 104	Apollodorus of Pergamus, 77 Aponus Saturninus confined by Caligula. 141
Ægylus the adulterer.	21	Apparell of Romane Citizens, 57 Appius Cæcus: 88
Ælianus gently reproved by Augustus.	62	Appius Claudius Regillanus, 88 Apragopolis an Isle, 83
Ælius Lamia put to death by Domitian.	265	Araus the Philosopher. 78 Artocreas, 16
Ænobarbi.	198, 202	Asclepiades Mendisus, 80 Ascleptario a famous Astrologer, 269
The reason of that name.	ibidem	Killed by Domitian, 269 Asellus Sabinus, his Dialogue, 107
Æsar, what it signifyeth.	83	Asiaticus, Vitellus his minion, 235 He misleadeth Vitellus, ibidem
Æserinus hurtin Troy tournament.	58	Asxyo, 24 Asinius Pollio complaineth of the Troie-fight. 58
Æfranus his treacherie.	29	Asprenas Nonius in question for poison. 64 Asstes what peeces of money: 79
Agraria law.	29	Astarte 208 Astrologers misliked by Tiberius Cæsar: 104
Agrippa, Nephew to Augustus, in disfavour.	67	Astura: 83 Atalanta and Meleagers picture: 107
He is slain.	99	Atergate: 203 Atia the mother of Augustus: 39
Agrippina wife of Germanicus persecuted by Tiberius Cæsar:	111	Thought to bee conceived by a Serpent: 50 Her dreame, ibidem
Pined to death.	ibidem	Atrium, what it is, 51 Atrium libertatis, ibidem
Agrippina daughter of Germanicus wedded to Claudius Cæsar her own Vnkle.	ibidem	Angurie of Sallius: 51 Augusta what they be, 40
Enamoured upon Galba.	174	Augustus Cæsar ubraided for his base
Mother of Nero, by him killed.	213	
Ajax.	76	
Alauda, the Legion why so called?	10	
Alexandrina salute Augustus,	83	
Amethy's colour and purple in graine forbidden.	194	
Amnestia.	89	
Amphitheatres three.	61	
Ancilla.	226	
Anicetus standreth himselfe with Octavia	197	
Anna Perenna,	32	
Anticatones, bookes so called,	23	
Anastus Labco, his franke-speech to Augustus Cæsar.	63	
Antonia daughter of Claudius killed by Nero.	197	
M. Antonius vanquished by Augustus,	197	

# THE INDEX.

Parentage:	39	cles, &c:	60
His birth:	ibidem	His clemencie and fatherly regard, the	61
His pedigree.	38	wed to foraine Princes and Potentates:	61
Surnamed Thurinus,	ibidem: 40	How he ordered his militarie forces,	61
Surnamed C. Cæsar. &c,	ibidem	His clemencie to his Opposites,	62
His towards young yeeres,	40	His civill and civil behaviour,	63
A student in Apollonia,	40	Howe much beloved of all forts and de-	64, 65
His five civil warres,	40, 41	grees:	64, 65
Hee revengeth his Vnkle Iulius Cæsars	41	His wives:	66
death.	41	Howe hee brought up his Daughter and	67
Hee fideth against M. Antonius the Tri-	41	Nieces,	67
umvir	41	His unhappinesse in his progenie:	67
His victory against Panfa & Hirtius.	41	His demeanour to his friends:	67, 68
He putteth the Nurfines to a fine,	42	To his freed men and servants:	68
Hee entrench societic of Triumvirate with	42	Noted for bodily uncleanness against	69
Antonius and Lepidus.	42	kind:	69
His bloody cruelty.	42, 43	For adulteries,	ibidem
He hardly escaped murdering.	43	Taxed for Corinthian vessels,	70
His dangers at sea.	43, 44	For Dice-play:	ibidem
By land.	44	His integrity of life,	70: 71
Hee deposed and confined Lepidus his	44	His apparell,	72: 75
Colleague.	44	His order at the table:	72
He disgraced M. Antonius.	44	His diet for himselfe,	72
His moderate carriage toward M. Antonius.	ibidem	His abstinence of wine,	73
Hee vanquisheth M. Antonius.	44	His sleepes,	73
Hee forceth Alexandria in Aegipt.	44	His presence and personage,	73: 74
Hee caused Antonie and Cleopatra, to be	45	His stature and feature:	74
honourably buried.	45	His infirmities of body,	74: 75
Hee cleareth the river Nilus:	ibidem	His bodily exercises,	75
In danger of many conspiracies:	45	His recreations and pastimes,	75
His foraine warres:	46	His eloquence and liberrall studies,	76
Not desirous of large dominion:	46	His voice and vterance,	76
His moderation whereby hee won many	46	What bookes and compositions he made:	76
nations:	46	His Poetry,	76
His triumphs.	47	His Ajax:	76
His sorrow for the losse of Quintilius Var-	47	Hee miliketh indifferently of affectate and	76
rus:	47	antique phrases:	76: 77
His military Discipline:	47	His phrases in ordinary talke,	77
His manner of rewarding Souldiours	47	What teachers he followed,	77
His offices of Estate.	48	Not ready in the Greeke language,	78
His cruelty in the time of Triumvirate.	49	A lover of fine-wits,	78
Perpetuall Tribune:	50	His religious scrupulosity,	78
Perpetuall Censor,	50	His respective observance of foraine cere-	79
His purpose to resigne vph his absolute go-	50	monies,	79
vernment:	50	His greatnes fore-told by propheties, ora-	79
His fatherly care for Romes prosperitie.	50	cles, &c,	79
His publick works and buildings:	50	By Dreames and Prodigies,	81, 82
His lenity and severity both in ministring	50	His miracles that he wrought,	81
justice.	53	His presence of future things:	82
He ordaineth a priuie Counsel:	54	His death fore-signified.	82
He deviseth new Offices:	55	His Deification prefigured,	83
His bounty in rewarding Souldiours:	55	The sicknesse whereof hee died:	83
Endangered at the sight of solemn Games,	59	His mirth & affability a little before death	83
His delight in beholding publick Specta-	59	His death.	84
cles.	59	His age.	85
		His	85

# THE INDEX.

His Deification.	85	Weddeth Pompeia and putteth her away.	85
His Monument.	85	An xmulus of K. Alexander the Great.	3
His last will.	85, 99	His dreame,	3
His wealth and treasure.	86	His conspiracies for alteration of State.	3
His bounty to the Common-wealth.	86	His games exhibited, and workes during	4
His opinion of Tiberius Cæsar.	98, 154	his Aedileship:	4
Augustians,	155	Sueth for the Province of Aegipt,	4
Augustum feculum.	190	Chosen chiefe Priest,	5
Aurelia Iulius Cæsars mother,	85	Favourable to Cætiline and his complices,	5
Aureus, of what value it is.	224	He converted Catulus and suffred a foile.	5: 6
		He gave over his Senatours Robe,	6
		Restored againe,	6
B		Detected Catulines conspiracie,	7
B. Abilus, a great Astrologer,	198	Appeachd by Vettius and acquitt:	7
Banishment voluntarie.	18	In danger of his creditours,	7
Basiliides,	244	Chosen Consul,	7
Bathing feldome,	75	Sideth with Cn: Pompeius,	7
Bawdenie maintained by Caligula.	142	His Acts whiles he was Consul,	8
Beccus what it signifieth,	238	He ruleth Consul alone,	8
Bellona.	71	His absolute rule in his Consulate,	8
Berenice,	255	He weddeth Calpurnia,	9
Bibulus Aedile with Iulius Cæsar.	4	He chooseth the government of Gaule.	9
His pretty speech touching his Colleague	5	His proud and arrogant words,	9
Consul with him,	8	Accused by Antistius,	10
He stood for a Cypher in both offices.	4, 8	His Acts in Gaule,	10, 11
Blazing starre what it portendeth.	198	He warred vpon the Brittaines,	11
Bona Dea, the Goddelle,	3, 29	His aduerser fortune in warre,	11
Bonet the badge of Freedome.	90	Alpithre to the Empire of Rome,	11
Boter, Father of Claudia,	169	His largesses,	11, 12
Brache.	32	His proceeding crossed by Claudius Mar-	12
Britaine attempted by Claudius Cæsar.	162	cellus,	12
Britannicus the sonne of Claudius the Em-	168	The pretences and causes of his civill	13
perour.	168	warre:	13
Recommended to the Souldiours and Co-	169	His first enterprife of civill warre, and his	14
mons.	169	departure from Rome	14
Poisoned by Nero.	195	His exploits in the civill warre,	15
Buildings stately & sumptuous Augustus	71	Hee encountreth the forces of Pompeius,	15
Cæsar careth not for.	198	He vanquisheth Pompeius,	15
Burrhus poisoned by Nero,	134	He warreth upon K. Ptolomeus,	15
Buthia,	134	He subdueth Pharnaces, Scipio, Iuba, and	15
		Pompeies children,	15
C		His fortune in warres,	16
Cænis the Paramour and Concubine of	241	His triumphs,	16
Vespasian,	83	His liberality to his Souldiours & the peo-	16
C. in Cæsar,	30	ple,	16
A. Cæcina raiseth upon Iulius Cæsar.	30	His Plaies and Spectacles exhibited to the	16
C. Iulius Cæsar Dictator persecuted by	1	people:	16
Sulla.	2	How hee commended his Candidates for	17
Obtaineth his pardon.	2, 3	Offices,	17
His warfare during his youth,	2, 3	The ordinances that hee made in his Dic-	18
Suspected for wantonnesse with K. Nico-	2, 54	tatourship,	18
medes,	1	What stately workes and buildings hee in-	19
Taken part with the Marians,	2	tended,	19
Retired to Rhodes,	2	His shape, feature, apparell, and behavi-	19
Taken by Pirates,	2	our,	19
What Funerall Orations he made,	3		19

# THE INDEX.

How he covered his bald head.	19	He is put to death,	45
His excell in house-furniture.	20	L. Cæsar commended by Augustus	15, a.
His severity in domestick discipline.	20	L. Cæsar his cankred malice against Julius	
His passive incontinencie.	20, 22	Cæsar Dictator,	30
His whoredome and adulterie.	21	Cæfare, the name of divers Cities,	65
He kept Queene Cleopatra.	21	Cæsonia slaine with her husband Caligula,	151
Abstinent of wine and nothing curious in his fare.	22	Caius and Lucius adopted by Augustus	
His extortion and sacrilege.	22	Cæsar,	66
His eloquence.	22	They both die,	96, 67
His pronunciation and gesture.	23	Caius a fatal name to the Cæsars,	151
His orations and writings,	23, 24	Caius, Nephew of Augustus ill affected to Tiberius Cæsar,	94
His Commentaries.	23	Calends,	77
His letters misive.	24	Ad Calendas Græcas.	77
His manner of writing.	24	Caius Cæsar Caligula his birth.	125
His paines taking in warlike expeditions.	24	The place of his nativity,	125
Whether he were more warie or adventurous, doubtfull.	24	Why furnished Caligula,	126
Irreligious.	25	Beloved and respected of the Soldiers,	126
His militare pollicie.	25	His hypocricie,	126
His resolution in Battailles.	25, 26	His cruell nature,	126
His martiall Discipline.	26	He plotteth for the Empire,	127
His affability to his Souldiours.	26	He courteth Ennia wife to Macro,	127
His affectionate love unto them.	27	Practiseth the death of Tiberius Cæsar,	127
Beloved of his Souldiours,	27	With what ioy of people and forainers he entered upon the Empire,	127, 128
His Souldiours valour and fidelity to him.	27	His popularity,	ibidem
His severity unto mutinous Souldiours.	27	His shew of Pietie and kindness,	128
Taxed for his manner of beholding publick spectacles.	60	His (semblance of restoring the common liberty,	129
His faithfull love to his Dependants.	28	What honours were decreed and done unto him,	129
His respective kindness to his friends.	28	His largesse and bounty,	130
Soone reconciled.	28	His publick plaies and Spectacles exhibited,	130
His clemencie to his enemies, in warre and after victory.	29	His bridge betweene Baix and Puteoli,	130
To Romaine Citizens.	ibidem	The motive of making it,	131
His ambitious pride and arrogance in deeds.	30	Works by him finished,	131
The same also in words.	30, 31	His style,	131
How he incurred the envie and hatred of the world:	31	He usurpeth divine majestie & honor:	132
He openly affecteth regal Empire.	31	His sacrifices,	132
Conspiracie against him.	32	Cæsius Chærea, a principall conspiratour against Caligula:	149
His death fore-sigified.	32	Cæsius Longinus, Proconsul, killed by Caligula:	150
His last will and testament.	34	Cæsius Longinus a Lawier killed by Nero:	158
Murdered in the Senate-house.	33	Cæsius or Casca, a conspiratour of Julius Cæsars death.	33
His murderers died miserably.	36	Cæsius Patavinus gently chastised by Augustus:	62
His Funeralls & solemne obsequies.	34, 35	Castra sceierata:	153
Not willing to live, and why?	35	Catta and Catti:	236
Hee withed for a quick and unexpected death.	36	Valerius Catullus his Epigrams of Cæsar:	28
His age.	36	Q. Catulus his Dreame of Augustus Cæsar:	161, 162
His canonization after death:	ibidem		
Cæsar 10, Cæsar supposd son by Cleopatra.	21		

# THE INDEX.

His particular spite and envie to Colosseus.	139	far:	81
His vncleanenes and incontinencie.	139	Cæsar:	240
His cruell pillage.	140	Cautelous and cunning casts punished by Tiberius Cæsar,	104
His riot and wastfull expence.	140	Cercopathicus:	193
Wrongfull proceedings.	141	Centumviral causes:	246
His Dice play.	143	Charicles the Physician:	120
His extraordinary love to money.	143	Chariotiers and their factions: 180, Roman, strained,	186
His martiall acts.	144	Christians nicknamed Christians,	167
His mock-warfare:	145	Christians persecuted and put to death under Nero,	186
His bounty.	145	Choregus:	69
His triumph.	145	Cimber Tullius a cōspiratour against Julius Cæsar:	33
His hatred to the Senate.	146	Helvius Cinna killed in steed of Corn: Cinna:	35
His cruell proiccts.	146	M. Cicero his dreame of young Octavius afterwards Augustus,	81
His stature, shape, &c.	146	City, what it signifieth,	162
His infirmities of body and mind.	146	Civil, how to beunderstood,	101
His vices:	146, 147	Claudian family both Patrician and Plebeian,	87
His habite and apparell.	147	The beginning of the Claudian family at Rome,	87
His naturall eloquence.	148	Claudius Caudex,	88
His profession of arts:	148	Claudius Drusus,	88
What faction of Chariotiers and Sword-fencers he favoured:	149	Claudius Pulcher,	88
His death continued:	149	Claudia noble women and their sundry examples,	88
His death foretold by strange signes:	149	Claudia opposite to the commons,	88
He is murdered.	150	Sext. Claudius an old Fornicatour,	106
His corps entered.	151	Claudia water,	163
Callipides.	151	Claudia espoused to Augustus Cæsar,	68
C. Calvus made libels of Cæsar:	158	Claudia daughter of Claudius the Emperour,	169
Calvini:	158	Claudius the Emperour his birth:	173
A Camp maintained about Rome:	158	His youth,	154
Capita Bubula:	39	His study in liberall Sciences,	154
Capitol at Capua:	150, 106	Reputed no better than a foole,	154
Capricorne, the stamp of a Coine:	82	His sluggishie, folly, drunkenness, and gaming:	155
Caprea, the Iland exchanged by Augustus Cæsar for Aenaria:	79	Honoured by all estates,	156
A place wherein Tiberius Cæsar delighted:	106	Histroubles,	157
Capys founder of Capua: 32. His Sepulcher:	ibidem	How he attained to the Empire,	157
Carmelus:	243	He executeth certaine conspiratours,	158
Carnelius killeth himselfe:		His piety and kindness:	158
Cassita, what bird.	10	His modest carriage,	158, 159
Cæsius Chærea, a principall conspiratour against Caligula:	149	His popularity,	159
Cæsius Longinus, Proconsul, killed by Caligula:	150	In danger of Treasons,	159
Cæsius Longinus a Lawier killed by Nero:	158	His Consulates,	159
Cæsius or Casca, a conspiratour of Julius Cæsars death.	33	His jurisdiction,	159
Cæsius Patavinus gently chastised by Augustus:	62	His variant conditions,	160
Castra sceierata:	153	His wife judgement,	160
Catta and Catti:	236	His contemptible demeanour,	160
Valerius Catullus his Epigrams of Cæsar:	28	His censureship,	161, 162
Q. Catulus his Dreame of Augustus Cæsar:		His warlike expedition,	162

## THE INDEX.

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## THE INDEX.

Reformation abuses in Iudicial Courts, 263  
His severe reformation of all Enormities, 264  
His hypocritical religion, 264  
His bountifull mind, 264  
His false semblance of Clemencie and piety, 264  
His barbarous cruelty, 265  
In his cruelty, subtil and crafty, 266  
His rapines and wrongs, 267  
His infolenie and Arrogancy 267  
His 7 Consulships. 267  
Heforeknew the houre of his owne death 268  
His death wrought by his neereft favorites, and wife. 268  
Suspitious and fearefull of death. 268  
His destruction foretold by many prodigies, 269  
His Apophthegmes and notable sentences. 271  
Murderd in his bedchamber, 269  
His recreations, 271  
His Stature and countenance, 270  
His effeminate wantonnesse, 271  
Impatient of fall labour. 270. 271.  
An excellent archer. 271.  
Murderers of him executed. 272.  
Domitia, wife of Domitian falleth in fancy with Paris the player. 271  
Doves, 81  
Druides and their Religion, 267  
Drusilla sister of Caligula 133  
Honored as goddesse, 133  
Drusus sonne of Tiberius Cæsar, 130  
His vicces and death, 110. 116  
Drusus a name, from whence it cometh, 89  
Dec. Drusus Nero father to Claudius Cæsar. 152  
Begotten in adultery. 152  
His acts, 152. 153  
His death and honours after death, 153  
His will. 153  
Drusina fofte. 153  
Drusus sonne of Claudius Cæsar choaked with a pearle, 168  
Ducenaries, 166  
A dwerfe, 59  
Dwerfes infected by Augustus, 59  
Dyrnachium strongly beleaguered by Augustus Cæsar, 27  
E  
Elephants walking upon Ropes. 213  
Elevine Sacred Ceremonies, 144  
Ellebor, 146  
Emblema, 1  
Epaphroditus Neroes secretary put to death by Domitian, 169  
Epicadus his conspiracie against Augustus, 49  
Equestria, 135  
Ergastula, 92  
Elius Proculus called Colaseros, 139  
Euthanasia, 269  
Excesse in house furniture restrained, 103  
Excesse in fare of the table restrained 53. 54. 103. 185  
See more in sumptuaria.  
Exploratoria Coronets, 144  
Extortion of the Pollentians punished by Tiberius Cæsar. 105  
F  
Fall of an Amphitheatre at Fidenz. 106  
Fauftus his treacherous rebellion. 27  
Felix a freed man of Claudius the Emperour, 169  
Fercula; what they be. 78  
Fist-fight Augustus Cæsar delighted to see. 60  
Flaminship of Iupiter, 52  
Flavij, 239  
T. Flavius Petronianus, 239  
Flavius Sabinus a faithfull Publicane, 240  
Flavius Sabinus put to death by Domitian, 266  
Flavius Clemens killed by Domitian, 268  
Flavian Family, noble and ancient, 240  
Flora, and Florentia, 213  
Forgery of writings provided against, 186  
Freedom of Rome City, sparily granted 56  
Freindship, how Augustus Cæsar intertainced, 68  
Frogs silent, 81  
Furinus the Meere drawn dry, 163  
Fustuarium, 114  
G  
Gabinus surnamed Caucius, 166  
Galba the surname of the Serulij, 211  
Galba with Spainer revolteth, 202  
Galba enriched by Livia Augustas will 212  
His offices of State, 213

# THE INDEX.

His martiall Discipline.	213	Germanicus Cæsar the adopted sonne of	
His Proesse.	213, 214	Tiberius Cæsar.	111
Highly esteemed of Claudius the Empe- rour.	213	Disgraced by him,	111
His civil Iurisdiction.	214	Murdred by Piso,	111
His Honours,	214	His offices and Acts,	122
His Empire fore signified,	212, 214, 215	His death,	123
His extreme severity,	214	His commendable parts,	123
His semblance of Surquedrie,	214	How much beloved,	123, 154
Saluted Emperour.	215	What ensued upon his death,	124
In danger to be killed.	216	His marriage and yllow,	124, 125
Taketh upon him the name of Cæsar.	216	Gestures in worshipping the Gods,	231
		Gueiding of males prohibited by Domi- tian.	263
Ill spoken off for couetousnesse and cru- eltye.	216		
His Niggardise,	216, 217	<i>H</i>	
His noble Pedigree,	211	Halotus a bloud-hound of Nero,	218
His death forethrewed,	219	Odious to the people,	218
Slaine.	220	Harpocras, a freedman of Claudius,	169
Entered.	220	Pasta pura.	169
His stature and personage.	220	Q. Haterius,	101
His uncleane life.	221	Helvidius Priscus over malapert with	
His 3. prædagonnes,	217	Vespasian the Emperour,	248
His variable cariage,	217	Helvidius Priscus, another Cato.	265
His corrupt government.	218	Helvidius the sonne put to death by Do- mitian the Emperour,	265
Incurrerth the hatred of soldiers especially	218	Hirtius Consul, with his Colleague Plan- cus slaine	41
Forfaken first of the Germanian for- ces.	218	Historiographers countenanced by Cæsar	
Galbanum what gumme.	211	Caligula,	129
Galbei what they be.	211	Honorarie Games,	53
Galeria, wife of A. Vitellius the Empe- rour.		Hoplomachus,	139
Galerita, what bird,	10	Horoscope of Augustus his Nativitie,	82
Ad. Gallinas, a place.	210	Horfe of Iulius Cæsar,	25
Galliozæcia.	137	Hostages of women,	46
Q. Gallius the Prætor, tyrannously killed by Augustus Cæsar.	49	Hyeme,	24
Gallius Terminus minded to famish him selfe.	63	Hylas a Pantomime whipped,	60
Corn. Gallus shortmeth his owne life.	68		
His death lamented by Augustus Cæsar	68	<i>I</i>	
Games and Shewes exhibited by Augu- stus Cæsar.	58	Ianiculum what Hill,	230
In Games and Shewes what orders Au- gustus Cæsar put downe,	59	Ianus Quirinus Temple shut by Augu- stus,	47
Gemini Fratres, who they be,	5	Iewish Religion censured by Tiberius Cæsar,	104
Genij.	136	Iewes by him banished,	16
Gentlemen Romane Surviued by Augu- stus.	55, 56	Iewes banished out of Rome,	167
Their solleenne riding.	55	Iewes affected Iulius Cæsar	35
Their estate and worth.	56	Iewes plagued by Domitian in their pa- ments,	267
Germane Embassadors well respected,	167	Illicitians eased of Tribute and endowed with immunities.	167
Germanian soldiers refuse Tiberius Cæ- sar, for their Emperour.	100.	Illicitian Embassadors scoffed at by Ti- berius Cæsar.	111
		Images and Statues how they differ,	225
		Incendium a Comædie	
		Incitatus, the name of an horfe.	149
		Inferum mare what sea,	61
		Ira and Iracundia, how they differ,	173

# THE INDEX.

Aguricus, the surname of Servilius, where-		Libitina the Goddesse, and her Temple.	
upon,	2		206
Idæus the Cynicke Philosopher,	200	Libraries maintained by Domitian.	271
Isthmus attempted by Caligula,	131	Licinius Mutianus governour of Syria,	
By Nero,	186	favourerth Vespasian.	244
Italian Regions,	61	Licinius Mutianus, a Catamite noted by	
Igius a Dwarf,	59	Vespasian,	247
Italie peopled and adorned by Augustus		Livia Drusilla wife of Tiberius Nero,	
Cæsar.	60	wedded to Augustus Cæsar,	66
Iulia daughter of Cæsar		Her experiment when shee went with	
Dictator, wedded to Pompeius Mag-		child,	95
nus,	9	Livia Orestilla kept as a paramour by Ca-	
Iulia, daughter of Augustus Cæsar wed-		lius Caligula.	134
ded to Marcellus and Agrippa,	66	Livia Ocellina, wife to Galba the Empe-	
Iulia daughter of Augustus banished and		rorers father,	211
confined,	67	Livilla for Livia,	127
Iulia wife of Tiberius Cæsar convict of		Livius Salinator,	89
Adultery,	94	Livius Drusus,	89
Iuliz, daughter and Neice of Augustus,		Locusta professeth poisoning,	195
dishonour him,	67	Lollia Paulina, wedded to Caius Caligula	
Iuliz killed by Claudius,	170	far,	134
Iulius the haven,	43	Lone-mony dealt out by Augustus Cæ-	
Iunia Drusilla daughter of Caligula by		far,	57
Cæsonia,	134	Lord. See Dominus,	
Iunius Rusticus put to death by Domiti-		Lucius a fore-name, triested by the	
an,	265	Claudian Family,	88
Inpiter the Thunderers Temple,	51	Lucus,	88
Iupiter Tragedus,	65	Lupercal instituted by Augustus,	52
Iupiter Olympicus,	65, 132	Lustrum,	41
Iupiter the Thunderer.	78	Lycians disfranchised,	167
Iupiter Custos,	262		
Iuvenal pastimes,	183		
		<i>M</i>	
<i>K</i>		Master,	141
		Mæcenæ reprovèd for affectation	
Kalendar reformed by Iulius Cæsar,		of new phrases and words	76
King of Kings,	17	For want of Secrecie and Taciturnity,	
Kisses forbidden,	124		68
	104	Mago and Annibal,	265
		Maleopini, what it is,	62
		Mallia,	70
		Mallonia silduly abused by Tiberius	
<i>L</i>		Cæsar,	108
		Her death.	ibidem
Lambranes, a people why so called,	4	Malum.	201
Laurel checketh lightning,	119	Mans ordinary stature and weight.	59
Laves precisely observed by Tiberius		Marriage betweene Gentry & commons,	54
Cæsar,	103	Marriage urged and rewarded,	54
Law-fleed what it is.	124	Marriage betweene cousin Germans allo-	
Cn. Lentulus forced to die by Tiberius		wed by Claudius.	168
Cæsar,	109	Mars the Revenger his Temple built by	
Lepida, wife to Galba,		Augustus Cæsar,	51
Letters new in the Alphabet devised by		The use thereof,	ibid
Claudius,	175	Maſgabas and his tombe.	84
Libels and Libellers not regarded by Au-		Maſintha rescued out of trouble by Iuli-	
gustus,	64	Cæsar,	28
Libels against Nero,	200	Maſſilia standeth out against Iul. Cæsar,	
Libertines,	166		15
Chastised by Claudius the Emperour,	167		

## THE INDEX.

Masters misusage of their servants,	167	His buildings,	187
Matian appuls,	271	His martial exploits,	186
Mauloleum of Augustus,	86	His extraordinary love to Muficke,	187-188
Maxima and Maximilla,	264		
Maximi Ludi, what Plaies,	183	Is excused,	201
Medioxuna,	136	Given much to horfemanship and chao-	188, 190
C. Memmius his invectives againft Julius		ting,	190
Cæfar,	28	Strived for the Criers Coronet.	190
Freinded by him,	ibid	He triumpheth for victorie in games of	
Mercenates the harper advanced by Ne-		prife,	190
ro.		His unruly wildneffe,	191
Metallina the Empreffe wedded to C.		His threwd pranks,	191
Silius,	168	His riotoufneffe,	191
Metallina the Empreffe by commande-		His loofe life and filthineffe,	192
ment of her husband Claudius killed,		He wedded Sporus,	192
	174	His lavifh expence,	193
Metius Pompoianus,	248	His golden houfe,	193
Put to death by Domitian	254	His outrageous and enormous works,	194
Minervæ Targuet,	235		
Mirmillones what Fencers,	137. 149	His pilling and oppreffion of the people	194
Hir armed,	257		
Mneffer a Pantomime,	139	His faciledge,	194-195
Favoured by Caligula,	148	His bloody murders and paricides	195
Modius, what mefure,	114	His unnatural cruelty to his own mother	195-196
Monomachi,	137		
Monopolium,	119	He is fting with the worrne of Confcience	196
More maiorum what it is	105		
What punifhment is ment thereby?	266	Forfaken of the French.	201
	271.	Deluded by the Oracle at Delphi.	201
A Mule foaleth,	211		
Mummia Achairæ, wife of Galba the Em-		His carelefneffe of the State	202
perours Father.	211	His bloody deignments	202. 203
Muficke games of prife instituted by Ne-		His warlike voiage,	203
ro at Olympia,	189	His exactions,	203
		Forewarned of his death,	204
		His fearefull dreames,	204
		His desperate cafe,	205
		He flyeth from Rome	205
		His death.	207. 209
		His funerals.	207
		His Stature, Feature, Shape &c.	ib.
		His Attire,	207
		Given naturally to Poetry,	207
		He delighted in painting,	208
		He was Popular,	208
		Irreligious,	208
		He murdereth his Ant Domitia,	197
		His wives,	ib.
		He flew Atticus Veflinus,	ib.
		He killeth Poppæa,	197
		His cruelty to his kinffolke and Affinity	197
		He payfoneth his freedmen,	197
		Intendeth a mafacre of the Nobility.	198
		His cruelty to all in general.	198
		Malitioufly bent to the Senate.	199
		He fettert Rome on fire,	199
		Neronia, what Games,	199

## THE INDEX.

Nepheus Nepolis,	208	widow.	227
New yeeres gifts restrained,	104	Deserted civil warre,	227
Nicopolis, built by Augustus	45	Killed himselfe,	228
	188	His stature, proportion and habit.	228
P. Nigidius a great Astrologer,	80	Beloved of his soldiers,	228
Niobe,	188		
Niobe and other parts acted by Nero upon the stage,	188		
Nollem factum,	28		
Nomenclators,	45	<b>P</b> aconius put to death by Tiberius	
Nonæ,	97	Caesar,	116
Nonæ ominous dayes,	79	Pæderastie condemned,	44
C. Nonius Asprenas honoured with a collar of gold,	58	Pædia Law,	130
Called thereupon Torquatus,	58	Pærus Thraex, killed by Nero,	180
Novanus slightly chastised by Augustus	62	Paidica Græcis.	
Caesar,	62	Pallia.	129
Numerius Atticus,	85	Pallas, a freed man of Claudius,	169
Nundinæ,	75	Panfa Confull with Hirtius his Collegue	
Nundinæ, ominous dayes.	79	slaine,	42
		Pantomime	129, 61
		Paris the Adour envied by Nero,	208
		Parricidium, what day?	36
		Parthian hostages respectively honored by Augustus Caesar.	
		Pater patriæ, a title conferred upon Augustus Caesar,	65
		Patres Familias.	65
		Peace maintained by Tiberius, Caesar,	104
		Peculium.	96
		Peere at Ostia.	163
		Peritulum.	51
		Petronium.	22
		Pestilence in Rome.	200, 257
		Petereus his Treacherie,	29
		Petronia wife of A. Vitellius the Emperour.	232
		Phagita pardoned by Julius Caesar.	29
		Pharmaces K. of Pontus subdued by Julius Caesar Dictator.	15
		Phenigtes a Stone,	268
		Philonon a traytor to Iuli. Caesar,	29
		Phoebe haugeth herselfe,	67
		Phonafcus,	76
		Cn. Piso worketh the death of Germanicus Caesar.	123
		Piso adopted by Galba,	218, 224
		piso slaine by the Spaniards,	4
		Piso his conspircie.	198
		Pitholous his railing verses against Caesar	30
		Players upon the stage restrained by Domitian.	263
		Plaudite,	84
		A. Plautius abused and killed by Nero.	197
		Pluto, why so called.	226
		Polybius a favourite of Claudius,	169
		Polygamie.	226

# THE INDEX.

Pomgranate aplace,	259	ro.	198
Pomp of funeralls.	34	Salvius Liberalis a Lawier.	247
Pompeius Magnus sonne in law of Claudius.	169	Salvius Cocceianus put to death by Do-	265
Murdered,	170	mitian.	265
Poppæa Sabina commo to Nero and O-	283	Salustius Lucullus put to death by Do-	265
tho.	283	mitian.	265
Posides an Eunuch & freed man of Clau-	169	Scæva his valour,	27
dus,	169	Scribonia divorced from Augustus.	66
Post-carriers ordained by Augustus Cæ-	62	Scribonius an Astrologer,	95
ser,	62	Scribonius Libo conspirer against Tibe-	100
Postumus who it is.	34	rius Cæsar.	62
Prodigies portending Galbaes destruction.	209	Seale or signet of Augustus Cæsar,	62
Promoters or informers plagued by Ti-	257	Secular plaies,	52.164.231
tus the Emperour.	257	Secutores, what fencers.	137
Punished by Domitian.	265	Acl. Seianus put to death by Tiberius	112.115
Proscription in time of the Triumvirate	265	Cæsar.	112.115
rigorously executed by Augustus	49	Seleucus the Astrologer,	117
Cæsar.	49	Seleucus the Granmanian put to death by	224
Psylli.	45	Tiberius Cæsar,	112
Protonotarius Anletes.	5	Sempronia Law.	10
Puerperium what it signifieth.	125	Senatours number restrained.	54
Pulvar,	60.155.267	Senatours sonnes honoured by Augustus	55
Pyriades the player banished,	60	Cæsar.	55
Pyrralis a Courtisan, paramour of Cali-	140	Senatours estate augmented by Augustus	55
gula.	140	Cæsar.	55
Pyrrhich daunce.	16	Seneca taxed by Caligula,	148
		Seneca schoole-master to Nero,	198
		Done to death by him.	198
		Septimontiall sacrifice,	262
		A Serpent Dragon,	110
		A Serpent 50 cubits long,	59
		Sestertium in the Neuter Gendre,	293
		Sextants.	73
		Sextarius.	73
		Sextilis the moneth named Augustus,	53
		Signes observed by Augustus,	79
		Silanus put to death by Claudius	173
		Sociale Bellum.	47
		Soldierie well rewarded by Augustus,	61.62
		Spæresterium.	249
		Spelunca whatplace,	106
		Spicillus the Fencer.	193
		Spærus a great scholer.	77
		Spintrix.	107.232
		Expelled by Caligula,	129
		Sportula.	164
		Spurina a famous Soothsayer,	33
		Stage players and Swordfencers expenses	103
		cut short,	103
		Statues of silver refused by Augustus.	60
		Stephanio an Actour banished,	59
		Strange things exhibited by Augustus	51
		Cæsar to be scene,	19
		Subdival.	207
		Suburra.	207
		Suggestum comæ.	207
		Suing	207

# THE INDEX.

Suing indirectly for Offices reformed.	56	Adopted by Augustus,	96
Sulla the Dictatour his speech of Iulius	2	His promotions,	ibidem
Cæsar.	2	His hard warfare in Illyricum:	96
Sumptuaria lex:	18.535.4	His prosperous success,	96
Superum mare.	61	His Honours,	96
Supra-numerum.	166	His circumspect providence in warre af-	97
Syracusa.	71	fares:	97
		His martiall Discipline:	97
		His superstitious observations,	97
		Like to have beene murdered,	97
		His Triumph:	97
		His thankfull munificence to Baton,	97
		He feasteth the people of Rome:	98
		He entrench vpon the Empire,	99
		His manner of refusing the Empire, coun-	100
		trolled:	100
		He distrusteth Libo:	100
		His civill carnage at his first entrance:	100
		Tettrinius,	137
		Texiophor.	71
		He hated flatteries:	101
		Thalamagos an Egyptian Galley or	101
		Barge.	101
		He contemned Libels, &c:	101
		He debaseth himselfe overmuch to his Se-	102
		natours:	102
		Theodoros Gadareus his saying of Tibe-	102
		rius Cæsar.	113
		His courteous humanity,	103
		Theffallian Vawlters.	164
		Tholi.	70
		His worthy Apothege:	103
		Thracæ what Fencers:	137.149
		He looeth both his sonnes,	105
		Retireth himselfe into Campania:	105
		Thracæ. See Thracæ.	105
		Thrasyllus the Astrologer,	95.131
		Thunder and lightning Augustus feared:	78
		His neglect of the weale publick:	106
		His drunkennesse and gluttonie,	106
		Tiberius Cæsar his descent and pedigree.	106.107
		His nick names,	106.107
		His Fathers constancie.	89
		His Negardise,	108
		Tiberius Father, yielded his wife Livia	109
		His covetousnesse,	109
		Drusilla to Augustus.	109
		His polling and pilling,	109
		Tiberius Cæsar his birth.	90
		His hard hart to his wife Iulia,	109
		His hatred to his kinsfolke,	109
		His infancie and childhood:	90
		His unkindnesse to Livia his owne Mo-	110
		ther.	110
		Adopted by Gallus:	91
		His youth:	91
		His quarrell unto her,	110
		He weddeth Agrippina.	91
		He divorceth her:	91
		He weddeth Livia:	91
		Nephewes,	112
		Forfaketh her:	91
		His cruelty unto Noble Romane Citizens,	102
		His civill employments.	92
		His martiall exploits:	92
		His close and cruell nature:	113.114
		His Oration and Triumph:	92
		His open cruelty,	114.115
		His Magistracies:	92
		He devised new torments,	116
		His purpose to forsake Rome, and retire	116
		himselfe:	92
		His departure from Rome to Rhodes:	92
		In continuall feare,	ibidem
		Exposed to the reviling taunts of men:	117
		His behaviour at Rhodes:	93
		His stature, feature, &c,	118
		His suite to returne:	93
		Irreligious,	119
		His dangers at Rhodes,	94
		Fearfull of Thunder and Lightning,	119
		His Studies and Writings,	119
		His returne.	95
		He forbore to speake Greeke,	119
		His hopes of the Empire:	95
		He was very healthfull,	118



# THE INDEX.

He falleth sicke,	120	Varus his ouerthrow,	47,96
His death,	120, 121	Vatinia Law,	9
His death foreshewed,	121	Venice gulfes,	15
It contenteth the people,	121	Venus Erycines Temple,	167
His corps burnt,	121	Vestal Virgins of what respect,	89
His will and testament,		Vindex rebelleth,	201
Tigellinus a bloud-hound of Nero, odious to the people,	219	Pella Vespasia mother of Vespasian the Emperour,	240
A Tigre shewed by Augustus,	59	Vespasian the Emperours birth,	240
Tillage maintained by Augustus, provided for by Domitian.	58	His Education.	ib
Trindates shewed at Rome,	184	He espouseth Flavia Domitilla	241
Titus the Emperour his commendation,	253	His Martiall exploits,	241, 242
His birth and education,	253	Surnamed in mockerie, Mulio,	241
Poysoned with Britannicus,	254	In disgrace with Nero,	242
He loued Britannicus entirely,	ib	His empire foresignified by fundrie signes,	242, 243
His good parts,	254	Friendred by Vologesus King of the Parthians.	244
His war-service,	254	How he acquired princely maiestie,	245
He diuorseth Martia Flauia,	ib	He triumphed ouer the Iewes,	245
Hee saileth and forceth at Hierusalem,	255	He reformeth militarie discipline,	245
Saluted Emperour,	255	His care to repaire buildinges in Rome,	246
Suspected of his Father,	255	His workes and buildings,	246
He cleereth himselfe,	255	Hee reformeth the iudiciall Courts, &c.	246
Hee ruleth the Empire ioyntly with his Father,	255	He represseth vnbridled lust & lawlesse ex-	
His violent and cruell demeanour,	255	pence,	246, 247
Suspected for riotous life,	255	Not vaine glorious,	247
For wantonnesse,	ib	His patience,	247
For extortion,	ib	His mercie and pittie,	248
His honest conuersation and princely carriage euery way,	256	Noted for Auarice,	248, 249
His sumptuous spectacles,	256	A maintainer of learning and learned men	249
A most gracious Prince,	256	Surnamed Cybia factes.	249
What mishaps fell out in his dayes,	257	His stature, &c.	249
His clemencie,	257	Given to skurrile scoffs,	250
Forlayde by his owne brother Domitian,	258	His pretty jests,	250, 251
His vntimely death,	258	His death,	251
Honoured after death,	258	Vibius Crispus his saying of Domitian,	261
A treasure erected by Augustus Caesar for Souldiers,	62	Vineyards goe to decay vnder Domitian,	263
Tribunes of Com. created out of Gentlemen.	56	Vinicius his conspiracie,	258
Triumphirate	55	Visceratio what it is,	16
Troie warlike game,	17, 58	Visitation of forraigne Provinces and Cities by Augustus Caesar,	61
Tropæi,	156	Vitellia a goddesse reputed,	230
Tunicati,	157	A. VITELLIVS the Emperour his rising,	231
Tuscius killed by Nero.	198	His descent and Pedigree,	229
			230
		His moderate behaviour in the Prouince,	232
		His lewde Demeanour in Rome Citie	232
			232
		His birth,	231
			He

# THE INDEX.

He killeth his own sonne Petronianus,	232	His shape and stature.	238
Driven to extremities for neede	232	He maketh head against Otho.	226
His unseemely affability and popularity,	232, 233	P. Vitellius.	230
Proclaimed Emperour,	233	Q. Vitellius removed from the Senate,	230
Surnamed Germanicus,	ib.	P. Vitellius cutteth his owne veines,	230
Refuseth other titles in his style,	233	L. Vitellius doted vpon a woman,	230
His exemplarie Iustice done vpon traytors	234	Devoted to Caius Caesar,	230
His insolencie and pride.	234	To Messallina,	231
Surnamed Spintria,	231	His death,	231
Sumteous at his table,	230	Vltimum supplicium what it is,	56
He sacrificeth to the Ghost of Nero,	234	Vologesus affected to Nero,	209
His gluttonie,	235	Volucer the horse of Verus the Emperour,	149
His Platter,	235	Vonones perfidiously killed by the means of Tiberius Caesar,	109
His cruelty,	235		
Vnto Astrologers especially,	236	Wayfaring men how they should travel	167
Impious to his mother,	236	Wine not allowed by Augustus,	57
His largesse,	236	Winter moneths which they be,	2
Minded to resigne up the Empire,	137	Z	
He fireth Iupiters Temple vpon the Capitol	237	Zeno confined by Tiberius Caesar,	113
Surnamed Concord,	237		
Murdred with shamefull indignities,	238		

# AN INDEX TO THE Annotations.

**A**

Accensus, what officer. 3, b  
Acclamations, 39, b  
Adoptions of ij. sorts 15, a  
Adulteria. 25, b  
Aegle the Romane Mainestandard, 7, a  
Aeneas kind to his father Anchises, 31, b  
Agrippæ who they be: 21, a  
Ajaæ. 9, a  
Alcmæon killed Erphyle his owne mother, 31, b  
Alexandrea in Aegypt, 8, a  
Allienfis dies, 35, a  
Amazones what woman, 4, a  
De Ambitu, Lawes, 13, a  
Amphora what measure, 23, b  
Ambubaia, 30, b  
Ancilia, 34, b  
Annales or annariz Lawes 12, b  
Why so called? 25, a  
Annonæ 13, b  
Anticatones, 7, a  
Anticyra, 27, a  
Antipater Sidonius his Ague 17, a  
Apis, what Idol, 18, b  
Ἀποδομις, 41, a  
Apollo Pæan, 31, b  
Apollo Hecatecleles, 31, b  
Apoplexie. 35, a  
Appeale unto the people, 2, a  
Area, 38, b  
Armie Romane, 11, b  
Artaxerxes Mnemon, 14, b  
As, 20, a  
Aspis the Serpent, 11, b  
Asprenas Nonius accused for poysoning 14, b  
Ἀσπιδόμορτος, 21, b  
Atellane Comædies, 24, b  
Attricapilla what bird, 23, b  
Attæ, who they be: 21, a  
Augures and Augurium: 12, b  
Auguralis cæna 13, a  
Augustales, priests: 33, a  
Sodales: 19, b  
Augustus Cæsar punisheth Adulterie, 13, a  
Favoureth the Jewith religion 18, b  
Aurei Romani, what peeces, 33, b  
Automatum. 28, b

**B**

Balsto play with divers sorts 17, b  
Bafilides, 38, b  
Bathing much: 17, b  
Biberius, 23, a  
Bisflextile or Leape yeere: 5, b  
Blackebird commended, 23, b  
Bombi. 30, a  
Bonum Factum, 8, a, 25, b  
\*Bosuria, signifieth a great sacrifice: a word compounded of *bos*, which is *ox*, and *uria* i. or of *ses* i. i. Bos an ox. And such were their Hecatombæ, whereat a thousand oxen were killed. 29, 12, a  
Bracata Gallia, 13, b  
Bracæ or Brachæ. 8, a, 17, b  
Bridges in Campus Martius: 8, a  
Brutus supposed to be Iulus Cæsars sonne 8, b

Busaucheres. 24, a

**C**

Cænæ Adijciales, 19, b  
Cæsar in a duple signification, 38, b  
Caius Cæsar killed, 15, a  
C. Cæsar his fodaine death, 1, a  
C. Iulius Cæsar how deeply indebted 13, a  
Caiceil Lunati, 13, a  
Caldus 23, a  
Caliga what it is, 25, b  
Caligati, what soldiers? 12, a  
Caligula excessive in table expences. 27, b  
Caligula counterfeiteth thunder and lightning, 27, b  
Callipides 23, a  
Camp duple why prohibited, 38, a  
Canace 30, a  
Cancers, what they be, 15, b  
Candidates, 44, a, b, 15, a  
Candida Toga differeth from Alba, 4, a  
Caninius Rebilus his Consulate, 7, b  
Canis, what chaunce 16, a  
Capitolium, 27, b  
Cardiaca Cardialgia, 28, b  
Carmelus, 36, a  
Cæsa and Cassius, 8, b  
Castor hardly intricated by Caligula. 26, b  
Caudex. 21, a  
Caunæas. 18, b

B 3

Cen-

# THE INDEX.

Centumviri.	13.4	Divisors what they are,	34.10.4
Centumviris hasta,	36.4	Divortium what it is.	1.4
* Ceres priestesses named Anstutz for their holiness & chastity, were no less honored at Athens, than the Vestal Nuns in Rome.	29.12.4	Dog tied at the Porters Lodge,	35.6
Chariotiers factions howe distinguished.	29.12.4	Domini Insularum.	31.6
Chius, what chance,	16.4	Dominus.	14.4
Cicero what hee said as touching his brothers Demy-personage.	25.6	Domician more Sanguinarie than Nero.	39.4
Cinædus,	15.6	Dragon creeping.	24.6
Circenses Games,	5.4	Dropties of three Kindes.	29.4
When exhibited?	22.6	Drusilla, Claudius the Emperours wife.	28.4
Cisalpine Gaule.	3.6	Dulcianus.	23.4
Civick guirland,	1.6.22.6		
Civility in Emperours,	14.4		
Civil, in Suetonius, what it signifieth.	25.4		
Claudius the Emperour, compared to a dumb Player in a Shew,	28.6		
Clients and Patrons,	1.6		
Climacterick yeere:	9.6		
Coleta, what place:	15.6		
Colonies,	15.6		
Colonies Latine,	2.4		
Coloferos,	27.4		
Colossus.	36.6		
Comata Gallia,	3.6		
Comitales Leges, what Lawes,	25.4		
Comitalis morbus. See Falling-Sicknesse.			
Comitum what place,	2.4		
Commilitones,	12.4		
Comædies the olde, and who wrote them,	18.4		
Congiaries,	4.6		
Consuls reckoned for Sovereaine Magistrates after the free State.	26.6		
Copæ:	30.6		
Cornelia Law.	13.4		
Cous, what chance,	16.4		
Criers for the best Game:	30		
Cubiculum, what it signifieth,	29.6		
Curia and Curio,	2.6		
Cutiliz what waters,	36.6		
Cybele,	15.6		
Cynicks,	36.4		

D

Deceres, what Galley,  
Decuriones what they are,  
Depilatorz medicinz:  
Dialects:  
Dialis,  
Dialis cræna,  
Dictare &  
Dictator,

27.6

13.6

34.6

23.6

7.6

13.4

7.6

G

Galli:

Galli Priests of Cybele.

Games sacred which they were.

Genius of the Emperour:

Gentlemen in youth how trained vp:

Gentlemen of Rome, their estate:

Germanicani who they be:

Gestation, what exercise.

32.6

15.6

30.4

26.6

1.4

4.6

22.6.34.6

36.6

Ggales

# THE INDEX.

Goales in the Cirque.	5.6	Cn. Lentulus of great wealth.	23.6
Gods and Goddesses Select,	16.4	M. Lepidus his death,	1.6
Gowne, the Romane habite,	13.6	Levana, what Goddesses,	10.6
Græcia Magna,	11.4	Libellers punished,	14.6
Graphium.	8.6.27.4	Libera Legatio	21.6
Gymnick Games, and Gymnasium	19.6	Liberines, who they were.	1.4.12.4
	29.6	Librarie at Alexandria.	39.6
		Limigeri.	38.4
		Litare.	19.4
		Livia the Emperesse what names shee had,	20.6
		Hecatebeletes.	12.6
		Height of men.	16.6.24.4
		Hemiplegia,	35.4
		Hercules enraged,	30.4
		Herfilia,	33.6
		Hidroa,	24.4
		Hieronix,	20.4

H

are commended,

Halles of Iustice.

Hecatebeletes.

Height of men.

Hemiplegia,

Hercules enraged,

Herfilia,

Hidroa,

Hieronix,

I

HS. what it signifieth, and so forth,

Ianus Quinns his Temple,

Icanus and his fable,

Ides of the moneth,

Jewes, put for Christians

Ilium,

Imbrices,

imperator how diversly taken,

Impudicitia,

Inferix,

Inheritances Testamentariz and Legiti-

mæ,

Inferre,

Insula,

Iovis Epulum,

Ira and Iracundia how they differ.

Isthmus,

Iulia Law,

Iulius the moneth,

Iulius Montanus,

Iupiter his Ensignes,

Ius, what it is,

Iustitium at Rome what it betokeneth,

Iuvenalia,

Iuvenes secundi ordinis,

K

Kalends of Ianuarie,

Kalæga, what it is,

King of Kings.

Knights Living what it was,

L

Laberius quitteth Cicero with a scoffe,

Lares, Lararium,

Latro,

Latus Clavus and Latuclavij.

Law Sempronia.

16.4

11.4

8.6.27.4

19.6

29.6

23.6

12.6

16.6.24.4

35.4

30.4

33.6

24.4

20.4

M

Maætas,

Maxenas noted to be Vxorius,

Taxed for curious trimming of himselfe,

and for affectate speech.

Maximus, and Maniana,

Magistrates Superiour and Inferiour,

Magistrates at Rome who were properly

called.

Mancipatio, what it is,

Marriage enforced by Law.

Mars the revenger and his Temple.

Mater Deum what Goddesse.

Matronalia,

Mausoleum.

Maxima vestalis.

Melanocoryphus what bird.

Mellita bellaria,

Mercurius his Ensigne,

Nero.

Metellus perswadeth for Mariage.

Milliarium in Rome, what it was

Mimi what they be

Mirmillones.

Miritrichila

Mioneres, a Galley

Monopolie

Moran

Mortalities with pestilence.

N

Nauphilus

Nemesis,

Neptunes mace,

Nero, what it signifieth,

Nestors cup in Homer

Nicon

Nomi in Aegipt,

Nominalia

Nones of the Moneth

Novæ Tabule

Nundina what Goddesse

Nundinz

Ocellatz

# THE INDEX.

<b>O</b>		Prædidiariz.	ib.
Ocellatz.	18.4	Populi.	ib.
Octophorum what Lister,	21.6	Prætoriz, Consulares:	14.4
Odipus.	30.4	Pſylli.	11.4
Opt.	10.4, 15.6	Ptolemæes counted dead:	11.6
Optimates who they be,	2.4, 6	Publicanes,	12.4, 3.6
Optimus Maximus.	7.6, 8.4	Pulvinar.	7.6
Orbis in ij, significations,	15.6	Pyrrhick daunces,	5.4
Orchestra,	15.4, 28.4	Pythagoras.	31.4
Orcus,	22.4		
Orestes killed his mother,	30.4, 31.6	<b>Q</b>	
Otho his costly feasting of Nero,	30.6	Quadragesima.	36.4
His effeminacie.	30.6	Quindecimvirs.	8.4, 19.6
Ovatio.	11.6	Quinquatna:	16.4
Ovilia.	22.4	Quintana:	30.6
		Quintilis what Moneth.	7.6
		Quirites:	7.4
<b>P</b>			
Pzan.	31.6		
Pagani,	35.6	<b>R</b>	
Pelilia, what feast,	25.6	Rætiæ Cænæ.	29.6
Palmaris.	38.6	Regall enſignes what they be:	26.4
Papia Poppæa Law.	13.4, 28.4	Regaliolus, what bird,	8.4
Parricidium a day,	9.6	Regions of Rome City.	5.4, 10.4
Parricidium what crime.	5.6, 6.4	Repudium what it is.	1.4
Parricides punishment.	12.6, 13.4	Retiarij what ſenſers:	27.6
punished by Claudius.	29.6	Rex Nemorensis:	27.6
Paſiphae.	29.6	Rhegium, why ſo called:	10.6
Pater familias.	13.4	Riding of Romane Gentlemen.	3.6
Patrones and Clients.	11.4	Ring-finger.	4.6
Pegmares, and Pegmatitis.	26.6	Rings of gold and yron:	19.6
Pemmata,	2.4	Rogatio, what it is.	1.6
Pentathlon.	5.6	Romane playes,	22.6
Perduellionis crime	2.4	Rofaria:	30.6
Periodicall diſeaſes	17.4	Rofcia Law:	10.6
Phaeton and his fabulous hiftorie,	25.6	Roftra:	20.4
Phaleræ,	31.4	Rutuli or Ruſuli,	1.6
Phelants why called Phafiani:	26.4		
φαιαντες.	15.6	<b>S</b>	
φωβολία.	36.4	Sabbats:	16.6
De Plano.	23.4	Sagatio:	34.4
Pleiſtobolinda,	31.4	Saliars Epulæ:	28.6
Pluto,	32.4	Salinator where of he tooke that name:	21.6
Polemones, Kings of Pentus,	30.4	Sardina, a petulant place:	23.4
Polycrates glutt with proſperity,	18.6	Saturnalia.	36.6
Polyphagus and Phagon.	31.4	How and when celebrated,	25.6
Pontificalis cænæ.	13.4	Scalz Gemoniaz,	23.6
Pontificum cænæ	28.6	Scarus a delicate fiſh.	35.6
Populares who they are.	2.4, 6	Scatinia Law.	13.4
Populæria, what place in the Theatre,	28.4	Scelerata porta and Sceleratus vicus:	28.4
Pound Romane	33.6	Sciatica:	17.4
Prætexta what Robe.	2.6	Scutarij, what Soldiers.	14.6
Prætextata verba.	36.6	Seale of Rome,	18.6
Prætorian foldiours:	22.4	Selliones et Sutura:	35.4
Principia, what place in the Camp,	34.4	Secular Games.	12.6
Proſani.	31.4	Selena:	26.6
Province what it ſignifieth,	3.4	Senatours badges,	13.4
Provinciæ Cæſare.	13.6	Septemvirs,	19.6
		Septizonium,	37.4
		Siftæ.	

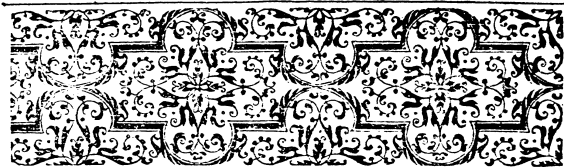
# TO THE ANNOTATIONS.

ſeſtertius what place,	33.6	Tollendum.	10.6
Sordidati,	21.6	Tribes Urbane and Ruſtique:	2.6
Speculatores and Spiculatores, 33.	6, 16.6	Tribunes of the commons Inviolable:	12.4
Sphinx.	14.4	Tribunes Militarie:	1.6
Spongia,	18.4	Triumphalis cænæ:	13.4
Sportulæ,	29.6	Triumphal ornaments:	13.6, 22.4
Stature of men. See Height.		Triumvirate:	10.4
Stæchades what Ilands.	28.4	Troie Turnament:	5.6
Strangurie,	17.4	Troica:	32.4
Subegit, in a duple ſenſe.	6.6	Tropææ, what it was:	33.4
Sudamina.	24.4	Tunicati:	27.6
Sulla proſcribeth the Marian Faction,	2.4	Turdus See Blackebird:	
Sumptuariz Lawes,	6.4, 13.4		
Suovetaurilia, what ſacrifice,	19.4	<b>V</b>	
Supplication what it is,	31.6	Wallare Coronets:	12.4
Suſtulit in a duple ſenſe	15.4	Varro.	6.4
Swimming commended	16.4	Venus what chance:	16.4
Syracufa		Venus Genitrix:	7.4
		Veraculi or vericuli:	35.6
		Veratrics:	ib.
<b>T</b>		Vestall virgins peacemakers:	1.4
Tabellariz Naves,	30.4	Vestall Nuns conſtituted of Incontinencie	
Tili,	31.4	in what ſort buried quicke,	38.4
Talorum Luſus,	16.4	Veteres,	20.4
Templum,	19.4	Viatium, what it is:	7.4
Tertia deducta eſt,	6.6	Victorie her Image.	33.4
Tellera,	33.4	Vindex.	32.6
Teſtæ.	30.4	Vinlerobe,	10.4
Tetraones what birds,	26.4	Viſire what it is.	28.6
τετραονες.	16.4	Voconia Law.	20.6
Theatralis law.	10.6	Vomiting much.	35.6
Thenſæ.	7.4	Vowes. 19.4. The forme thereof:	35.4
Thraces or Threes what ſenſers.	27.6	Vxorij.	
Thraſæas Pærus, judicially cõvened	30.4		
Thraſyllus a great Aſtrologer	21.6, 22.4	<b>W</b>	
Thunder in faire weather,	37.6	W	
Tiberius Cæſar noted by Anguſtus,	22.4	VV	
Tiberius, the younger, his pittifull death:	26.4	ars, where of they take name.	11.6
		Water-fnake.	28.6
Tibur City, an healthie place:	23.4		
Tiridates, a great magician:	71.4	<b>X</b>	
Tithing of men:	31.4	Xyſtic what ſpectacles.	13.6
Titles, what they be	37.4		
Toga Græcanica.	38.4	<b>Z</b>	
Togata Gallia.	31.6	Zenodorus an Architect	36.6
		Zopyrus a Phyſiogonomer,	37.4

F I N I S .

*Faults escaped in the Historie and Marginall Glosses.*

[illegible]



# THE HISTORIE OF Caius Iulius Cesar Dictator,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquil-*  
*lus.*



**C**ESAR in the sixteenth year of his age, lost his (a) Father: and in the \* yeare following, being elected (b) *Flamen Dialis*, he cast off *Cossutia* (a Gentlewoman borne but very wealthy) affianced unto him during his childhood; and espoused *Cornelia* the daughter of *Cinna* foure times Consul: who bare vnto him soone after, his daughter *Iulia*: neither could he by any meanes be forced by *Sylla* the Dictatour, to (c) put her away: Whereupon, deprived of his sacerdotall dignitie, loosing the dowrie in the right of his wife, and forfeiting all his heritages (d) descended unto him from his linage and name, hee was reputed one of the \* contrarie Faction. In so much as he was constrain'd to \* hide his head; and (albeit the quartaine Ague hung fore upon him) to change almost every night his starting holes wherein hee lurked: yea, and to redeeme himselfe with a (e) peece of money out of the Iniquitous hands that made search for him: untill such time, as by the mediation of the re-

B

CHAP. I.  
A.V.C. 670.

\* *Sequentibus*  
\* *cap.* For at  
\* *times* they ree-  
\* *counted* the  
\* *yeares* accor-  
\* *ding* to their  
\* *Consuls* whose  
\* *office* ordina-  
\* *riely* continued  
\* *one* yeare, and  
\* *begin* with the  
\* *yeare* upon the  
\* *first* day of the  
\* *month*.

\* *O. Dione*.

\* *Of Marius*.

\* *To sit in*  
\* *the* *Sabins* o

ligious  
Custom,

ligious (f) vestall virgines, by the meanes also of MAMERCVS AEMILIVS and  
AVRELIVS COTTA, his neere \* kinsfolke and allied vnto him, hee obtained  
pardon. Certaine itis, that SVLLA, when he had denied a good while the re-  
quest of those eight worshipfull persons, and his singular good friends intreating  
in his behaile, and yet they persisted earnest suiters still for him, being thus im-  
portuned and at length overcome, brake forth aloud into these words, either  
in a Divine prefience, or some pregnant coniecture, Goeto (quoth hee) my  
M<sup>r</sup>: Take him to you, since yee will needes have it so: but know this withall,  
that he whose life and safety yee so much desire, will one day be the overthrow  
of the Nobles, whose side yee have maintained with mee: For in this CÆSAR  
there be many M<sup>ar</sup>tl.

THE first time that CÆSAR served in the Warres, was in *Asia*, and that in the (a) domestick retinue of "M. THERMUS the Pretour: by whom being sent into *Bithymia* for to levie a Fleet, he made his abode with K. NIKOMEDES: not without a foule rumour raised, that he prostituted his bodie to be abused by the King. which rumour he augmented himse fe, by comming againe into *Bithymia* within fewe dayes, vnder a colour of calling for certaine money, which should be due to a (b) Libertine and (c) Client of his. The rest of his foulderie he caried with better fame and reputation: and at the winning of *MITYLENÆ*, THERMUS honored him with a (a) Civike giurland.

He was a Souldiour also, vnder SERGIUS ISAURIUS in *Cilicia*, but it was not long: For vpon certaine intelligence giuen of VLLA his death, and the hope withall of the new, dissent that was stirred & set on foote by M. (4) LEPIDVS, he returned in all haite to *Rome*. And notwithstanding hee was mightily solicited by many large offers and faire promises, yet forbare he to ioyne in societie with LEPIDVS, partly diffulting his\* nature, and in part doubting the present oportunitie, which he found nothing answerable to his expectation.

HOWEVERT when that ciuill discord and sedition was (a) appeased, hee iudicially accused for \* extortion CORNELIVS DOLOBELLA, a man who had bene Confull, and triumphed. But seeing that the Defendant was found vnguiltic and acquit, hee determined to retire himselfe vnto the Citie of *Rhodes*, as well to decline the \* hatred of the world, as by occasion of that leasure and repose to learne the Art of Oratorie vnder APOLLONIVS \* MOLON a most renowned Rhetorician in those daies. As he crossed the Seas thitherward \* (being now Winter time) his fortune was about the Ille *Pharmacia* to be taken by Rovers, and with them he remained in custodie (not without \* exceeding indignation) for the space well neere of xl. dayes, accompanied with one \* Physician and two Groomes of his chamber. For, \* his \* companions and the rest of his servants belonging to his traine, he had sent \* away immediately at the very first, to procure him money with all speed for his ranfome. After this upon the payment vnto them of L. talents being set a shoare, he delayed no time, but presently put his Fleet to Sea againe, embarked, and neuer gave over pursuing the said Pirates, untill he had over-taken them: and no sooner were they within his power, but as hee often times had threatned in mirth, hee put them all to death. Now whiles MITHRIDATES waisted the Countreies next adjoyning, because he would not be thought to sit till & doo nothing in this dangerous & doubtful state of confederate Nations and Allies to the Romans, he left *Rhodes* whether

CÆSAR DICTATOR.

he had directly bent his course, gathered a power of Auxiliarie Souldiers, expelled the Governour under the King out of the Province, and so kept the Cities and States in their allegiance, which were wavering and at the point to revolt.

In his Militarie (a) tribuneship, which was the first dignitie after his returne to Rome, that befell vnto him by the voyces and election of the people, he assisted with all his might \* those Patrones of the Commons, who stood out for the restitution of their Tribunes authoritie; the force and strength whereof SYLLA had abated. Hee effected moreouer thus much, by verue of an Act proposed by \* PLOTIVS, that L. CINCIVS his wiuers brother, that they, who together with him in the time of the ciuill discord aboue-saide, tooke part with LEPTIVS, and after the \* Consuls death, fled vnto Sertorius, might returne safely into the Citie, and enjoy their freedome. As touching which matter, himselfe made an Oration before the bodye of the people.

BEING \* Queftour hee made as the auncient manner was Funerall Ora-  
tions out of the publique Pulpit called *Reftra*, in the praife of IVLIA his Aunt  
by the Fathers fide, and of his wife CORNELIA, both late deceased. And in  
the commendation verily of this faid Aunt, fpeaking of the pedigree and defcent  
by both fides, namely of her felfe, and alfo of her Father, hee inaketh report in  
thele termes: *Mine Aunt IVLIA* (quoth he) *by her Mother is lineally defended from*  
*Kings,* and by her Father united with the race of the immortal Gods: For, from Ancus  
Marcus are deriued the Marcius furnamed Reges, id est Kings, which name my Ma-  
ther was fyled with: and from VENVS the IVLII draw their originall of which houfe  
and name is our familie. So then, in this floore there concur and meete together, as well  
the fanctitie and fared Maieftie of Kings, who among men are moft powerfull, as the  
religious Ceremonies and feruice of the Gods, in whole power Kings themfelves are.  
In the place of CORNELIA departed, hee wedded POMPEIA, daughter of  
Q. POMPEIUS, and Neece to L. SVLLA. But her afterward hee divorced, fu-  
fpecting that hee had beene naught with P. CLODIUS, of whom there went fo  
conflant a report abroade, how at the celebration of certaine publique Divine  
ceremonies, hee being difguifed in womans aparel had accesse secretly unto her,  
that the Sena<sup>r</sup> by Decree directed a Commiſſion to luitices Inquiſitors, for to  
fit upon the pollution of thoſe ſacred Rites and \* Mysteries.

DYING his Questureship, it fell unto him by lot to execute his Office in the \* farther Province of *Spain*: where, when as by the commandment of the \* Lord Pretour, he rode his circuit to keepe the \* Affiſes, and came to *Gades*, beholding aduſſidly the Image or portraiture of *K. ALEXANDER the Great* in the Temple of *HERCULES* there: at the ſight thereof hee fetched a deepe ſigh, yea, and as one diſpleaſed and yrked with his owne ſlothfulnes, in that hee had performed yet no memorable Act at thoſe \* yeeres, wherein *ALEXANDER* had conquered the whole world, hee preſently made earnest ſuite for his diſcharge and licence to depart, thereby to take the firſt oportunitie of all occasions to compaſſe greater enterprizes at home within the Cite: and being moreover much diſquieted and diſmayed with a dreame the night before (for he imagined in his deepe that he had carnall compaſſe with his owne Mother) the Diuiners and Wizards incited him to the hopes of moſt glorious achievements, making this expoſition of his dreame, that thereby was pntended unto him the Sovereign

\*For Aurelia  
was his mo-  
ther.

\* *M. Minutiss.*  
*Tiberinus.*

A.V.C 676.  
\* Surnamed for  
of the people  
in Cilicia na-  
med *Tauri*,  
whom he sub-  
dued.

\*So variable and indifferent

4.  
\* Whose hee  
gouerned his  
Prouince.

► For calling into question the honorability of a person.

\* Moloni, not Molonje, as Plautarch taketh it, that is, the son of Moion.

† *Hiberni mens-  
es*, that is, the  
the Winter  
moneths which  
were Decemb.  
Januar. Febr.

\* Some readers  
dignation in a  
divers sense.

\* *Medicus*, vel  
amicus, that is, a  
friend.

• On the rest of  
his compani-  
ons & servants.

\* To the Ci-  
ties of Asia, a P

5.

\* *E. Costa, M.  
Crafts, & Co.  
Painters*. who  
were the chiefs.  
\* A Tribune  
of the Com-  
mons.

\* *Lepidus*.

6.  
\* Treasurer

\*Of the Goddess *Bona*, which we celebrated in Caesar's house, being the Pontifex.

7.  
A.V.C 687.  
\* Called 2nd

\* Inhead (bird)

Townes which  
were called  
Cōwent's. D<sup>2</sup>.m

× Thais, 33.  
C. Pinus. 5.

7

raignie of the whole world, considering that his Mother whom hee saw under him betokened nought else but the subjection of the earth, which is counted the Mother of all things.

8. DEPARTING therefore thence before his time was fully expired, hee went unto the (a) Latine Colonies, which were now devising and in counsell to sue for the freedome of the Citie of *Rome*, and no doubt had solicited and excited them to attempt some tumult and trouble in the State, but that the Consuls for the avoiding of this very danger, kept back the Legions for a while which were enrolled for to be sent into *Cilicia*.

9. AND yet for all that, soone after he projected greater designs within the Citie. For, not many daies before he entered upon his Aedileship, suspected he was to have conspired with M. CRASSVS (\* a man of Consular degree) with P. SVLLA likewise and \* P. ANTONIVS, (who after they were Consuls elect stood condemned for suing indirectly and by corruption for that place) to set upon the body of the Senate in the beginning of their yeare; and that after they had massacred whom it pleased them, M. CRASSVS should usurpe the Dictatorship; himselfe be chosen by him Maister of the Horsemen: and so when they had settled the State at their pleasure, SVLLA and ANTONIVS should be restored againe unto their Consulship. Of this conspiracie, TANVSIVS GEMINVS maketh mention in his Storie, M. BIVLVS in his Edicts and C. CVRTO the Father in his Orations. CICERO likewise seemeth to signifie as much in a certaine Epistle unto A. IVS wherein he reporteth that CÆSAR established in his Consulship that Kingdome and roial government, which he plotted and thought upon when hee was Aedile. TANVSIVS writeth farther, that CRASSVS either repenting his selfe, or else upon feare, was not present nor kept the day appointed for the said massacre. and therefore CÆSAR neither gave that signall which by agreement hee should have given. Now agreed it was as CVRTO saith, that he should let his gowne fall from his shoulders. The same CVRTO yea and M. ARTORIVS NASO doo write, that he conspired also with CN. PISO anoble young Gentleman, who being in insuspition for a conspiracie within the Citie, had the Province of *Spain* extraordinarily; and without his owne suite bestowed upon him; and completed it was, that both he in forraigne parts abroad and himselfe also at *Rome* should at once make an insurrection for to alter the State; and that, by the occasion and means of the \* Lambranes and inhabitants beyond the Po. That is, But the designement both of the one and the other was defeated and frustrate by reason of PISO his death.

WHEN he was Aedile, besides the (a) Comitium, the Market place, and statefull Hal's of lustice, hee beautified the Capitoll also with faire open Galleries built for the present occasion to stand onely during the publike shewes and plaies: wherein if the number of Images, Statues, and painted Tables fell out to be greater than was needefull, part of that furniture and provision might be set forth to the view of all men. As for the chasing and bating of wilde beasts, the Stage plaies & solemne fights, he exhibited the both jointly with his copanion in Office, and also severally by himselfe. Whereby it came to passe, that howsoever the charges of these Solemnities were borne in commune by them both, yet he alone went away with all the honour and thanke thereof: Neither did M. BIVLVS his Colleague dissimule the matter, but utter as much, when

he

he said that the same befell unto him which unto POLLYX: For like as (quoth he) the Temple erected in the Common Market place of *Rome* unto \* both the Twin-brethren, beareth the name of CÆSAR alone: even so my munificence in expence and CÆSARS together in setting out these games and plaies, goeth under the name of CÆSAR onely. CÆSAR over and above, did exhibit another shew of Sword-fight even at the sharpe: but hee brought into the place \* fewer couples of champions by a good many than he purposed: For, buying up (as he did) such a sort of Fencers from all parts out of every Schoole, and putting his adversaries of the other faction in great affright thereby, hee gave occasion unto the State to provide by a speciall Act in that behalfe, For a certaine set number of Sworde-plaies, above which no man might retaine anie at *Rome*.

11 THUS when he had gained the hearts & favour of the people, he gave the attempt by some of the \* Tribunes, and sued to have the Province of *Egypt* by an Act of the Commons conferred upon him: taking occasion to make suite for this extraordinarie Government, For that the *Alexandrians* had driven their \* King out of his Roialme, whom the Senate had styled with the title of Allie and Friend, An Act of theirs generally disliked. Howbeit hee could not carie it, by reason that the faction of the Nobles crossed him. Whole authority because hee would by way of quittance infringe and impair by all means possible; the Tropes and victorious Monuments of C. MARIVS for subduing K. LVGVRTHA, the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutons*, which before time had bene demolished \* and cast downe by SVLLA, he erected and set up againe: \* Also in sitting upon a Commission for the examination of \* murderers, hee reckoned those in the number of them, who in the time of the Proscription, had received money out of the publike Treasure for bringing in (a) the heads of Romaine Citizens, notwithstanding they were excepted by vertue of the Lawes \* CORNELIÆ.

12 MOREOVER, he suborned one (a) and set him on, to endite C. RABIRIVS of high treason, by whose helpe especially some yeares before the Senate had repressed and restrained the seditious Tribuneship of L. SATURNINVS: and being by lot chosen a \* Iudge Delegate to passe sentence of the prisoner, so willing he was to condemne him, that when RABIRIVS appealed unto the people, nothing did him so much good as the rigour of the \* Iudge.

13 HAVING laied a side all hope of the foresaid Province, he stood to be the Highest Priest, not without excessive and most lavish largesse. Wherein, considering how deeply hee engaged himselfe in debt, the same morning that hee was to goe unto the assemble for the Election, when his Mother \* kissed him he told her (by report) afore-hand, that he would never returne home but *Pontife*. And so farre overweighed he (a) two most mightie Competitors, who otherwise for age and dignitie much outwent him, that in their owne Tribes hee alone caried more voices, than both of them in all \* throughout.

BEING \* created Pretour, when as the Conspiracie of CATILINÆ was detected, and all the Senate generally awarded no lighter punishment than \* death, for as many as were parties and accessarie in that Action; hee onely gave his sentence, That their goods should be confiscate, and themselves put into se-

B 3

\* Geminus (Geminus) that is, the Twin, who commonly be called Geminus.

\* And yet hee exhibited 360.

\* That hee might govern in and place the King, as in his roiall State.

\* This is by the figure Proletus to be understood of Cæsar when hee was Tribune of the Curiæ: as who favoured the faction of Marius both then and before.

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verall free Cities and Burrowghes under the people of *Rome*, and there to bee kept in ward : and furthermore hee put them in so great a fright that gave sharper censure (intimating eft-foones and setting before their eyes the exceeding great hatred of the *Romaine* Communitie, which in time to come they should incurre) that *DACIUS SILANUS* Consul eleft was not abashed nor unwilling to mollifie his owne \* award, with a gentle exposition (because it had beene a shame to alter it and eate his owne words) as if it had beene taken and construed in an harder fence, than hee meant it. And verily prevailed hee had, and gone cleare away with it (for many there were a ready drawne to his side, and among the rest, \* *CICERO* the Consuls brother) but that a speech made by *M. CATO* emboldened the whole house, and confirmed all the Senators in their former sentence, who now were at the point to yeeld unto him. And yee for all this, he ceased not to hinder their proceedings, untill such time as a troupe of *Romaine* Knights, who stood round about the place in Armes for \* guard and defence, threatned to dispatch him out of the way, in case hee continued still in his obdurate contumacie, holding and shaking their drawne Swords so neere unto him, as that his next felowes forsooke him as hee fate with them, and very few taking him in their Armes and putting them \* Gownes betwene, hardly and with much a doo saved him from violence. Then was hee scared in deede, in so much as hee not onely condiscended unto them, but also for the rest of that \* yeare forbore to come into the Senate house.

THE very first day of his Pretourship, he convented Q. CATVLS before the body of the people to receive their order upon (a) a matter to be dissaied by them, as touching reedification of the Capitoll, having withall promulged a Lawe, by vertue whereof hee transferred the charge of that worke unto another. But not able to match the Nobles and better fortior to make his part good with them drawing in one line, as they did, whom hee sawe in great frequencie to runne by heapes together, so fully bent to make resistance, that presently they left their officious attendance upon the new Consul, hee gave over this action.

By 7, whereas CACILIUS METELLUS \* a Tribune of the Commons, proposed most turbulent and seditious Stautes, malgre his Colleagues with all their opposition, he shewed himself a stout abetter and maintainer of him: most stilly bearing him out in the cause, so long untill both of them were by an injunction and decree of the Senators removed from the administration of the Common wealth. Howbeit presuming nevertheless to continue in his magistracie, and to execute his jurisdiction, when he underflood once that some were ready to prohibit him by force and Armes, hee sent away his Serjants, cast off his (c) embroidered purple Robe, and retired privly to his owne house, minding there to keepe himselfe quiet in regard of the troublesome time. And when two daies after, the multitude flocked unto him willingly and of their owne accord, promising after a very tumultuous manner their helpe and assistance in the recoverie of his former place and dignitie, he repressed them. Which thing happening thus beyond all expectation, The Senate which was hastily met together about that riot and upore, gave him harie thanks; and that by the principal and noblest personages among them, sent for him into the (f) Curia, and

\* As if he ment  
by *ultimum sup-  
plicium*, impri-  
sonment or  
some lesse pu-  
nishment then  
death.

\* *Quintus Ci-  
cero*  
\* *M. Cicero*

\* Of Consul  
and Senate

\* *Plutarch* names *Curio* for one of them.

\* Of M.T Cicerone the Consul his yeere which now drew to an end.

15  
A.V.C.692.

\* That is, to  
*Ca. Pompius.*

1

16  
\* Surnamed  
Nepos (as Vse-  
vius witnesseth)  
for his notable  
life and beha-  
viour.

after they had in most honourable termes commended him, they restored him fully to his Office, and reversed their former Decree.

He fell againe into another newe trouble and daunger, being called into question as one of CATILINES conspiracie, both before the Questor NOVIVS NIGER in his house, and that by L. VETTIVS\* who appeached him; and also in the Senate by P. CVRIVS: unto whom for that he detected first, the plots & designments of the Conspiratours, were rewards appointed by the State. CVRIVS depofed that he knew so much by CATILINE: and VETTIVS promised to bring forth even his owne hand-writing which he gave unto CATILINE: But this was such an indignitie as CÆSAR in wifdom thought tollerable; whereupon, craving the testimonie of CICERO by which he proved, that himselfe merely of his owne accord had given some information unto him of the said Conspiracie, it prevailed so much that CVRIVS went without those rewards. As for VETTIVS, after his goods were arrested and distress taken, his household-stuffe rifled, himselfe evill entreated, beaten, and in the open assemblie of the multitude even before the ROSTRAE were pulled in peeces, him he clapt up in prison. After the same sort he served NOVIVS the Questour, because hee suffered him, (e) a superiour Magistrate of State, to be accused and defamed in his house.

(c) A superiour Magistrate of State, he became acquainted  
 \* AFTER this Pretourship of his, having the Government of the farther Province in *Spain* allotted unto him, hee tooke order with his Creditours (that were in hand to stay him) by the means of certaine (d) *fureties* who came in and undertooke for him; and before the Governours of the Provinces were opposed-of by the State, with Commissions feared for their jurisdiction and other affaires, with allowance and furniture also fet out for them accordingly, he contrarie to all right and custome putt himselfe in his journey: were it for feare of some judicial proceeding intended against him whiles he was a private person, or because he might more speedily succour the Allies of the *Romanses*, who craved helpe, it is uncertaine. Well, when he had feeld the Province in peace, he made as great hast to be gone, and not expecting a Successeur hee departed, as well to ride in Triumph as to take upon him the Consulship . But after the Writts and Proclamations were out for the great Assemblies Election (of Consuls) when he might not be pricked nor propounded, (Consull) unless he entred the Citie in qua itie of a private Citizen, and \* many withstoode him labouring as he did to be dispensed-wit for the Lawes, forced he was for feare of being putt by the Consulship to foregoe (f) his triumph.

18.  
 A.V.C.697:  
 ex praetore  
 whereby it ap-  
 pears he was  
 Praetor Plebanus  
 A.V.C.697.  
 \* Cato, and his  
 followers.

OF the two Complicitours with him for the Consulship, to wit, L. LVCEIUS and M. BRIVLVS, hee made choise of LVCEIUS to be his Companion in Office; vpon this compact and condition, That since hee was a man not so gracious, but better monied than himselfe, he should of his owne purse pronounce in the name of both, & promise to deale monies among the Centuries, Which devise being known, the \* Nobles and great men who were afraide, that \* *One interest,* being once a foueraigne \* Magistrate, & hauing a colleague ready at his beck to \* *Consul,* agree & consent with him, he wou'd both dare & do any thing; perfwaded with BRIVLVS to make promise of as great a Donation as the other did: and the most part of them contributed their monies thereunto. Yea, CATO himselfe verily was not against it, but laide, *this Largeesse flows with the good of the weale*

17.

\* *Indice*, some  
read *Indice*,  
that is, as if *In-*  
*dex* were his  
surname.

19

A.V.C.69?  
\* Expositura  
whereby it ap  
peareth he wa  
Prætor Vitanus

a- \* Case, and b  
followers.

19

*publique*. Heereupon created Consul hee was with *BIBVLVS*. For the same cause, the saide Nobles and principall persons of the Citie gaue order, that the Consuls for this yeere following, should haue (b) the Prouinces and Commissions of least affaire and importance, to wit, the looking vnto Forreits & Woods, vnto Lanes and Pathes. *CÆSAR* taking this wrong and disgrace most to the heart, made court all that euer he could vnto *CN. POMPEIVS*, who had taken offence against the Senatours, for that hauing vanquished *K. MITHRIDATES*, his Acts and Decrees were no sooner ratified and confirmed. He reconciled also vnto *POMPEIVS*, *M. CRASSVS*, an olde enimie ever since that Consulship, which they bare together with exceeding much jarring and disagreement: Hee entred likewise into a Societie with them both, vpon this contract, That nothing should be done or passe in the administrat[i]on of the Common-weale, that displeased any of them three.

20  
A.V.C. 699. WHEN he was entred into this Honourable place of Consulship; hee (first of all that euer were) ordained, That all Acts, as well of Senate as People should day by day as they (a) were concluded, bee recorded also and published. Hee brought in likewise the ancient custome againe, that in what (b) moneth hee had not the Knitches of rods with Axes borne before him, a publike Officer called *ACCENSVS* should huiher him before, and the Serjeants or Licitors follow after behinde. Hauing promulged the Lawe *Agraria*, as touching the diuision of Lands among the Commons, when his fellowe Consul withstoode and resisted his proceedings, hee drave him out of the Common-place, by violence and force of Armes. The morrow after, when the saide *BIBVLVS* had made his complaint in the Senate of this outrage, and there would not one be found that durst move the house about so great a garboile and hurlyburly as that was, nor give his censure thereof (as often times in lighter tumults and stirres there had passed many Decrees) hee drave him to such a desperate feare, that untill hee went quite out of his magistracie, hee kept close within house and never prohibited any proceedings else, but by way of \*Edict. From that time forward, *CÆSAR* alone managed all the affaires of State, even as hee would himselfe: in so much as diuers Citizens pleasantly conceited, when so euer they signed, subscribed, or dated any writings to stand vpon record, would merily put it downe thus, *Such a thing was done, not when CÆSAR and BIBVLVS, but when IVLIVS and CÆSAR were Consuls*: setting downe one and the same man twice, by his name and surname: yea, and soone after, these verses were commonly current abroad,

*Non Bibulo, quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare, factum est:  
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule, nil memini.*

*CÆSAR* of late did many things, but *BIBVLVS* not one: For nought by Consul *BIBVLVS*, can I remember done.

\* At the difference of the men divided Commissioners for that purpose.  
The Stellat champion fields held consecrated & religious by our Ancestors, together with the Campanie territorie referred to yeeld rent and pay tribute for a Subsidie to the Common-weale, hee diuided without casting lots, among twentie

twentie thousand Citizens who could shew three children or more. The Publicanes making request for some easement hee relieved, by striking of a third part of their rents, and warned them openly, that in the setting and letting of the new commodities and reuenues of the Citie, they should not bid and offer too much. All other things likewise he gaue and graunted, according as euery mans mind and desire stood thereto, and no man gaue said him: but, went any about to thwart him, he was soone frighted away. *M. CATO*, when hee seemed to interrupt and stop his proceedings, hee caused to be haied violently out of the Senate house by an Officer, and committed to prison. As *L. LVCVLVS* stoutly withstood his doings, he put him into to great a feare of sundry Actions and criminalizations, that hee was glad to come and fall downe before him at his knees. When *CICERO* pleading vpon a time in Court, had lamented the wofull state of those times: the very same day, at the ninth houre thereof, hee brought his enemy his enemy to be adopted into the house and name of a Commoner; one who long before had laboured in vaine to goe from the Nobles, and be incorporate among the Commons. Last of all, it is credibly reported, that hee induced by rewards, against all these in general of the contrary faction, an appeacher, to professe that he was solicited by some for to murder *POMPEIVS*, who being produced forth by him before the body of the people, nominated as he had instructions, and as it was agreed between them afore, those that set him a worke: but when one or two of them were named to no purpose, nor without pregnant suspicion of some fraudulent practise; he despairing the good successe of so rash and inconsiderate a project, poisoned the partie whom hee had thus suborned, and made him away for telling any more tales.

ABOVT the same time, hee tooke to wife *CALPURNIA* the daughter of *L. PISO*, who was to succcede him in the Consulate; and affianced his owne daughter *IVLIA* vnto *CN. POMPEIVS*, rejecting and casting off her former spouse \**SERVILIUS CÆPIO*, by whose helpe especially a little before, hee had impugned *BIBVLVS*. After this new contracted affinitie, hee began (in Counsell) to aske (a) *POMPEIVS* opinion first; whereas before, hee was wont to begin with *CRASSVS*: notwithstanding also the custome was, that the Consul should observe that order all the yeere following, in asking the Senatours sentences, which hee began with, the first day of Ianuarie.

BEING backed therefore by the fauour and assistance of his wives \**Father* and \**Sonne* in Law, out of all that choice of Provinces hee chose especially the Gaules, the wealth and commoditie whereof might hit his hand, and minister matter sufficient of (a) triumphs. And verily at the first by vertue of the Law (b) *VATINIA* hee tooke vpon him the government of (c) *GALLIA CISALPINA* together with *ILLYRICVM*. Soone after by the means of the Senate, that also which was called (d) *COMATA*: For, the nobilitie feared, least if they had denied him it, the people would have bestowed the same also vpon him. With joy whereof he grew so haughtie and proud, that hee could not hold and temper himselfe, but after some fewe daies make his boast in a frequent Senate house, that hee had gotten now what he desired in despite of his aduersaries, and full sore against their wills: and therefore from that time forward, would (e) insult vpon all their heads: whereupon, when one by way of reproach denied that and said, That it was no easie matter for a woman to doo: he answered againe, as

it were alluding merily to another fence, That, euen in *Assyria* there some time reigned Queene *Semiramis*: and that the women named *(f)* *Amaxanes* held in times past a great part of *Asia* in subjection.

23. *A.V.C. 696.* WHEN hee had borne his Consulship, *C. Memmtvs* and *L. Domitivs* Pretours for the time being\*, put to question his *A&ts* passed the former yeere: wherevpon hee referred the examination and censure thereof unto the body of the Senate but seeing they would not undertake the thing, after three daies spent to no purpose in vaine brables and altercations, he departed into his Province. And immediatly his \*Questour *(a)* for to prejudice him, was drawne into trouble & indicted upon certaine crimes. Within a while himselfe also was brought judicially to his triall, and accused by *L. Antistivs* a Tribune of the *Commons*: but by appealing unto the Colledge of the Tribunes, hee prevailed through their favour thus much (in regard of his absence about the affaires of Common-weale) that he should not be liable to the accusation. For his better securitie therefore against future times, he travailed much to oblige and make beholden unto him the Magistrats every yeare: and of those Competitours who sued for any honourable Office, to heape or suffer none other to come unto the place, but such as covenanted with him, and undertooke to defend & maintaine \*him in his absence. For assurance of which their covenant, he stuck not to require of some an oath, yea, and a bill of their owne hands.

24. *A.V.C. 698.* BUT when *L. Domitivs* *(a)* Candidate for the Consulship threatred openly, that were he once Consul, he would effect that which he could not while he was Pretour, yea, and take from him his Armies, hee made meanes to draw *Crassvs* and *Pompeivs* unto *Luzza* a Citie within his Province: with whom hee dealt effectually, that for to give *Domitivs* the repulse, they should both sue for themselves to be Consuls the second time, and also labour that his government might be prorogued or continued for five yeares longer; and he effected both. Vpon this confidence hee presumed to assume unto those Legions which hee had received from the State, others beside, maintained partly at the Cities charges, and in part with his owne private purse. And one Legion about the rest, enrolled from out of the Countreys beyond the Alpes, hee termed by a French word, For named it was \**Alauda*. Which, being trained in military discipline, armed also and set out after the Romaine fashion, hee afterwards enfranchized throughout and made free of *Rome*. Neither from this time forward forbore he any occasion of warre, were it never so unjust or dangerous: picking quarrels as well with confederate Nations, as those that were enemies, savage and barbarous; whom he provoked to take Armes: in so much as the Senate one time decreed, to send certaine Embassadors for to survey & visite the state of the Gauls: yea, and some \*were of opinion, that he should be delivered unto the enemies hands. But by reason that his affaires sped well and had good successe, hee obtained in regard thereof solemne Supplications, both often, and to hold more daies than ever any man did (before himselfe.)

25. DURING the time of his (provinciall) government, which continued nine yeares space, these, in manner, were the *A&ts* which hee performed. All that part of *Gaule*, which from the Forrest and Mountaine *Prenaus*, the Alpes, and the hill *Gebena*, is enclosed within the Rivers *Rhene* and *Rhosne*, containing in circuit 3200. miles, not accounting the associate Cities and States who

we'll of the people of *Rome*, hee reduced into the forme of a Province, and imposed upon them a payment of tribute yearly. The Germanes inhabiting beyond the *Rhene*, he of all the Romaines first assailed by meanes of a bridge which he built over the said River, and those hee grievously plagued and gave them manie great overthrowes. He set upon the Brittaines also, a people before time unknowne, whom hee vanquished and compelled both to pay money, and also to deliver hostages. In so many prosperous batailles and fortunate exploits, hee tasted of adverite fortune thrice onely & no more: once in *Brittain*, when his Fleete had like to have beene lost and cast away in a violent tempest: a second time in *Gaule*, where a Legion of his was discomfited and put to flight, neare unto *Gergovia*: and last of all, in the marches of *Germanie*, when *T. Titurivs* and *A. Vennucleivs* his Lieutenants were forlayed by an Ambush and put to the sword.

WITHIN the compasse of which very same time, hee lost by death, first his \*Mother, then his daughter (*IVLIA*) and not long after his \*Neece by the said daughter. And in this meane while, the Common wealth being much troubled and distressed at the murder of *C. Iulivs*, \*when the Senate thought good there should be but one Consul created, namely *C. N. Pompeivs*, hee dealt with the Tribunes of the Commons (who intended that hee should be the Colleague in Office with *Pompeivs*) to propose this rather unto the People, That they would grant leave unto him in his absence, whensoever the terme of his government drew toward an end, to sue for his second Consulship: because he might not be constrained upon that occasion, and whiles the warre was yet unfinished, to depart out of his Province. Which when he had once obtained at their hands, reaching now at higher matters, and full of hopes, there was no kind of largesse, no manner of dutifull Office either in publique to the whole Citie, or privately unto any person that he omitted and left undone. His *Forum* or stately Hall he began to build with the money raised of the spoiles gotten in warres: the very plot of ground whereon it should stand, cost him \**Millessestertium* and above. He pronounced also a solemne Sword-fight and Feast unto the people, in the honour and memoriall of his Daughter, a thing that never any man did before him. And to cause an expectation of these solemnities in the highest degree, the viands & whatsoever pertained unto the feast, albeit he had agreed with Butchers and Victualers for the same at a certaine price, he provided nevertheless by his household-servants. All the notable and well knowne sword players, when and wheresoever they fought so, as upon the milke and displeasure of the beholders they were in danger to be killed in the place at their commaundement, hee took order and charged they should be had away by force and reserved for himselfe. As for new-Fencers and young beginners, hee trained them neither in any publique Schoole, nor under professed *Mstrs* of that Facultie, but at home in private houses, by Gentlemen of *Rome*, yea, and Senators also, such as were skilful in their weapon and in feates of Armes. Praying and beseeching them earnestly (as appeareth in his Epistles unto them) to take the charge of every one severally, and to have a speciall care to instruct each one, and give them rules in their exercises. The legionarie Souldiours pay in money he doubled for ever. And so often as there was plenty of corne, hee gave them their allowance of it without stint and measure and other while he bestowed upon every one a slave or bond-servant, yea and possessions by the poll.

MORE.

\*For that hee was extraordinaryly absent, longer than the Law *Sempronius* did permit.

\*The bird *Gallus* or *Cassio*, so called of a crest upon the head. This Legion it should seeme were Pumes of feathers in their crests of Helmeets, whereupon it took that name.

\*Namely *Cato*, *Plutarch*.

25. *A.V.C. 700.* \**Aurelia* a Dame of singular chastitie \**Aspernensis* her name, that is, Nephew.

\*That is, a hundred milles of Sesterces, and 200, as *Pompeius* writeth, lib. 36. Cap. 15. \**Gartanus* ready truly, *Millessestertium* is, *Dum. Martius*.

27. \*So, hee was  
great Vnkle  
unto her, like as  
he was to *Octavius A. Cæsar*,  
the Emperour.

MOREOVER, to retaine still the bond of acquaintance, affinitie, and good will of POMPEIUS, OCTAVIA his sisters \*Neece wedded unto C. MARCELLVS, hee affianced and made sure unto him: but withall, he craved his daughter to wife, promised in marriage before unto FAUSTUS SULLA. Having thus obliged and brought to his devotion all those about him, yea, & the greater number of Senators, by crediting out his money unto them, either gratis, or vpon a slight consideration: those also of other sorts & degrees, either invited kindly by himselfe, or resorting unto him of their owne accord, hee gratified with a most magnificent and bounteous (a) congiarie. The freed men besides, yea, and the Servants and Pages belonging to every one, according as any of them were in favour with their \* Lord and Maister, tasted of his liberality. Moreover, there was not a man sued in Court judicially and in danger of the Law; there was not any deeply engaged and indebted unto their Creditours; there were no prodigall young spend-thrifts, but he was their onely supporter, and most readie at all assaies to helpe them: unlesse they were those that either had committed such grievous crimes, or were so low brought, or had been so excessive in riot, as that they could not possibly be relieved by him. For such as these, hee would say in plaine termes and openly, *there was no other remedie but civil warre.*

\*Or Patron;

28

No lesse carefull and studious was he to allure unto him the hearts of Kings, yea, and whole Provinces throughout the world: unto some, offering in free gift the deliverie of Captives and prisoners by thousands at a time: unto others, sending aide secretly and under hand without authoritie or commission of Senate and people, whether and as often as they would: and more than this, adorning with goodly building and excellent peeces of work the mightiest Cities of *Italie, Gaule, Spaine*, yea, and of *Asia* and *Greece*. This he did so long, untill all men now were assioned thereat: and when they cast with themselves whereto this might tend, at last M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS the Consul, after a preface and preamble made to his Edict, namely, That he would speake as touching the maine point of the Common-weale, proposed unto the Senate, That for as much as the warre was now ended, and peace abroad established, there might be one sent to succcede him, before his time was fully expired; also, That the victorious Armie ought of right to bee dismissed and have their discharge from warfare: Item, that in the High Court and assembly for the Consuls election his name should not bee propounded, considering POMPEIUS afterward had annuled \* that Act of the people (by vertue whereof it was granted that he might be chosen Consul in his absence.) Now it had fallen out so, that hee making a Law as touching the right of Magistrates, in that Chapter and branch thereof, wherein he disabled those who were absent for being capable of honours and dignities, forgot to except CÆSAR: and soone after, when the said Law was once engrossed and engraven in brasse, & so laid up in the Treasure, corrected his error and oversight. Neither was MARCELLVS content to deprive CÆSAR of his Provinces, and to put him by the priviledge of a former Act passed in especial favour of him, but he made a motion moreover, that those inhabitants, whom by the Law *Patina* CÆSAR had planted in the Colonie of *Novocomum*, should leese the freedom which they had, as Citizens of *Rome*: For that this prerogative of theirs had been granted by ambitious meanes, and beyond that prescript number which was appointed and warranted by the Decree in that behaife.

CÆSAR

29

CÆSAR highly displeased and troubled at these proceedings, and judging it, (as he was heard by report many times to give out) an harder matter for him a principall man of the Citie, to be deposed and thrust downe from the highest and first place of degree into the second, than from the second into the lowest and last of all) withstood him with all his might and power, partly by the opposition and negative voice of the Tribunes, and in part by SERVILIUS SULPICIUS the other Consul. Also in the yeare following when C. MARCELLVS who succeeded his cousin GERMAIN by the fathers side MARCUS, in the consulship, assaied to bring the same about, he bribed & made sure unto him, with a mightie summe of money, AEMILIUS PAULUS, companion with him in office, and C. CURIO a most violent Tribune, to stick unto him, & defend his honor. But seeing all things carried still against him more obstinately than before, & the new Consuls elect take the contrarie side & bent another way, he wrote unto the Senate, and by his letters humbly besought them, not to suffer the benefit granted unto him by the people to be taken from him: or if they did yet to give order that other Generals likewise as well as hee, might leave their Armies: presuming confidently, as men thinke, vpon this, himselfe should be able whosoever he pleased to assemble together his souldiers more easily the POMPEIUS to leav new. But with his aduersaries he would have treated by way of Capitulation in these termes, that after he had discharged and sent away 8. Legions, and given over the province of *Gaul* beyond the Alpes, he might be allowed 2. legions with the province on this side the Alpes: or if not so, yet at least wife one, together with ILLYRICUM, vntill such time as he were created cõsul.

But perceiving that the Senate came not betwene nor interposed their authoritie to stop the course intended against him, & his aduersaries denied flatly to admit all manner of capitulating & composition concerning the commonwealth, he passed into the hither part of *Gaul*, & having kept the Assizes there and executed his provincial jurisdiction stayed at *Raurum*, with full resolution to be reuenged by open warre, in case there had passed from the Senat, any sharp and cruell decree, touching the Tribunes of the Commons opposing themselves in his behaife, & quarrell: And verily this was the colour and occasion which he pretended of civil warre: yet men thinke there were some other causes & motives thereto. Cn. POMPEIUS was wont to give out that for as much as CÆSAR was notable of himselfe and with his owne priuate wealth, either to consummate and finish those stately workes & edifices which he had begun, or to satisfie the expectation of the people which he had raised & wrought of his comming, therefore he intended to trouble the state and set all on a garboyle. Others say, that he feared least he should be compelled to give an account of those things which in his first Consulship he had done against the sacred Auspices, the lawes, and prohibitions of the Tribunes (in the name of the people) considering that M. CATO had threatened and professed estoornes, & not without an oath, that no sooner should he and his armie be parted, but he would judicially call his name in question & bring him to his answer: Also for that it was commonly spoken abroad that if he returned ones in qualitie of a priuate person, he should after the example of M. CATO plead before the iudges, with a guard of armed men about the Court and Tribunal. And this seemeth to be more probable by that which A. SEXTUS POLLIO writeth, who reporteth, that in the battaile of Pharsalia, when he beheld his aduersaries before his face, flaine

C

and

and put to flight, he vttered this speech word for word. *Loe, this was their own doing: this would they needes haue. And I CATVS CRASAR after so many worthie exploits as he had should haue bene a condemned man had I not creawd helpe of mine army.* Some are of opinion, that being so long inured & acquainted with foueraigne command, & weighing his owne puillance & the power of his enemies in ballace one against the other, took the occasion & opportunitie to usurpe that absolute dominion, which in the verie prime of his years he aspired vnto; and of this mind, it seemeth CICERO was, who in his 3. booke of duties writeth, that CÆSAR had alwaies in his mouth, these verses of EURIPIDES

*Quis coram deo, subacti iuribus regibus*

Which CICERO himselfe translated thus.

*Nemo si violandum est ius, imperij gratia*  
*Violandum est, alij rebus pietatem colas.*  
For if thou must do wrong by breach,  
Oflawes, of right and equitie,  
Tis best thereby a Crowne to reach,  
In all things els keepe piene.

When word therefore was brought unto him, that the Tribunes inhibited on & negatiue voice was put down, and themselves departed out of the Citie: hauing immediatly sent before certaine Cohorts priuily, because no suspition might arise, he dissimuled the matter, & was present in person to behold a publicke Game, viewed, and considered the plot forme according to which he was about to build a Schoole of swordfencers, and according to his usuall manner gaue himselfe to feast & banquet often. After this presently vpon the Sun-fetting, he took vp certaine *Mules* from the next Bakersmil-house, set the in their geires to his wagon, and as closely as possibly he could with a small retinewe and companie about him put himselfe in his Iournie; and when by reason that the lights were gone out, he had lost his way, after he had wandred a long time, at the length meeting with a guide by that time it was day, he passed on foote through most narrow crosse lanes and by-pathes untill he recovered the right way againe. Now when he had ones ouertaken his Cohorts, at the riuer *Rabicon*, which was the utmost bound of his province, he rested & stooode still a little while: the casting in his mind, how great an enterprise he went in hand with, he turned vnto them that were next unto him and said. As yet my maisters wee may well returne backe; but passe we once ouer this little bridge, there will be no dealing but by force of armes and dint of sword.

As he thus staied, and stood doubtfull what to doe, a strang fight he chanced to see in this manner. All of a suddaine they appeared vnto him a certaine man of an extraordinary stature & shape withall, sitting hard by, & piping with a reed. Now when besides the shepheards & herdmen many foldiours also from their standing warres ran for to heare him, & among them the Trumpeters likewise, he caught from on of the a Trumpet, leapt forth to the riuer, & beginning with a mightie blast to found the battaile, kept on his pace to the very bankes, on the other side. Then CÆSAR, Let vs march on quoth he & goe whither the tokens of the Gods & the iniurious dealings of our enemies call vs. The dice be throwne: I haue set vp my rest. Come what will of it.

And thus hauing conueyed his armie ouer the riuer, he ioyned with the Tribunes of the commons, who vpo their expulsion out of the Citie were come vnto him, & in a full & frequent asseblee, with shedding teares & reting his garmēt down the breast, besought the faithfull helpe & assistance of his foldiers. It is supposed also that he promised vnto every one of the a knights liuing, which happened vpo a vain & false perfwasio, for whē in his speech & exhortatio vnto the, he shewed euer & anon the (ring-)finger of his left hand, & therewith aouched & promised for the satisfactiō & contentmēt of al those by whose meanes he should maintaine his honour & dignitie, that he would willingly (p)plucke the ring from off his owne finger: those that stood him most in the assembly,

bly, who might better see than heare him speak, took that for spoken which they imagined by bare sight, & so the speech went for currant, That hee promised them the dignity of wearing the ring (of gold) together with 400000 (sesterces.)

THE order, proceeding a final complement of those Acts, which from thence forth hee atchieued, summarily goeth in this manner. He seized into his hands and held PICENUM, VMBRIA, & HETRURIA. L. DOMITIIVS, who in a factious tumult was nominated to be his succesor, & kept CORFINIVM with a garison, he subdued & forced to yeeld: and when hee had dismissed him, hee marched along the coast of the *Adriatick* sea, to *Brundis*, whether the Consuls & POMPEIVS were fled, intending with all speed to crosse the narrow Seas: whose passage after hee had assaied by all manner of lets to hinder & stop (but in vaine) he turned his journey and took the way directly to *Rome*. And when hee had curteously moved the Senatours to give him meeting in the Senate house, there to treat & consult as touching the State of the Common-weale, he set vpon the most puissant forces of POMPEIVS, which were in *Spain* under the conduct of three Lieutenants, M. PETREIVS L. AFRANIVS & M. VARRO: having given out before among his friends and openly professed, that he was going to an Armie without a (a) Captaine; and would returne from thence to a (b) Captaine without an Armie. And albeit the besieging of *Misilla*, which Citie in his journey forward, had shut the gates against him, & exceeding scarcity of corn & victuals was some impeachment & stay unto him, yet within a short time hee overcame & subdued all.

FROM hence having returned to the City (of *Rome*) againe, & passed ouer into *Macedonie*, after hee had held POMPEIVS besieged for the space wel-neare of 4. moneths, & that within most mighty trenches & strong rampiers, hee discomfited at the last in the *Pharsalian* battel & put him to flight; and following him hotly in chase as he fled to *Alexandria*, so loone as hee understood that he was slaine, and perceived likewise that King PTOLOMEVS laid wait for his owne person also, hee warred vpon him which, to say a truth, was a most difficult & dangerous peece of worke, by reason that he managed it, neither in place indifferent, nor time convenient, but in the very Winter season, & within the walls of a most wealthy & poltick enemy, being himselfe in distresse & want of all things, and unprovided besides to fight. Having atchieued the victory, hee graunted the king, A.V.C. 707. dome of *Ægypt* vnto CLEOPATRA & her younger brother, fearing to reduce it into the forme of a Province, least at any time, being governed under some L. President of a more stirring spirit & violent nature than others, it might give occasion & yeeld matter of rebellion. From *Alexandria* hee went ouer into *Syria*, & so from thence into *Pontus*, vpon the urgent newes as touching PHARNACES; Whom, notwithstanding hee was the sonne of that great MITHRIDATES, & taking the opportunitie of the troubles & ciuill warre among the Romanes, made warre, yea, and now bare himselfe presumptuous and overbold for his manifold victories & great successe, yet within 5. dayes after his arrivall thither, & 4. houres after hee came into sight of the enemy, hee vanquished and subdued in one onely battaile: eft-soones & oftentimes recounting the felicity of POMPEIVS, whose hap it was, to win his principall name for warfare, of so cowardly a kinde of enemies. After this hee defeated SEPTIMO and IVBA, repairing the reliques of that side in *Africk*, and the children of POMPEIVS in *Spain*.

IN all the ciuill warres, hee sustained no losse or overthrow but by his owne Lieutenants: of whom, C. CERVIO was slaine in *Africk*: C. ANTONIVS yeelded

ded himselfe into the hands of his enemies in *Illyricum*: P. DOLABELLA in the same *Illyricum* lost his fleet, and C. DOMITIUS his armie in *Pontus*. Himselfe fought his battailes alwaies most fortunatly, and never was so much as in any hazard, save only twice: once before *Dyrrachium*, where being discomfited and put to flight, when he saw that POMPEIUS followed not on in chase, he said of him, *That hee knew not how to use a victorie*. A second time, in *Spain*, at the last battaile that ever he fought, what time, being in great despaire, hee was of mind even to have killed himselfe.

HAVING finished all his warres, he rode in 5. triumphs: to wit, when he had vanquished SCIPPIO, 4. times in one and the same moneth, but certaine daies betwene: and once againe, after hee had overcome the children of POMPEIUS. The first and most excellent triumph that hee solemnized, was that over *Gaul*: then followed the *Alexandrine*; after it the *Pontick*; next thereunto the *African*; and last of all the *Spanish*: every one set out diversly, with variety of Ordinance, provision and furniture. On the day of his *Gauls* triumph, as he rode along the \* *Velabrum*, he had like to have beene shaken out of his Chariot, by reason that the Axel-tree brake. Hee mounted up into the Capitoll by torch-light, having xl. Elephants on his right hand & left, bearing (a) branches and candlesticks. In his *Pontick* triumph, among the Pageants and shewes of that pomp, he caused to be caried before him the title & superscription of these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*. I came, I saw, I conquered: signifying, not the acts achieved by warre, as other Conquerours, but noting his expedition in despatching the warre.

THROUGHOUT the Legions of old Souldiers, he gave in the name of pillage, unto every footman (over and above the (a) 2000. *sestertij*, which he had paid at the beginning of the civill tumult) (b) \* 4000. *sestertij*: and to the horse-men (c) \* 24000. a peece. He assigned lands also unto the, but not lying all together, because none of the owners should be thrust out (of their livings.) Among the people (of *Rome*) beside x. *modij* of come, & as many pints of oyle, he distributed & dealt 300 *Sesterces* also by the poll, which hee had in times past promised, with an over-deale of 100. a peece to boote, \* for time. Hee remitted moreover one yeeres houle rent, unto all tenants in *Rome*, if it amounted to 2000. *Sestertij* and not above: but to those in *Italie*, if the said rent exceeded not 500. Furthermore, hee made them a generall great feast, & distributed a dole of raw fesh: yea, and after his victorie in *Spain* he gave them 2. dinners: For, deeming the former of them to have beene made negligardly and not becomming his liberality, he bestowed upon them 5. daies after, another, and in most large and plenteous manner.

39 He exhibited shewes of sundry sorts (as namely) a sword-fight of Fencers at sharpe: hee set forth Stage Plaies likewise in severall quarters and (a) Regions of the Citie throughout, and those verily acted by \* Plaiers in all languages: Semblably, the solemne games (b) *Circenses*, hee shewed: and brought forth Champions also to performe their devoir, and represented a naval-fight. At the same solemnity of sword-plaies, there fought to the utterance in the Market place of *Rome*, FVRIVS LAPTIVS, descended from the race of Pretours, and A. CALPENVIS, one who had beene sometime a Senator, and a pleader of causes at the barre. There daunced the (c) *Fyrrelick* warlike daunce, the children of the Princes and Potentates of *Asia* and *Bithynia*. During the Stage plaies aforesaid (d) D. LABRIVS a Gentleman of *Rome* acted his owne Poem or Enterlude: For which, being rewarded with 500. thousand *Sesterces*, and a ring

37  
A.V.C. 708.  
709.

\* A Streete in  
Rome.

\* *Sicut caeteri.*

38

\* Or rather  
\* *sest.*, that is,  
30000.

\* Rather *quadrages*, that is  
40000.

\* By which  
reckoning the  
proportion to  
horsemen was  
double.

\* That is, for  
bearing so  
long.

\* *Placationis*:  
which as some  
thinke *Perfur*,  
callth *agress*:  
and is ex-  
pounded

\* *Quaeritur* where-  
upon the Gen-  
erall of such mer-  
ciments, is na-  
med *Quaeritur*.

A.V.C. 708.  
\* To gratifie  
all strangers  
that conflowed  
to Rome.

of gold, he passed directly fro the Stage by the (c) *Orchestra*, to take up his place among the Knights in the 14. foremost seates. At the Games *Circenses*, against which the Cirque was enlarged on both sides and moved round about, there drave the Seedes drawing Chariots foure and two together, yea and mounted the vaunting Horses from one to another, the greatest gallants & bravest young Gentlemen of the Nobilitie. The (f) warlike Trojan Game was performed by a two-fold troupe of greater boyes and lesse. The hunting or baiting of wilde beafts was presented five daies together. And the last day of all, there was a fight betwene two battailes of 500. footmen, 20. Elephants, and 30. horsemen on a side, put to skirmish one against the other. For, to the end that they might have more scope to bicker together, the (g) goales were taken up and removed: but in steed of them were pitched two \* *Campes* confronting one another. As for the (h) Champions above-said, they having a place for to exercise their fears of Activitie set out and built for the present time, strove for the prize or best Game three daies together in the Region of *Mars* field. To set out the *Naumachie* or naval battaile, there was a place digged for a great poole, in the kisse (i) *Cæstus*: wherein certaine gallies as well with two ranks of Oares as with three; the ships of *Tyros* also & of *Egypt* encountered, being manned with a great number of fighting men. To behold these fights and shewes, such a number of people resorted from all parts, as most of the strangers either within the stretes of the Citie or in the high waies without, were faine to abide within booths pitched of purpose: yea, and often-times very many were in the pressie crowded and crushed to death; among whom were two Senators.

TYRNINGO after this to set the State of the Common-weale in good order, he reformed the Kalender, which long since through the Prelates default, by their liberty of interlacing (moneths and daies) at their pleasure, was so confused, that neither the feastivall holidaies of harvest fell out in Sommer, nor those of the vintage in Autumne. And he framed the whole yeare just unto the course of the Sunne, that it should containe 365. daies; and by abolishing the leape moneth, one (a) day every fourth yeare might be infered betwene.

Now to the end that the computation of the times to come, might from the \* new Kalends of Ianuarie agree the better, betwene November and Decem- ber, he put two other moneths. So as, that yeare wherein all this was ordained, had 15. moneths, reckoning the ordinarie interlaced moneth, which by coure and custome fell just upon the said yeare.

He made up the full (a) number of the Senators, and chose unto that place \* new (b) *Patrij*. The number of Pretours, *Ediles*, *Questors*, and of other (c) \* inferior Magistrates hee augmented. Such as were displaced and put downe by vertue of the Censors Office, or otherwise by sentence of the Iudges condemned for unlawfull briberie, and suing indirectly for any Office, hee restored to their former roomes. In the election of Magistrates he parted with the people thus farre forth; as (excepting the Competitors of the Consulship) for all the number besides of Candidates, the one halfe should be declared those whom the People were disposed to propound, the other halfe, such as himselfe would nominate. Which nomination passed by certaine bills sent about unto the Tribes, in a briebe kind of Writ after this manner: CÆSAR DICTATOR unto this or that Tribe (greeting) I commend unto you, such an one

40

\* *Calendæ* in  
the Law  
book.

41  
\* According  
to the Law  
book.

C

and

\* Contrary to the Law *cornelia*.

\* Disabled for the being Judges.

\* As who best know the number of their tenants and inhabitants in their houses.

42

\* Either by the Tribunes of the Comons, or the debtors themselves.

\* In the free State before the Emperors Citizens of Rome might depart before sentence pronounced, & so avoid with condemnation and loss of goods.

43

\* Or scarlet in garb.

44

and such an one, that by vertue of your voices and suffrages they may have and hold the dignitie they sue for. He admitted unto honorable places the children \* of those who had been proscrip and outlawed. He reduced all Judgements unto two sorts of Judges, namely of the Knights degree and the Senators: As for the Tribunes of the Treasure or chamber of the Citie, which had been the third, he utterly abolished. The generall survey and numbering of the people he held, neither after the accustomed manner, nor in the usuall place, but freete by freete, and that by the Land-lords & owners of manors and tenements standing together: and whereas 302000 Citizens received allowance of corne from the State, he brought and reduced them to the number of one hundred & fiftie thousand. And to the end that no new conventicles & riots at any time might arise about this review, he ordained, That every yeare, in the place of those that were deceased, the Pretour should make a new supply and choise by casting lots, out of such as had not bene reckoned and enrolled in the former survey.

MOREOVER, when as to the number of 80000. (Romaine) Citizens were bestowed in sundry Colonies beyond the Sea; hee made a Law for the more frequent inhabiting of the Citie (of Rome) thus exhausted and dispeopled; That no Citizen above 20. yeares of age, and under 40. (unless he were a sworne souldiour to the State, and so bound by his oath) should remaine out of *Italia* above 3. yeares together: Item, That no Senators sonne, except hee lodged within the house or Pavilion, or belonged to the familiar hall of a chiefe Magistrate, should traivell forth of *Italia*. Item, That no Grassiers should keep and retaine fewer than a third part free borne young men, among the keepers of their cattell. All professors of physick at Rome, and teachers of the liberrall Arts, he enfranchized Citizens: that both they themselves might more willingly dwell in the Citie, & others beside desire there to inhabit. As touching money lent out; when he had quite put down the expectation of (b) cancelling debts, (a thing that was often moved) hee decreed at length; That all debtors should satisfie their Creditours in this manner: Namely by an estimate made of their possessions, according to the worth and value as they purchased them before the civill warre, deducting out of the principall whatsoever had bene paid or set downe in the Obligations for the use: by which condition, the third part well-near of the money credited forth, was lost. All the Societies and Colledges, saving those that were of ancient foundation, he dissolved. The penalties of hainous crimes he augmented: And whereas the rich & wealthier sort fell to wickedness so much the sooner, because they went into banishment, and saved their whole patrimonies and estates: (i) parricides therefore and wilfull murderers (as Cicerō writeth) hee deprived of all their goods; other manslayers besides he fined with the losse of one halfe.

He ministered Justice and decided matters in Law, most painfully and with passing great severitie. Such as were attaint and convict of (a) extortion, hee removed even from their Senatours place and degree. He brake the marriage of a man that had bene Pretour, marrying a wife presently after two daies that he was divorced and went from a former husband, albeit there was no suspicion at all of adulterie and naughtinesse. Hee ordained customes and imposts of forraigne merchandize. The use of Licters, likewise the wearing of purple \* clothes and of pearle hee took away, saving only in certaine perions and ages, and upon speciall daies. The Law *Sumpuaria*, (b) to repress excessive cost in fare, he executed most of any other: And for this purpose, he set certaine Watchmen and Wardens in sundry places about the shambles and markets where victuals were sold, to lay hold upon all eates and viands contrarie to the prescript rule of the Law in that behalfe, and to bring the same unto him. Otherwhiles also, he sent secretly his owne Officers & souldiours, to fetch away such meates out of the very dining Parlors and banquetting roomes, even when they were set upon the bord, if happily they had any way escaped the hands of the foresaid wardens.

FOR, as concerning his purpose to adorne and beautifie the Citie of Rome with gallant works, as also to maintaine & amplify the Empire, hee had more matters in his head and greater every day than other. Principally his intent and meaning was, to build so stately a temple in the honour of *Mars*, as the like was no where to be scene; having filled up and laid level that huge pit, wherein he had exhibited the shew of a Naval battell: & also to erect

an exceeding great Theater, fast adjoining to the Mount *Tarpemus*. It, to reduce the whole corps of the civill Law to a certaine meane and mediocrity: and out of that huge and diffused number of Lawes, to choose out the best and necessary points, and those to bring into as few volumes as possibly might be. Item, to erect publicly the greatest Libraries that he could, as well of Greeke as Latine Authors: committing unto (a) M. VARRO the charge, both to provide the said books, and also to digest & place them in order. Item to lay the Meeres & Fennie Plashes POMPTINÆ drie: to draw & let forth the lake *Fucinus*: to make a cawse or high-way from the Adriatick Sea by the ridge or side of the Appennine hill, as farre as to the river *Tibris*, & to digge through the (b) *flumen*. Moreover, to bridle the Dakes who had invaded *Pontus* and *Thracia*: and soone after, to make warre upon the Parthians by the way of *Armenia* the lesse: but not to give them battell before he had made (c) triall of them. Amid these purposes and designs, death prevented him. Concerning which, before I enter into speech, it shall not be impertinent to deliver summarily those points which concerne the shape, feature, and proportion of his body: his habite & apparell: his fashions and behaviour: and withall, what may touch both his civil and also his martiall affaires.

Of stature he is reported to have bene tall; of complexion white & cleare; with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eyes black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and fwoone sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midst of his martiall affaires, hee was surprized with the falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was over-curious: so as he would not only be notted & shaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some cast it in his teeth, and twined him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of back-biters and slanderers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore hee both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, hee neither received nor used any more willingly, than the priviledge to weare continually the triumphant Lawrell guirland. Men say also, that in his apparel he was noted \* for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senatours purple studded robe, trimmed with a jagge or fringe at the sleeve hand: and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: whereupon, arose (for certaine) that saying of SULLA, who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, To beware of the boy that went girded so dissolutely.

He dwelt at first in the \* *Subura*; but after he was high priest, in the streete *Sacra*, in an edifice of the Cities. Many have written, that he was exceedingly addicted to neatnesse in his house, and sumptuous fare at his Table. The Mannor house which he founded out of the very ground, & with great charges finished in the territorie *Aemernensis*, because it was not wholly answerable to his minde, he demolished and pulled quite downe: although as yet he was but of meane estate and deeply endebted. Finally, this speech goeth of him, that in his expeditions hee carried about with him \* pavements of checker worke made of quarels square cut, so as they might be taken asunder, and set againe together.

He made a voyage (as they say) into *Briaine*, in hope of pearles: and

45

\* Interspersed, that is, from acorn, pine, etc., Plaster, etc. While he was setting his Armie in battall.

\* Or fantastical.

\* His attire different from others, or of a new fashion which the Greeks call *strepes*.

46

\* A Secrete in Rome much frequented.

47

\* The paving tiles of marble &c, whereof such floors are made.



otherwhiles, in comparing their bignesse, would with his owne hand peise them to finde their weight. For to get and buy up pretious stones, engraved and chafed peeces, Images, and painted Tables of anique worke, he was ever most eager and sharp set. Slaves likewise, if they were any thing fresh and new come, nimly let out with all, and fine, he procured at an exceeding price, such as himselfe also was ashamed of: so as he forbad expressly the same should be brought in any of his reckonings and accompts.

It is reported of him, that in all the Provinces which he governed, hee seated continually, and furnished two Halls or dining chambers ordinarily; the one, wherein either \* Gaules in their warlike habite, or Greeks in their cloakes the other, in which the gown'd Romaines, together with the more noble and honourable personages of the Provinces sat. The domestick Discipline of his house hee kept so dully, so precisely, and with such severity, in small matters as well as greater; that hee bound with fetters and yrons his Baker for serving up secretly unto his guests other bread than to himselfe: And a freed man of his owne (whom otherwife hee did set very great store by) he put to death, for dishonouring by adulterie a Romaine Gentlemans wife, albeit no man made complaint thereof.

His good name for continencie and cleane life, nothing verily blemished, save onely the aboade and inward familiaritie with NICO MEDES: but a foule stain that was, which followed him with shame for ever; yea, and ministred taunting and reproachfull matter unto every man. I omit the notorious verses of CALVUS LICINIUS.

*Bithynia quisquid,*

*Et \* pädicator Caesaris, nunquam habuit,*

Looke what it was that Bithyne Land had ever more or lesse;

And he that CÆSAR did abuse, in filthie wantonnesse.

I let passe the invectives and accusatorie actions of DO LABELLA and CVRIO the Father: In which, DO LABELLA for his part, termeth him the *Kings Concubine in the Queens place*, and the inner room of his Lister; and CVRIO nameth him NICO MEDES his \* *fifth and harlot*, yea and the *Bithynian Brothel house*. I overpasse likewise those Edicts of B ERLVS, wherein hee published his colleague, and made him knowne, by the name of the *Bithynian Queene*: saying moreover, *That before hee had loved the King, and now cast a jansie to the Kingdom At which verie time*, as M. B RVTVS makes report, there was one OCTAVIVS also, a man upon distemperature of his braine given to jest and scoffe over broadly, who in a most frequent assembly, after hee had called POMPEIVS, King, saluted him by the name of Queene: C. MEMMIVS likewise layd in his dith, that hee flood with the rest of the Rale Caramites as Cup-bearer, to serve NICO MEDES with wine at a full feast, where fate at the Table divers Merchants and Occupiers, Citizens of Rome, whose names hee putteth downe. But CICERO not contented herewith, that in certaine Epistles hee had written, how by the Guard or Pensioners of the said King being \* conveyed into his bed-chamber, hee layd downe upon a bed of gold, arrayed in purple: and so the flower of youth and maidenhead of him, who was defended from (a) *Venus*, became defiled and defest in Bithynia. One time also, as CÆSAR in the Senate house pleaded to the cause and in the behalfe of NYSA, NICO MEDES his daughter, and therewith rehear-

fed

fed up the gracious favours that the King had done unto him, *Let be* (quoth he) *these matters I pray you, and away with them, since it is well knowne, both what hee bestowed upon you, and also what you gave to him.* Finally, in the Triumph over Gaule, his Souldiers among other Sonnets (such as they use to chaunt merrily when they followe the triumphant) Chariot pronounced also these verses so commonly divulged.

*Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Casarem,*

*Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias:*

*Nicomedes non triumphat, qui (b) subegit Casarem.*

CÆSAR did subdue the Gaules, and him hath NICO MEDES.

Behold, now CÆSAR doth triumph, who did the Gaules subdue:

But NICO MEDES triumpheth not who CÆSAR hath subdu'd.

An opinion there is constantly received; That he was given to carnall pleasures, and that way spent much: also, that hee dishonoured many Dames, and those of noble houles: by name among others, POSTUMIA the wife of S E RVIVS SYLPTIVS; LOLLIA, wife to A. GABINIVS; TERTVLLA, M. C RASSVS his wife, and MYRTIA the wife of C N. POMPEIVS. For, certaine it is, that not onely the *Curiones*, both Father and Sonne, but many others also reproached POMPEIVS; *That for whose cause, hee had put away his owne wife after shee had borne him three children. and whom hee was wont with a deepe sigh and groane to call \* ÆGISTHVS; his daughter* (I say) afterwards, hee espoused; upon a desire of power and greatness by that marriage. But above the rest, hee cast affection to S E RVILLIA the mother of M. B RVTVS; for whom both in his \* last Consulship hee had bought a pearle that cost him \* fixe millions of Sesterces: and also unto whom during the civill warre, over and above other free gifts, hee sold in open port sale, faire Lands and most goodly Manors at a very low price: what time verily, when most men marvelled that they went so cheape, CICERO most pleasantly and conceitedly, *That yee may know* (quoth hee) *seee hath the better penny-worth in the purchase,* (a) *Tertia deducta est.* For it was thought that S E RVILLIA was bawd also to her owne daughter TERTIA, and brought her to CÆSAR his bed.

N E I T H E R forbare he so much as mens wives in the Provinces where he was governor, as appeareth even by this his *Disfichen*, taken up likewise by his Souldiers at the Gaule Triumph. (a)

*Urbanis, servate uxores; moechum calvum ad ducimus,*

*Auro in Gallia supuram emisti, hic summissi murum.*

HE was enamoured also upon Queenes, and among them hee loved EVNOE, the Moore, wife of B O G UDES (King of Mauritania) upon who, as also upon her husband, he bestowed very many gifts and of infinite value, as N A S O hath left in writing: but most especially hee fancied CLEOPATRA: For, with her, hee both sate up many times and feasted all night long even untill the breake of day; and also in the same Barge or Galley called *Thalamegos*, had passed into Ægypt, almost as farre as to *Æthiopia*, but that his Armie refused to followe: and in the end having trained her into the Citie of Rome, hee sent her back againe, not without exceeding great honours, and enriched with many rewards: yea, and suffered her to call the sonne she bare, after his owne \* name. Whom verily, some Greek writers have recorded, to have been very like unto CÆSAR both in shape and

and

\* Thus Turnebus expoundeth it: But it may be meant of the meane sort of this Caesar, pre-ore, who were Sages in or pul-are: to put a difference between them & the persons of better quality, who were Figures.

\* That is, K. Nicomedes.

\* Sidelium.

\* Defectum, or Evonum, that is, brow, front of his owne bed chamber unto the Kings.

50

\* That is, A. Julerius: For that Ægyptus committed a duty with Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon. \* Practically, I say, frame, that is, first, with a Bible. \* 468 77. pound sterling, or 150000. French crowns, according to Bodley.

51

52

\* Of which the Egyptians Kings had all waite ready ffiged 800 as Appianeth.

\* That is, Ptolemæus Casar.



\* *There is in his  
gang or man-  
ner of going.*

and also in \* gate: And M. ANTONIVS avouched unto the Senate, that by the  
same resemblance he knew him to be his sonne: averring withall, That C. MA-  
TIVS, CAIVS OPPIVS & the rest of CÆSARS friends knew as much. Of who,  
C. OPPIVS (as if the thing were so pregnant, that it required some Apologie  
& defence) put forth a booke entituled thus: TAAT HE WAS NOT CÆSARS  
SONNE, WHOM CLEOPATRA FATHERED Vpon HIM. HELVIVS CIN-  
NA, a Tribune of the Com. confessed unto many persons, That hee had a Law  
drawne out in writing & in readines, which CÆSAR being absent himselfe co-  
maunded him to propose, to this effect, *That it might be lawfull for him to marrie \*  
what wives and as \* many as he would for to get children upon.* And that no man need  
at all to doubt how infamous he was, both for (b) uncleannesse of body against  
kinde, and also for adulteries, CVRIO the Father in a certaine Oration calleth  
him a *woman for all men, and a man for all women.*

53.

THAT he was a most sparie drinker of wine, his very enemies would never de-  
nie. Whereupon arose this Apophthegm of M. CATO, *That of all that  
ever were, CÆSAR alone came sober to the overthrow of the State.* For, about his  
foode and diet C. OPPIVS sheweth hee was so indifferent & without curiosity,  
that when upon a time his Host set before him upon the bord olde ranke oile in  
steed of greene, sweet, & fresh, so that other guests refused it, he onely, by his say-  
ing: *fill to it & eate therof the more liberally;* because he would not be thought  
to blame his \* Host either for negligence or rusticitie.

FROM other mens goods he held not his hands, neither when he had the co-  
mand of Armies abroad, nor when he was in place of magistracie at home: For,  
in *Spaine* (as some have recorded) he took money of the \* Proconful, & the Allies  
there, and that by way of begging, to help him out of debt: and certaine townes  
of the \* *Lusitanes*, he sacked in hostile manner, albeit they denied not to do what-  
soever he commanded them; and besides, did set open their gates for him against  
his comming. In *Gaulle* he robbed & spoiled the Chappels & \* Temples of the  
Gods, full of rich gifts & oblations. As for Cities, he put them to the sack, more  
often for bootie sake and pillage, than for any trespass committed. Whereupon  
it came to passe, that he got abundance of gold, so as of it which he had to spare  
and did set to sale, \* he sold throughout *Italy* and in the Provinces after (a) 3000  
sesterces of silver the pound weight. In his first Consulship, when he had stolen  
out of the Capitoll three thousand pound waight of gold hee bestowed in the  
place thereof as much brasse guilt. The priviledges of Societie and alliance with  
the Romanes, as also Kings Titles he gave for summes of money: as who (for ex-  
ample) from \* PTOLOMEVS that was but one, tooke away wel-neere 6000  
talents, in the name of himselfe & POMPEIVS: But afterwards by most open  
pillling, poling, and sacriledges, he maintained the charges both of civill warres,  
and also of his triumphes and \* solemne shewes exhibited to the people.

IN eloquence and warlike feates together, he either equalled or excelled the  
glory of the very best. After his accusation of DOLOBELLA, he was no doubt  
ranged in the ranke of the principall Advocates at Law. Certes, CICERO in  
his Catalogue of Oratours to BRVTVS, sayeth: *He cannot see any one, unto whom  
CÆSAR might give place;* affirming withall, *That hee holdeth an elegant and gay, a  
fiatly al'o, and in some sort a generous and Gentlemanlike kind of pleading:* And unto  
CORNELIVS NEPOS, thus wrote he of the same CÆSAR. *What should a man*

say

*say more? which of all there Oratours that praised nothing else but Oratorie, will  
you preferre before this CÆSAR? who is there in sentences either quicker or com-  
moner thicker? who for words, yielded more gallant or more elegant? Hee seemeth  
whiles he was yet but young, to have followed that forme of eloquence onely,  
which SATVRBO CÆSAR professed: out of whose Oration also intai-  
led, Pro Sardinie he transferred some sentences, worde for worde, into his owne;  
called Divinatio. It is said, that in his \* Pronunciation, he used an high and shrill  
voyce; an ardent motion; and earnest gesture, not without a lovely grace.  
Some Orations he left behind him (in writing.) Among which certaine goe  
under his name, but vntruely as namely that pro; 2. METELLO: which A-  
GVSTVS deemeeth (and not without good cause) to have beene written ra-  
ther by Notaries, who either tooke not his words aright, or wrote not so fast,  
as hee deliuered them, than penned by himselfe. For in certaine copies I find  
that it had not so much as this Inscription, Pro METELLO: but \* *quam scrip-*  
*sit METELLO:* being (as it is indeede) a speech comming from the person  
of CÆSAR, clearing METELLVS and himselfe, against the criminations and  
flaunders of common backbiters to them both. The Oration likewise, \* *Ad*  
*MILITVS, in Spaine,* the same AGVSTVS hardly thinketh to be his: And  
yet there be 2. of them extant: the one, was pronounced at the former battaile:  
the other, at the latter: when, by the report of ASINIVS POLLIO, he had  
not so much as any time to make a speech: the enemies ran upon him & charged  
so suddainly.*

He left Commentaries also of his *owne Acts*, to wit, as touching the *Gaulle*  
*warre,* and the *Civill warre* with POMPEIVS. For, of the ALEXANDRINE,  
AFRICAN, and *Spanish warres*, who was the writer it is uncertaine: Whilest  
some thinke it was OPPIVS; others, HIRTVS; who also made up and fini-  
shed the last of the *Gaulle war*, which was imperfect. As concerning those  
Commentaries aforesaid of CÆSAR, CICERO in the \* same booke, writ-  
teth thus: *Hee wrote Commentaries exceeding well, I assure you, to be liked: (as-  
ked they be, straight and upright, yet and lovely too, being deweiled, as it were, of  
all ornaments & trimme attire of Style; but while his mind was that others disposed to  
write a complet historie, should furnish and serve themselves with matter there ready  
to their hands, happie to some foolish folke hee did some pleasure, who are willing to  
curl and frizzle the same with their cringing pens, but surely the wiser sort hee feared  
altogether from writing.* Of the same Commentaries, HIRTVS giueth this  
report, They are quoth he, in the iudgement of all men so approved, that it  
seemes he hath prevented writers, and not given them any helpe. And yet,  
our admiration of this matter is more than all mens beside. For, whereas o-  
thers doe know onely how well and purely they were penned, wee note also  
with what facilitie & expedition he wrote them. POLLIO ASINIUS thin-  
keth they were compiled with smal care & diligence: with as little regard al-  
so of found truth: seeing that CÆSAR received hand ouer head, & beleueed most  
things lightly: namely such as were by others attieued; and euen those *Acts*  
which himselfe exploited either of purpose or for default of memorie hee put  
downe wrong: He supposeth also that he meant to haue writt the same a new  
& corrected the. He left moreover iij. bookes, de *Analogia*. & as many \* *Anticatores*  
besides

\* Take heed  
generally for the  
whole Actions

\* Which he  
wrote for, as  
Metellus.

\* One and  
the same.

\* Ad Brutum.

\* Asinius Pollio.

\* Against Cicero  
in the dispraise  
of Cato's Praises  
in whole com-  
mendation  
Cicero had writ-  
ten before.

\* *Quasi quæ-  
dameris, licet,  
even an Alien.  
\* For other  
wife, as was in  
was unlawfull.  
And Antiochus  
was the first  
Romane that  
had two wives  
at once.*

\* *Cond tum-  
leum punit, cor-  
or condit-  
produt, et est  
inguentum, an  
siniment.  
\* Or friend.*

54

\* *Tubero.*

\* *That is, in  
Portugale.  
\* I Plagi deest;  
or condit-  
destrum, etc.  
the tem les,  
ful of rich gifts  
and oblations  
to the Gods.  
\* Divendentes,  
some trade al-  
deest, hee di-  
tributed and  
dealt away.  
\* Auletes.  
See of silver  
ter Boobound  
weight the ta-  
lent.  
\* Minus  
\* Elongatus,  
militarique re,  
after Lulius.*

55



64

At *Alexandria* being busie about the assault and winning of a bridge where by a foddaine sallie of the enemies he was driven, to take a boat, & many besides made halt to get into the same, he leapt into the sea, and by swimming almost a quarter of a mile recovered cleare the next ship bearing up his left hand all the while, for feare the writings which he held therein should take wet, and drawing his rich coate (a) armour after him by the teeth, because the enemy should not have it as a spoyle.

65

This meth  
strange & co  
rary to the  
Romane disci  
pline.  
\* A former  
\* some say  
others read  
for more bea  
ty, famous an  
feature of bod

His soldiers hee allowed for good, in regard neither of \* manners and behavoiur, nor of \* welch and outward estate, but onely of bodily strength: & he used them all with like severitie: with like indulgence also and sufferance. For he awed and chastised them not in all places nor at all times: but only when the enemy was very neere at hand: and then especially was he most severe, and precise in exacting and executing of discipline: in so much, as hee would not give the warning of the time; either of journey or of battaile, but kept the readie, intente & preit to be led forth vpo a suddaine, everie minute of an houre, whether he were at home, or in the field: this did he also many times without any cause, especially vpo raine daies & festivals. And admonishing his soldiers ever & among, to observe and have an eye unto him, he would suddainly in the day-time or by night, withdraw himselfe out of the way, yea & stretch out his journey more the ordinarie; even to tyre them out who were late in following after.

66

\* Manners or  
unbride  
Supple  
which might  
become good  
politic.

As for his soldiers that were terrified with the rumor of their enemies, his manner was to animate and encourage them, not by denying or diminishing, but by augmenting the same to the highest degree, even above the truth. And thus upon a time, when the expectation of *I V L I V S* his coming was terrible, he called his soldiers together: and in a publike speech unto them. Be it knowne unto you all, quoth he, *That within these very fewe dayes the King will bee here with a power of \* Legions of 30000. men of armes: an hundred thousand light \* armours and three hundred Elephants. Forbear therefore some of you to enquire or imagine further of the matter: but give credite unto me, that know this for a truth: Or else verely I will imbarque you in the Oldest Ship, can get, & cause you to be carried away with any winde, into what Landes and Countries it shall be your fortunes to fall upon.*

\* Foremen  
beare armed.  
\* Elephants  
highly armed.

67

\* Pro modo, n  
pro more, n  
the manner of  
militarie disci  
pline.

As touching his soldiers trespasses and delinquencies, he neither observed and tooke knowledge of them all, nor yet punished them fully to the \* proportion. But as he made straight inquisition after those who trayterously forsooke their colours, and were mutinous, and proceeded against them with rigour: so, at others he would winke. Sometimes also, after a great battaile and victorie obtained, he released them all of militarie duties; permitting them in all licentiousnesse to roist and royoit wantonly here and there: beeing wont to give it out, *That his soldiers (persuaded though they were, with Odours: and befinerced with succre coyles) could fight valiantly.* Neither called he them in his publike oration, plaine soldiours, but by a more pleasing name, *Fellow-soldiers.* Furthermore he maintained them so trim and braue, that he stucke not to fet them out in polished armour, damasked with silver and gold: as well for goodly shewe, as because they should in battaile take better hold and keepe the same more surely for feare of damage and losse. Moreover he beloveth them so affectionately, that when he heard of \* *T I T V S* his overthrow, he suffered

\* And the Le  
gion was  
A.V.C. 7000

suffred the haire of his head and beard to growe long, and would not cut the same before he had reuenged their death. By which meanes, he both had his soldiers most devoted unto him, and also made them right valorous,

When he was entred into the Ciuill warre, the Centurions of euerie Legion presented vnto him one horseman a peece, provided out of their owne (a) private stocke; and generally all his soldiers offered their seruice freely, with out allowance of come or wages out of his purse: considering that the welthier sort had taken vpon them the finding and maintenance of the poorer. Neither all that long time of soldierie, was their any of them that once revolted from him: and verie many being taken prisoners (by the enemies) & hauing life granted vnto them vpon cōdition, they would serve as soldiers against him, refused it. Hunger and other extremities which necessarily follow warre, not onely whilst they were beleegged, but also when themselves beleagured others; they indured so resolutely, that during their strong fledge and fortification against *Dyrachium*, *POMPEY*, when he saw what kinde of bread made of a certaine (b) Herbe they liued upon, said, *He had to deale with wild beasts.* commanding withall, the same quickly to be had away, and not shewed to any one: For feare, least his owne soldiers hearts should be utterly daunted, seeing once the patience and constancie of their enemies. And how valiantly they bare themselves in fight, this on thing may testifie that hauing taken one foyle in a battaile before *Dyrachium*, they volutarily offered to be (c) executed therfore, in so much as their Generall was more troubled about comforting then punishing the. In all other battailes, they fewer in number by many parts, easily vanquished, infinite forces of their enemies. To conclude, one (d) cohort & no more of the 6. Legion, which had the keeping of a \* skonce, made good the place & held out for certaine houres against foure of *POMPEY*s Legions: and were in manner all of the throughout shot into their bodies with a multitude of their arrows: of which were found one hundred & thirtie thousand within their trech and rampires. And no mervaille, if a man consider their several facts singly by the selues, either of *CASSIUS SÆPVA* a Centurion, or of *C. ACILIUS* a cōmon soldier: to say nothing of many more. *SÆPVA*, when his eie was smitten out, his thigh & shoulder shot through, and his buckler perced likewise with the shot of \* 120. arrows, yet defended the gate of the porte committed to his charge, & kept it still. *ACILIUS* in a fight at sea before *MASSILIA*, after his right hand was quite cut off, wherwith he had caught the Poop of his enemies ship, following herein that memorable example of *CYNECIVS* among the *Greekes*, leapt notwithstanding into the saide shippe, shouing and driving before him with the bosse and pike of his buckler those that he met in his way:

In ten yeeres space during the *Gaulle warre*, they neuer so much as once mutined: In the Ciuill warres sometimes they did: yet so, as they were soone reclaimed and came againe into order: not so much by the remisse indulgence as the authoritie of their Captaine: For, neuer would he yeeld one jot unto them in these their seditious tumults: nay, hee alwaies withstood and crossed them: And verily the 9. Legion at *Placentia*, notwithstanding *POMPEY*s yet was in armes with his power in the field) he cashiered sup and woly & sent away with thame: yea & after many humble prayers & supplications with much a do restored he the to their places again, & not before executed done vpo the offenders.

68

\* Or fort at  
the Siege of  
Dyrachium.

\* Placentia 30.

69

70

As for the soldiery of the tenth Legion, when as in Rome they earnestly called for their discharge from warfare, & required their rewards euen with mightie threats, & that to the exceeding danger of the whole Citie at what time also, the war was verie hote in *Africke*, he neither would admitte into his presence, nor yet dismiss the albeist his friends seemed to scare him fro taking that course: but with one onely word, whereby he named them (*a*) *Quiritis*, instead of *Militis*, he did so gently turne and winde, yea and bring them to his bent, that forthwith they made answer. *They would be his souldies still*: and so of their owne accord followed him into *Africa*, notwithstanding he refused their seruice. And yet for all this, he ammerced and fined the most mutinous sort of them with the losse of a third part, both of the pillage and also of the Lands appointed for them.

In affectionate love and faithfull protection of his dependants, he was not wanting in his verie youth. When he had upon a time defended *MASINTHA* a noble young Gentleman against King *HIEREMIAL*, so earnestly, that in the debate & altercation between them he slew upon *IVZATH* the Kings sonne & caught him by the (*a*) beard: after that the said *MASINTHA* was pronounced definitive ly the Kings<sup>1</sup> Tributary: he forthwith both refused him out of their hands that would have haled him away: and also kept him close a long time in his owne Lodging: & soone after his Pretorship there expired, when he went into *Spain*, he tooke the young gentleman away with him in his own litter among others his followers; and favorites, and those officers that attended upon him with their knitches of rods.

72

His friends he used at all times with so great curtesie and tender respect, that when *C. OPPIDUS* who accompanied him in his journey through a wild forest fell suddainly sicke, he gaue him rowme in the onely Inne, that was, while him selfe lay all night<sup>2</sup> upon the ground<sup>3</sup> without doores. Moreouer, being now become Emperour & Lord of all some of them he advanced euen fro the lowest degree unto the highest place of honour. And when he was blamed & reproved therefore, he protested openly. *That if he had used the helpe of robbers by the highway side of cutters and walbucklers in maintaining of his owne dignitie, he would not faile but requite them and be thankfull euen to such.*

73

He neuer entertained malice & hatred against any man so deeply but willing he was to lay downe the same upon occasion offered. Notwithstanding, *C. MEMMIUS* had made most bitter inuectives against him, and hee againe writen unto him as bitterly, yet soone after when the said *MEMMIUS* stoode for the Consulship, hee friended him all that he could with his good word and procured him voyces. When *C. CALVUS* after certaine Libels and defamatorie Epigrams against him, dealt by the mediation of friends for a reconciliation, he of his owne accord wrote first unto him. As for *VALERIVS CATVLLVS* (by whose verses concerning *MEMMIUS* he could not chuse but take knowledge that he was noted and branded with perpetuall infamie when he excused himselfe unto him and was ready to make<sup>4</sup> satisfaction, he bad him to supper that verie day: & as he used before time, so he continued still to make his fathers house his lodging.

Moreouer, in his reuengements hee was by nature most milde. Those rourers by whome he was taken prisoner, after he had forced to yeld, because hee

he had sworne before that he would hang them vpon a crosse, he commanded that their throats should be first cut, and then to be crucified. *CORNELIVS PHAGITA*, whose for-laying him by night, he lying sicke, & *LATITANT* hardly had escaped, (although he gaue him a good reward<sup>5</sup>) but had like to have beene brought unto *SVLLA*, he neuer could find in his heart to hurt. *PHILAMON* a seruant and secretarie of his, who had promised his enemies to take his life away by poyson, he punished onely by simple death, without any other torment. Being cited and called much upon to beare witnesse against *P. CLODIUS*, for being naught with his wife *POMPEIA*, who was accused besides for the same cause to haue polluted the sacred<sup>6</sup> Ceremonies, he denied that he euer knew any thing of the matter, or was able to bring in euidence albeist both his mother *AVRELIA*, & *IULIA* his sister, had simply related all upon their credies euen before the same Iurie and Iudges. And being demanded thereupon, *wherefore then he had put away his wife? Because I deeme, quoth he, that those of my house ought to be cleere as well of suspicion as of crime.*

The moderatio<sup>7</sup> & clemencie which he shewed as well in the menaging of the ciuil war as in his victorie, was admirable: VVhen *POMPEIVS* denounced in minatory terms, that he would reack<sup>8</sup> him for an enemy, whose use he was: that failed to maintaine the Common wealth: He for his part pronounced openly, *That he would make/are account of them to be his, who stood indifferent betweene and were Neuters.* And so many, as upon the commendation of *POMPEIVS* before time, he had giue any charg or place of comand unto, in his armie under him, he granted the all free leave and libertie to depart unto him. Vpon Articles and conditions of yeelding moved and propounded to *POMPEIVS* at *Ilorda*, whiles between both parts there passed reciprocall dealing & commerce continually: when *AFRANIUS* and *PETREIVS* had taken within their Campe certaine of *CÆSARS* soldiers, & (which they repented soone after) put them to the sword, he would in no wise imitate the same perfidious treachery of theirs practised against him. At the battaile of *Pharsalia* he cryed out, spare all Citizens; & afterwards granted unto euerie one of his owne soldiers (none excepted) this fauour to save each of the one of the aduerse part, whom he would: neither were any found or knowne slaine but in the verie medly, except *AFRANIUS*, *FAUSTUS*, & *L. CÆSAR* the younger: and even these uerely, men thinke, were not with his good will put to death. Of whom notwithstanding both the former, to wit, *AFRANIUS* & *FAUSTUS*, after pardon obtained had rebelled and entred into armes againe & *L. CÆSAR* for his part, when in cruell manner by fire & sword he had made hauock of his freed men & bondseruants, spitefully slew the verie wid-beasts also which *CÆSAR* had provided against the solemnitie of a publike shew to be exhibited before the people. To conclude, in his very latter daies he permitted all those also whom before time he had not pardoned to return into Italy to gouern as magistrates in the Citie, & to comand as generals in the field. Yea the very Statues of *L. SVLLA* & *POMPEIVS* which the commons had overthrowen & cast up & down, he erected again in their due places. And if after this, there was any plot intended or word spoken against him by his adueraries to his hurt, he chose rather to repress than to revenge the same. And so, diuerse conspiracies detected and night conuenticles: hee found fault with no farther then thus, by giuing notice in some edict and proclamation.

75

\*Who laid claime unto *MASINTHA* as his Tributary.  
\*Superdarium quogue pressu riam: how c- uer (some read *promittunt*: as if *Cæsar* had auerred openly that he was his waged sold- iour.

\*In a pallet or matrice upon the ground.  
\*Vnder the Jery of the house.

by giuing Notice to him  
or I am for-  
ne nor stand  
would I had  
not done.

\*Of *Pena Dei*, in whole chap- pel: it was the uerger did the edict and giued in wo- mans apparell

\*Where more, that crying was a pious call death.  
\*Talors, Plurich.

That he had intelligence thereof. And as for such as gaue out bitter speeches of him, he thought it sufficient in an open assembly to give them an Admonition, not to perfit therein. Finally, when in a most slanderous booke written by A. C. l. e. n. a, and certaine verses asrayling and reprochfull as it; devised by P. t. h. o. l. a. u. s, his credite and reputation was much cracked and empaired he tooke the matter no more to the heart than \* one Citizen would haue done at an others hand:

Howbeit, the rest of his deedes and words ouerweigh and depresse his good parts downe: so as he might be thought both to haue abused his Soueraignty, and worthily to haue bene murdered. For he not only tooke upon him excessive honours, to wit, continued Consulship, perpetuall Dictature, & *Presidency of Manneres*; and more than so, the *soveraigntie of an Emperour*, the Surname *Father of his Countrey*. His *statue among the Kings*, an eminent *seate of estate raised above the rest in the Orchestra*, among the *Senatours*: but hee suffered also more stately dignities than becomming the condition of a mortall wight to bee decreed and ordained for him: namely, a golden Throne in the Curia, and before the *Tribunall*: a sacred *chariot* & therein a frame carrying an *Image*, at the solemn pomp of his *Games Circenses*: Temples, Altars, his owne Images placed neere unto the Gods: a sacred Bed-loft for such Images to be bestowed upon: a flamin, *certaine* *Supper*: and the denomination of one *(e)* month after his owne name. Besides, no honourable offices there were but he tooke and gaue at his owne pleasure. His third and fourth Consulship in name onely and title he bare: cōtēting himselfe with the absolute power of Dictatourship decreed unto him with his *Cōsulares* all at one time: & in both yeeres, he substituted two Consuls under him for the three last months: so as, in the meane time, he held no Election but of *Tribunes* and *Aediles* of the Commons. In freed of Pretours he ordained Provoits, who should administer the affaires of the Citie euen \* whiles he was present. And upon the very last day of the yeare to wit next before \* the Kalends of Ianuarie, the place of a Consulship being vacant by the suddaine death of a Consul he conferred upon one *(f)* that made suite to enjoy the same but a few houres. With fensible licentiousnesse despising the custome of his Countrey, he ordained maiestrates to continue in office many yeares together. To x. men of Pretours degree he granted the Consulate Ornaments, Such as were but enfranchized Citizens, and diuers mungrel *Gawles* no better then halfe *Barbarians*, he admitted *Senatours*. Furthermore, ouer the Mint and receipt of the City-reuenues, he set certaine peculiar seruants of his owne to beulers. The charge and command of three Legions which he left in ALEXANDRIA, he committed wholly to a sonne of RUFINUS his freed man, a fawle youth and Catani-  
nite of his owne.

Neither did some words of his which he openly deliuered, bewraie leffe presumptuous Lordlines, as T. A. M. P. I. U. S. writeth. For example, *That the Common wealth was now no more* (a) *call thing, but a name onely, without forme & shape: That S. L. was altogether unlettered and no* (b) *Grammarians in gruing ouer his Disature. That much ought now to speake with him more confidently, and to hold euer* *word that a faith for a Law.* Nay he proceeded to this point of Arrogancie, that when upon a time in a certaine Sacrifice, the South-sayer brought him

word of unlucky Inwards in the beast; and such as had no heart at all, he made answer and said, *That those which were to follow afterwards should prove more joyfull and fortunate if it pleased him: neither was it to be taken for a prodigious and strange token, if a beast wanted an heart.*

But the greatest envie and inexpressible hatred he drew upon himselfe by this occasion most of all. What time as all the Senatours in generall came unto him with many and thofe most honourable decrees, he received them sitting \* Still before the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*. Some thinke, that when he was about to rise up, *CORNELIUS BALBUS* stayed and held him backe: others are of the mind, that he never went about it. But when *C. TREBATIUS* aduertised him to arise unto them, he looked backe upon him with a strang kind of looke: Which deede of his was thought so much the more intollerable, for that himselfe, when *PONTIUS AQUILA* one of the (a) Colledge of Tribunes, stood not up nor did reuerence to him as he rode in *Triumphe* and passed by the *Tribunes Ruers*, tooke such snuffe and indignation therat, that he brake out aloud into these words: *well done Tribune Aquila, Recouer thou; then the common wealth out of my hands:* and for certaine dayes together, neuer promised ought vnto any man without this *Proriso* and *Exception*, (b) If *PONTIUS AQUILA* will give me leave:

To this CONTUMELIOUS and notorious \* behaviour of his toward the Senate thus deploied, he adioyned a deede much more arrogant: For when as in his returne from the solemne Sacrifice of the Latine Hollie dayes, among other immoderate and new acclamations of the people, one out of the multitude had set upon his Statue; a Coronet of Laurell reid about with a white band; and EPIDIUS MARULLUS, a Tribune of the Comons together with his colleagues CRASSETIUS FLAVUS commanded the said band to be plucked of; & the man to be had away to prison, he taking it to heart, either that this overture to a kingdome sped no better, or, (as he made semblance & pretended himselfe) that he was put by the glorie of refusing it, sharply rebuked the Tribunes, & deprived them both of their authoritie. Neither for all this, was he willing afterwards to put away the infamous note of affecting and seeking after the title of a King: albeit he both made answer unto a (a) Commoner saluting him by the name of a King, *That he was CÆSAR and no King*; and also at the *Lupercalia*, when ANTONIUS the Consul imposed the *Diademe* oftentimes upon his head before the ROSTRAS, did put it backe againe, and send it into the Capitoll to (b) *insipit Optimus Maximus*. Moreover sundrie rumours ran rise abroad, that he would depart (for ever) to ALEXANDRIA or to (d) *Ilium*, having at once trallad and remooed thither the puissance and wealth of the Empire: dispeopled *Italy* with murthering of soldiers; and withall betaken the administration of Rome-Cities unto his friends: As also, that in the next Session of the Senate, L. COTTON of the (e) *Quædæm viri* would move the house to this effect, That for as much as it was contained in the Fatal bookes of SYBILLA, that the *Parthians* could not possiblie be vanquished but by a King, therefore CÆSAR should be *Stiled King*.

This gave occasion to the Conspiratours for to hasten the execution of their designe, least of necessitie they should be driven to assent thereto. Their counsels therefore and conferences about this matter, which before time they

X-Cinili: amirao  
Emile.

76

\* *Censorship*  
indeed though  
not in name:  
\* *Imperator* is a  
Sovereign and  
absolute com-  
mander.

\* In the same  
\* Osmundella,  
as a god,  
\* *Osman*.

\* *Exemplar* -  
sense for: some  
read *abense*  
re: cleane  
contrarie:  
\* The last of  
December;  
A.V.C. 709.

\* Made free  
C. & S. of  
Horse.

77

Yam Gram-  
maire, 1912-  
13

\* Should fight  
for better for-  
tune.

78  
\*In *expatriation*  
or *exile*. I  
diedly, & that  
which brought  
him to mis-  
chance.

\*Not so much  
as ruling vp  
vnto them.  
\*Saying with  
all, what Sir.  
Remember  
you are *Ceſar*

79  
\*Or gesture.

\* Resembling  
a *Draconis*.

held dispersed here and there, and projected oftentimes by two & three in a company, they now complotted al together for that by this time the very people joyed not in the present fate, seeing how things went; but both in secret and openly also distasted such fourauntie, and called earnestly for protectors and maintainers of their liberties. Vpon the admission of Aliens into the order of Senatours, there was a Libell proposed in this form (*a Bonum Factum &c.*) *That no man would blame the Senate-house for any new Senatours.* And these verses were commonly chaunted.

*Gallus CÆSAR in Triumphum ducit, \* Idem in Cælia  
Galli \* Bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumperunt.*

The French in triumph CÆSAR leads, In Senate they anon  
No sooner laid their \* Breeches of, but purpled robes put on.

As *Q. Maximus* substituted (by CÆSAR) to be a Consul for 3. Moneths entered the Theater, and the \* Sergeant commanded (as the manner was) that the people should observe and regard him according to his place, they all with one accord cryed out, *That he was in Consul.* After that CÆSETIVS and MARULLUS the Tribunes afore said, were removed out of their office at the next Solemne assembly, held for Election, verie many voices were found declaring them; Consuls Some there were who subscribed under the Statue of L. BRUTUS these words, (*d) Would God thou were alive.* Likewise under the Statue of CÆSAR himselfe.

(e) BRUTUS for expelling the Kings, was created Consul the first. This man for expelling the Consuls is become King, \* the last.

There conspired against him more than three-score the heads of which conspiracie were C. CASSIVS, \* MARCVS and DECIVS BRVTVS; who hauing made doubt at first whether by \* diuiding themselves into parties, they should call him downe the (f) bridge, as he called the Tribes to giue their voices at the Election in Mars fildes, and so take him when hee was downe and kill him right out: or set upon him in the high streete called *Sacra via*: or else in the very entrance to the Theater? after that the Senate had summons to meete in Counsell within the Court of POMPEIUS upon the \* Ides of March, they soone agreed of this time and place before all others.

81 But CÆSAR surely had faire warning of his death before it came, by many euident prodiges and strag foretokens. Some few moneths before, when certain new inhabitants, brought by vertue of the Law \* IVLIA to dwell in the Colonie *Capua*, ouerthrew most auncient Sepulchers for to builde them houses to their landes; and did the same so much the more diligently and with better will, for that in searching they light vpon manufactures and vessels good store of Antique worke: there was found in that verie monument, wherein by report, *CAPY* the founder of *Capua* lay buried, a brassen Table with a writing vpon it in Greeke words and Greeke letters to this effect: *When the bones and reliques of CAPHY happen to be discovered, it shall come to passe, that one descended from IVLVVS shall be murdered by the hands of his neere kinsfolke, and his death soone after reuenced with the great calamities and miseries of all Italie.* And least any man should thinke this to be a fabulous tale and forged matter, know he that CORNELIVS BRVTVS a verie inward and familiar friend of CÆSAR

is

is the author thereof: And the uerie day next preceeding his death, those troupes of horses which in his passage ouer the Riuier *Rubicon* hee had condecrate and let go loose ranging here and there without a keeper, (as he understood for certaine) forbore their meat and would not to die for it, touch any, yea, and shed teares abundantly. Also, as he offered sacrifice, the Soothsayer SPYRINA warned him to take heede of danger toward him, and which would not be differed after the Ides of March. Now the verie day before the said Ides, it fortuneth that as the bird (*a*) \* *Regaliolus*, was flying with a little branch of Lawrell, into the Court of POMPEIUS, a sort of other birdes of diuerse kindes from out of the grove hard by, pursued after and there pulled it in peeces: But that night next before the day of his murder, both himselfe dreamed as he lay a sleepe, one while, that he was flying about the clouds: another while, that Iupiter and he shooke hands: and also his wife CALPYRINA, imagined, that the Finiall of his house fell downe, and that her husband was stabbed in her verie bosome: and sodainly withall the chamber doore of it selfe flew open. Hereupon, as also by reason of sickelincesse, he doubted a good while whether he should keepe at home and put off those matters which he had purposed to debate before the Senate, or no? At the last, being counselled and perswaded by DECIVS BRVTVS, not to disappoint the Senatours who were now in frequentie assembled and stayed for his coming long since; he went forth when it was well neere eleuen of the clocke. And when \* one met him by the way, & offered him a written pamphlet, which layd open the conspiracie, and who they were that fought his life, he shuffed the same among other skroes and writings which he held in his left hand as if he would haue red it anon. After this when he had killed many beafts for sacrifices & could speede of the Gods fauour in none, he entred the \* *Curia* in contempt of all Religion; and there with laughed SPYRINA to scorne: charging him to be a false Prophet, \* Of Pompeius

for that the Ides of March were come: and yet noe harme befell vnto him; albeit hee answered, *That come in deede they were, but not yet past.*

82 When they \* saw once that he had taken his place, and was set, they stood round about him as serviceable attendants readie to do him honor: and then immediately \* CIMBER TVLLVS who had undertaken to begin first, stepped neerer unto him, as though he would haue made some request. When CÆSAR seemed to mislike and put him backe, yea and by his gesture to posit him of unto another time, he caught hold of his gowne at both shoulders: whereupon as he cried out, *This is violence*, CASSIVS came in a full affront & wounded him a litle beneath the \* throat. Then CÆSAR catching CASSIVS by the arme thrust it through with his stile or writing punches; and with that being about to leape \* forward he was met with another wound and stayed. Now when he perceived himselfe beset on euerie side and assailed with drawne daggers he wrapped and covered his head with his gowne: but withall let downe the large \* lap with his left hand to his legges beneath, hiding thereby the inferiour part also of his bodie, that he might fall (*d*) more decently: and so, with 3. and 20. wounds he was stabbed: during which time he gave but one grone, without any worde uttered, and that was at the first thrust although some haue written, that as M. BRVTVS came running upon him he laid, *Non vultis: 1: (e) And thou my sonne*

When

\*Some expōd  
this of the

lifter as if one  
corner thereof  
hung downe,  
carried as it  
was by three.

\*Whereby  
seemeth he  
had one gūer  
him in his neck  
before which  
the Aulr  
hath omitted.

\*13. of Sepa  
tember.

\*So hee was  
there great  
Vncke.

\*Afterwards  
Augustus, sonne  
of this Iulius  
Cæsar, his  
daughter.

\*As Pompeius  
borne at  
his death.

\*Or Rome.

\*1. to do ob  
sequies.

\*His owne  
daughter, wife  
to Pompey who  
died of child  
birth, and by  
special priuilege.

\*Soe was enter  
red in Mars  
field.

\*Or Horfe.

\*Or Berre.

\*Which was  
That the mag  
istrates and  
Senatours

should goe fore  
without their  
badges & robes  
of gūment: the  
knights and  
gentlemen fol  
low in mourning  
weed: then the  
falds, carrying  
the heards  
or points of  
their weapons  
downward:

last of all the  
common peo  
ple march'd  
downe by the  
Riuer Tiber.

\*At which  
wrote a Trage  
dian, that the  
same night

\*Or Rome.

\*Deceased.

When all others fled fundrie waies, there lay he a good while dead, untill three of his owne pages bestowed him in a lifter: and so with one arme hanging downe, carried him home. Neither in so many wounds, was there, as ANTISTIVS his Physitian deemed, any one found mortall, but that which he receiued \* second, in his breast. The conspiratours were minded to haue dragged his Corps, after hee was thus slaine, into the Riuer *Tiberis*; confiscated his goods, and repealed all his acts: but for feare of M. ANTONIUS the Consul and LEPIDVS. Maister of the *Horfemen*, they held their hands and gaue ouer those courses.

83 At the demand therefore of L. PISO whose daughter he married, his last will and Testament was opened and red in the house of ANTONIUS which will, upon the \* Ides of September next before, he had made in his own house at *Lauicium* & committed to the keeping of the chiefe a vestal Virgin. Q. *Tubero* writeth, that from his first Consulship unto the beginning of the Civil war, he was euer wont to write downe for his heire, Cn. POMPEIUS, and to reade the saide will unto his soldiers in their publike assemblee. But in this last Testament of his, he ordained three Coheires, the nephewes all\* of his sisters. To wit C. OCTAVIUS, of three fourth parts, L. PINARIUS, and Q. PEDIVS of on fourth part remaining. In the latter end and botome of this Testamentarie Intrimment, he adopted also C. OCTAVIUS into his house & name; and many of those that afterwards murdered him, he nominated for guardiers to his \* sonne, if it fortune he had any borne. Yea and DACIVS BRVTUS to be one of his second heires in remainder. Hee bequeathed in his legacies unto the \* people his hortyards about *Tiberis* to ly common; & three hundred Sesterces to them by the *Poll*.

84 The solemnitie of his Buriall being proclaimed, there was a pile of wood for his funerall fire reared in *Mars* field, neere unto the Tombe of \* IVLIA. Before the *Rostra* was placed a \* chappell all guile resembling the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, and within it a Bedstead of *Porre*, richly spred with cloth of gold and purple, and at the head thereof a \* *Trope* supporting the Robe wherein he was slaine. Now because it was thought, that those should not have day enough who came to his offerings and brought their oblations, commandement was giuen, that without obseruing the \* strict order, euery man might bring which way & by what streete of the Cittie he would, his gift into *Mars* field above said. During the Games and playes then exhibited there were chaunted certaine verses fildy applied as well to mooue pittie as hatred withall of his death, and namely out of the Tragedie of *Pacuvius*, entituled, (4) The iudgement of Armour, *Men Men fruisse, ut essent qui me perderent*. Alas the while, that I these men should saue: By bloody death, to bring me to my grave! As also another out of that of *Accius* to the same fence. Instead of a laudatorie oration, ANTONIUS the Consul pronounced by the publike Crier, that Act of the Senate, wherein they decreede for him all honour, both diuine and humane: likewise the solemne oth wherewith they all obliged the melues to defend the life and person of him and none but him: whereunto he added some few words of his owne. The fore said \* Bed, the Magistrates for the time being, and such as had borne office of State already, had \* conueied into the forum before the *ROSTRA*: which when some intended

to burn within the cell of IVPITER CAPITOLINVS, others in the \* Court of POMPEIUS: all of a sodaine there were iij. fellowes with swords girt to their sides: and carrying iij. lauelins, who with light burning Tapers, set it on fire: and with that immediatly the multitude that stood round about gat drie sticks together and heaped them thereupon, with the Tribunal seats and other puses, \* of inferior Magistrates, & whatsoeuer beside was readie & next at hand. After them, the Minstrels and stage players disrobed themselves of those vestiments which out of the furniture of his Tryumphs they had put on for the present life and occasion, rent the same in peeces and flung all into the flaming fire. The olde Legionarie soldiers also did the like by their armour, wherein they brauely went to solemnnize his funerall, Yea and most of the Cittie Dames did no lesse by their Jewels and Ornaments which they had about them: Their childrens pendant brooches also and rich coats embroidered and bordered with purple. In this exceeding sorrow and publike mourning, a number there were besides from forraigne Nations: who euerie one after their Countrie manner, lamented round one after another, by companies in their turnes: but above all other the \* *Jewes*. who also for many nights together frequented the place of his sepulture and where his bodie was burnt.

The common people streight after his funerall obsequies went with burning fire-brands and torches to the dwelling houses of BRVTUS and CASSIVS: From whence being hardly repelled, they meeting with HELVIUS CINNA by the way, and mistaking his name, as if he had beene CORNELIVS CINNA (one who the day before had made a bitter inuective as touching CÆSAR and whom they fought for) him they slew: set his head vpon a speare, and so carried it about with them. After this they erected in the Forum a solide \* Colunne almost 20. foote high of Numidian Marble: with this title graven thereupon; PARENTI PATRIÆ. To the father of his Countrie. At which pillar for a long time they used still to sacrifice, to make vov'es and prayers, to determine and end certaine controversies interposing alwaies their oth by the name of CÆSAR.

CÆSAR left behind him in the minds of certaine friends about him, a suspicion, that he was neither wil'ing to haue lived any longer, nor cared at all for life: because he stood not well to health, but was euer more crasie: & thereupon neglected as well all religious warnings from the Gods, as also what reports fouer his friends presented unto him. There be that thinke, howe trusting upon that last Act of the Senate, and there oth aforesaid, he discharged the Guard of Spaniards from about him, who armed with swords, gaue attendance \* upon his person. Others contrariwise are of opinion; that seeing as he did how he was forelaied on euerie side, and confessing, it were better once for all to undergoe those imminent dangers, than alwaies to stand in feare thereof, he was wont to say: It concerned not himselfe so much as it did the state, that hee should liue and bee safe: As for him he had gotten long since power and glorie enough: hee marie the Common-wealth (if ought but well came to him) should not bee at quiet, but incurre the troubles of Civil warre: the issue whereof would be farre worse then euer it had beene.

This one thing verily, all men well neere are agreed upon, That such a death

\*Where he  
was murdered.

\*Or Beches.

\*They affected  
to see should  
be done, and  
on many beces  
sins, and name-  
ly for bringing  
Pompey to  
conclusion who  
had forced their  
chaine Cite.

85

\*Or Pillar.

86

\*In Testaments.

87

*\*Cyprianus*<sup>8</sup> death befell unto him as himselfe in manner wished. For not onely upon a time when he had read in *\*Xenophon*, how *Cyrus* beeing at the point of death gaue some order for his funerall, hee setting light by so lingering and slow a kind of death, had wished to die quickly and of a suddaine; but also the verie daie before he was killed, in a certaine discourse mooued at supper in *Marcus Lepidus* house upon this point, What was the best ende of a mans life? preferred that which was sodaine and unlooked for.

88

*\*In the 8. Supp-  
tunance.*

He died in the *\*56.* yeare of his age and was canonized among the Gods, not onely by their voice who decreed such honour unto him, but also by the perswasion of the common people. For at those Games and playes which were the first that *Augustus* his heire exhibited for him thus *\*deified*, there shone a blazing starre for seuen dayes together, arising about the eleuenth houre of the day; and beleeeved it was to be the soule of *Cesar* received up into heaven. For this cause also upon his Image there is a starre set to the verie Crowne of his head. Thought good it was to damme vp *(b)* the Court where in hee was murdered: to name the *Ides of March (c) Parricidium*, and that the Senate should neuer meete in Counsell upon that day.

89

*\*Cassius* as  
*Plutarch* repor-  
teth, and *Bru-*  
*tius* according  
to *Dion*, and  
the *Caesars*.  
A notable  
iudgement of  
Almightie  
God upon the  
unnatural mur-  
ders of their  
Soveraine.

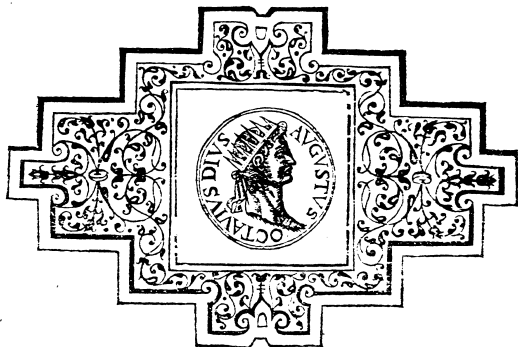
Of these murderers, there was not one in manner that either survived him about three yeares, or died of his naturall death. All stood condemned; and by one mishap or other perished: some by ship-wracke, others in battaile: and *\*and* some againe, shortened their own daies, with the verie same dagger, where-  
with they had wounded

C E S A R.



# THE HISTORIE OF Octavius Caesar Augustus,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



**H**at the principall name & linage of the *OCTAVII*, dwelt in times past at *Velitrae*, there be many evidences to shewe: For, both a street in the most frequented place of the said towne long since carried the name *OCTAVIVS*, and also there was to be seene an Altar there consecrated *\*by* one *OCTAVIVS*, who being Generall of the field in a warre against the borderers, whē he happened to be sacrificing to *Mars* upon newes brought that the enemy gave a suddaine charge, caught the Inwards of the beast sacrificed halfe raw as they were, out of the *\*fire*; cut and offered them accordingly: & so entred into battaile and returned with victorie. There is beside, a publike Act extant upon record, wherein decreed and provided it was, that everie yeare after, the Inwards in like manner should bee

E.

*\*Or to Octa-  
vian Octavian  
consecrated*

*\*where they  
were a boyling  
crossing.*

presented



presented unto *Muri*, and the rest of the sacrifice remaining, carried backe unto the *Altar*.

2 \* These *Octavij*, being by *K. T. ARQVINIVS PRISCVS* naturalized Romaines soone after translated and admitted by *SERVIVS TULLVS*, into the Senate among the Patritians, & Nobles, in proesse of time ranged themselves with the commons, and with much adoe at length, by the means of *IVLVVS* of sacred *Memrie* returned to the Patritian degree again: The first of these that by the peoples election bare any *Magistracie*, was *C. RVFVS*: who having bene *Questor* begat *Cn. and C. FRO* in the descended two families of the *OCTAVII*, and those for their estate of life farre different. For *Cn.* and all the rest from him one after another, attained to places of highest honour but *C. IVS* and his posteritie everie one eve unto the father of *AVGVSTVS*, (such was either their fortune or their will,) staid in the order and degree of gentlemen, and rose no higher. The great Grandfather of *AVGVSTVS*, in the second \* *Punicke* war, served in qualitie of a Militar \* *Tribune*, in Sicilie, under *ÆMILIVS PAVVS* Lord general. His father contenting himselfe with bearing office like another Burgess in his owne Bourrough, being left welch by his father, grew to a good estate, and lived to be an olde man, in much peace and tranquillitie. But of these matters let others make report. *AVGVSTVS* himselfe writeth noe more but thus. That the house from whence he came, was of *Romaine Gentlemen*, welch and ancient withall, wherein the first that ever came to be Senatour was his father. *M. ANTONIVS* hireth him in the teeth with his great Grandfather: saying he was but a *Libertine* borne, and by occupation a \* *roper*, & come out of a Village of the *Thurines*: also that his Grandfather was no better then a verie \* *banquer*. Neither have I founde any more, as touching the Aunccestours of *AVGVSTVS* by the Fathers side:

\* Against *Ant. Carthaginiens*:  
\* Colonel of  
1000 footmen

\* A seller of  
ropes, *refusio*,  
not *Refusum*  
with a Capital  
As it were a  
proper name.  
\* A *venterum*  
an exchanger  
of monie for  
gaine.

3 OCTAVIUS his father, from the verie beginning of his age, was of great welth and reputation; so that I cannot but meivale, that hee also hath bene reported by some a banquer or monie changer: yea and one of the (2) dealers of monie and servitors employed in *CAMPVS MARTIVS*, by those that stand for offices: For having bene from his verie cradle brought vpe in wealth highly and plentifully; he both attained unto honorable dignities with facilitie, and administrated the same with credite and reputation. Presently upon his Pretourshippe, the province of *Macedonie* fell unto his lot. And in his journey thither, the fugitives, to wit the reliques of *SPARTACVS* and *CASSIVS* forces, who then helde the *Thurine* territorie hee defeated; having commission extraordinarily given unto him in the senate so to doe: This province hee governed with noe lesse iustice then fortitude. For having discomfited in a great battaile the *Bessi* and the *Thracians*, he dealt so well with the *Alies* and confederats of that Kingdom: that there be certaine letters of *M. TULLIVS CICERO* extant, wherein he exhorteth and admonisheth his brother *QVINTVS*, (who at the same time, little to his credite & good name, administrated the proconsulship of *Asia*) for to imitate his neighbour *OCTAVIUS*, in doing well by the *Alies*, and winning their love thereby.

4 As he departed out of *Macedonie* before that he could professe himselfe to be a suiter for the Consulship, he died a suddaine death: leaving these children behind

behind him alive, namely two daughters *OCTAVIA* the elder, which hee had by *ANCHARIA*: *OCTAVIA* the younger, and *AVGVSTVS* likewise, by *ATIA*. This *ATIA* was the daughter of *M. ATIVS BALBVS*, and *IVLIA* the sister of *C. CÆSAR*. *BALBVS* by his fathers side was an *ARICINVS*, a man that shewed Senatours Images and armes in his house: by his mother linked to *MAGNVS POMPEIVS* in the neere degree of consanguinitie. And having borne the office of Pretorship he among the *XX*. Commissioners divided by vertue of the Law *IVLIA*, the lands in the territory of *CAPVA* among the Commons. But *M. ANTONIVS*, despising the parentage and peregree of *AVGVSTVS* by the mother side also, twitteth him and layeth in his dith, that his great Grandfire was an *African* borne, saying on while, that he kept a snop of sweete oyes, Ointments and perfumes; another while, that he was a baker in *ARICIA*: *CASIVS* verily of *PARMA*, in a certaine Epistle: taxeth *AVGVSTVS* as being the Nephew not of a Baker onely, but also of a banker, in these termes. Thou hast meale for thy mother. And then comes a *banker* of *Nerviane*, who out of a most pitie, full backe house in *ARICIA* kneadeth and mouldeth it with his hands, sullied by selling & exchanging monie.

\* All this is spoken allegorically of his base parentage.

*AVGVSTVS* was borne, when *M. TULLIVS CICERO* and *ANTONIVS* were Consuls, the \* ninth day before the Calends of October, a little before the Sun rising, in the (2) palatine quarter of the Citie, at a place called \* *CAPITA BYBY*: where now it hath a sacred Chappel, built and erected a little after he departed out of this world: For, as it is found in the records of the Senate, when *C. LACTORIUS*, a yong gentleman of the Patritian order, pleaded to have some easier punishment for the adulterie, & alledged, over and besides his yong yeares & parétage, this also in his plea, before the Senatours, that he was the possessor and as it were, the warden & Sextaine of that ground or soyle, which *AVGVSTVS* of happy memorie touched (b) first, & requested that it might be given & granted unto the said *AVGVSTVS*: as to his domestical and peculiar god: decreed it was that the same part of the house should be consecrated to that holy use.

There is yet to be seene the place of his noursery, within a suburban house belonging to his Aunccestors, neere unto *Veturæ*: a very little Cabin, about the bignes of a Larder or Pantry: the neighbours are possessed with a certaine conceit, as if he had been there also borne. To enter into this rowme unlesse it be of necessity & with devout chaitie, men make it scrupulous & are affraide: upon an old conceived opinion, as if unto as many as came thither rashly and inconsiderately, a certaine horror and fearefulness were presented. And verily, this was soone after confirmed by this occasion: For when the new Land lord & possessor of that farme house, either by chance & at unawares, or els to try some experimēt, went into it, there to take up his lodging, it happened that in the night within verie few houres after, being driven out from thence by some sodaine violence, (he knoweth not how,) he was found in manner halfe dead, together with bed and all, before the dore.

Being yet an infant, surnamed he was *THVRINVS*, in memorial of the beginning of his Aunccestours: or else because in the countrie about *Thurij*, when he was newly borne, his father *OCTAVIUS* fought a battaile against the *Fugitines*. That he was surnamed *THVRINVS*, my selfe am able to report by a good and sufficient evidence, as having gotten an olde little counterfeite in

5  
A.V.C. 691.  
\* 23. Of September.  
\* Oxe or Bulls heads.

6

7

brasse representing him being a child: which had in yron letters and those almost wome out, this name engraven. This said counterfeit, being given by me unto the \* Prince, is now devoutly kept and worshipped among other his bed chamber Images. Moreover called he is oftentimes in taunting wife by M<sup>r</sup> ANTONIVS in his Epistles; THYRIVS: and himselfe writeth unto him backe againe as touching that point, nothing but this: That he marvelleth why that former name of his should be objected unto him as a reproach. Afterwards, he assumed the surname of C. CÆSAR: and after it of AVGVSTVS: the one by the last will of his great Vncle, by the mother side, the other by the vertue of M<sup>r</sup> NATIVS PLANCVS his sentence: For when some gave their opinion, that he ought to be stiled ROMVLVS, as if he also had beene A Founder of the Cittie, PLANCVS preuailed, that he should be called rather AVGVSTVS: not onely for that it was a new Surname, but also greater and more honourable, because Religions and holy places, wherein also any thing is consecrated by bird-flight, and feeding of them be called AVGVSTA, *ab auctu. i. of growing, or else ab avium gestu quæstive. i. Of birds gesture and feeding.* Like as ENNIVS also teacheth writing in this manner.

*Augusto Augurio postquam incerta condita Romæ est.*

After that Noble Rome was built by sacred flight of Birds.

8 He was 4. yeares old when his father died: and in the xij. yeare of his age he praised in a publike assemblie, his Grand-mother LVLIA deceased. Four yeeres after hauing put on his virill robe, he had (a) militarie (b) gifts bestowed upon him at the African triumph of CÆSAR, albeit by reason of his young yeares he had not once serued in the warres: Soone after, when his Vnkle (CÆSAR) was gone into Spaine against Cn. POMPEIVS children, he followed with in a while, (being as yet not well recovered out of a greivous sicknesse,) even through waies infested by enemies, with verie few in his traine to accompany him, and hauing suffred shipwracke besides: whereby he mightily won his Vncles love, who quickly approved his towardly behauiour and disposition, over and above his diligence in traualle. Whē CÆSAR, after he had recovered Spaine and brought it to his subiection, intended a voiage against the \* Daci, and from thence against the Partians, he being sent afore to Apollonia, became a Student there and followed his booke. And so soone as he had certaine intelligence that CÆSAR was slaine, and himselfe in doubt and suspence a long time, whether he should implore the helpe of the Legions or no: at length he gave over that course verily, as too hasty & untimely, but whē he was returned againe to Rome, he entred upon his inheritance, not withstanding his mother made some doubt thereof & his father in law MARTIVS \* PHILIPPVS a man of Consular degree much dissuaded him therefro. And from that time having levied & assembled his forces, he governed the common welth first jointly with C. M. ANTONIVS and M. LEPIDVS for the space almost of 12. yeeres, and at the last for xliij. yeares by himselfe alone:

Having thus laid open the very sum as it were, of his life, I will goe through the parts thereof in particular: not by the times but by the severall kinds thereof, to the end the same may be shewed and knowne more distinctly. Five civill warres he made to wit, at Mutina, Philippi, Perussum in Sicilie, and at Actium. Of which the first & last were against M. ANTONIVS: the second against BRVTVS

and

and CASSIVS the third against L. ANTONIVS brother to the Triumvir, the 4. against Sex. POMPEIVS, Cn. POMPEIVS his sonne. Of all these warres he tooke the occasion and quarrell from hence, namely, reputing and iudging in his mind nothing more meet and convenient than the revenge of his uncles death and the maintenance of his acts and proceedings.

No sooner was he returned from Apollonia, but he purposed to set upon BRVTUS and CASSIVS at unware: and (because upon foresight of danger they were fled secretly out of the way) to take the course of law, and in their absence to endite them of murder. As for the Plaies and games for CÆSARS victory because they durst not exhibit them, whose lot and office it was so to do, himselfe set them forth. And to the end that he might go through all other matters also more resolutely, he professed himselfe to labour for the \* Tribune ship in the rowne of one who fortune to die: albeit he was one of the Nobility, though not of the Senate. But seeing that M. ANTONIVS the Consul withstood his attempts, where as he hoped he would have bene his principall friend in that suit: and vouchsafed not unto him so much as the assistance of his owne publicke authority, or helpe procured from others in any thing, without he agreed and covenanted to yeeld unto him some exceeding consideration: he betooke himselfe unto the protection of those Nobles & chiefe Senatours unto whom he perceived that ANTONIVS was odious: in this regard especially, that \* he endeavored all that he could by force of armes to expell DECIMVS BRVTUS besieged at Mutina, out of that province which by CÆSAR was granted and by the Senate confirmed unto him. And thereupon by the aduice and perswasion of some he set certaine persons priuily in hand to murder ANTONIVS: which perilous practise of his being detected, and fearing still the like danger to himselfe, he waged the old soldiers with as beautiful a larges as possible he could, for the defence as well of his owne person as of the state. And being appointed to lead this armie thus levied, in qualitie of propretour, & together with HIRTIUS and PANSA, who had entred upon the Consulship, to aide D. BRVTUS, he made an end of this warre committed unto him within three moneths, in two fought fieldes. In the former of which, ANTONIVS writeth that he fled, and without coat armour or horse appeared at length after two dayes and shewed himselfe. But in the battaile next following, well knowne it is, that he performed the part not onely of a Capitaine but also of a soldier: and in the very heat and midst of the medly, by occasion that the Standard bearer of his owne Legion was grievously hurt, he supported the Aegle with his owne shoulders\* and so carried it a good while.

During this warre, when HIRTIUS had lost his life in the conflikt, and PANSA soone after of his wound, it was bruited risely abroad, that both of them were by his meanes slaine: to the end that having defeated ANTONIVS, and the Common-wealth beeing bereift of both Consuls, he alone might seize upon the victorious armies. And verily the death of PANSA was so deeply suspected that GLYCO the Physician was committed to ward and durance, as if he had put poyson into his wound. AQUILLVS NIGER addeth moreover and saith, that the one of the Consuls, to wit, HIRTIUS, was in the verie confused medly of the battaile kiled by AVGVSTVS himselfe.

But so soone as he understood that ANTONIE after his flight was intertained by M. LEPIDVS: that other Capitaines also and armies consented to take part with \* the side: he forooke without all delays the cause of the Nobles and principall Senatours: and for the better pretence of this change and alteration of his minde, craftily and uniously alleadged the words and deedes of certaine of them: as if (a) some had given it out of him: *That he was a boy, (b) Others, that he was to be adorned, and honoured: That neither himselfe nor the olde beaten soldiers might be rewarded according to their deserts.* And the better to approve his repentance of the former side and faction that he tooke: He fined the *Nursiner*, in a great summe of monie, and more than they were able to pay; For that upon the Monuments or Tombe of those Citizens that were slaine in the battaile at *Mutina* (which at their common charges was reared) they wrote this Title, *That they died for the Libertie and Free-dome of their Citie.*

Being entred into Societie with ANTONIE and LEPIDVS, hee finished the Philipian warre also. (although he was but weake and sickely,) and that with two battailes. in the former being discamped and driven out of the field, hardly hee escaped by flight and recovered the *Regiment* or wing of ANTONIUS. Neither used he moderately the successe of his victorie, but when hee had sent the head of BRVTUS to Rome for to be bestowed under the Statue of CÆSAR, he dealt cruelly with the Noblest and most honourable prisoners, and not without reproachfull words: so farre forth verily, that to one of them, making humble suite and prayer for his Sepulture, he answered, (by report) in this wise. *That it would be some, at the dispose of the fowles of the Aire:* and when others, to wit, the (a) Father, and sonne together intreated for their lives; he commanded them either to cast lots or trie by combat whether of them should have life granted: and so beheld them both as they dyed, whilest the father who offered himselfe to die was slaine, and the sonne voluntarily take his death. Whereupon the rest, & amongst them M. FAVONIUS that worthe follower of CATO, when they were brought forth with their yrons and chaynes to execution, after they had in honorable termes saluted ANTONIUS by the name of \* Emperour, openly reviled and let flie at him most foule and rayling words. Having parted betweene them their charges & offices after this victorie, whē ANTONIUS undertook to settle the *East* in good order, and himselfe to bring the olde Soldiers backe into *Italie*, & to placethem there, in the lands & territories belonging to the free *Townes* and *Burroughes*, he kept himselfe in favour neither with the said old soldiers, nor the former possessors of those lands: whilest the one sort complained, that they were disseized: and the other, that they were not well entreated according to their hope, for so good deserts.

At which verie time, he forced L. ANTONIUS (who confidently presuming upon the Consulship which he then bare, & his brothers power withall, went about to make an insurrection and alteration in the state) to flie unto PÆRVISIA, and there for verie hunger compelled him to yeeld: but yet not without great jeopardie of his owne person, both before and after the warre: for whē at a certaine solemne sight of stage plaies; he had commanded an ordinarie and comon soldier who was set within the (a) 14. ranks, to be raised by an officer, & thereupon

12  
\* *Proprietarij*;  
of *Pompey* and  
the common  
wealth, if you  
read *proprietarij*  
how it is with the  
Nobilitie  
\* *Et reliquum.*

13  
A.V.C. 711.

\* Sovereaine  
commander

14  
A.V.C. 713.

thereupon a rumor was carried and spred by his malicious ill willers and backbiters, as if presently after torture he had put the same soldier to death. There lacked verie little, but that in the concourse and indignation of the militarre multitude, he had come to a mischief and beene murdered. This onely saved his life: that the man for a while missed, sodainly was to be seene againe alive and safe without any harme done unto him. About the walls of *Perusia* as hee sacrificed, he had like to have been intercepted by a strong companie of sword fencers that sallied out of the Towne.

After he had forced PÆRVISIA; he proceeded to the execution of verie many, & ever as any went about either to crave pardon or to excuse themselves, with this on word he stopped their mouths, *Die ye must.* Some write, that iii. hundred of both degrees (to wit Senatours and Knights) chosen out of them who had yeelded, were killed \* as sacrifices upon the \* Ides of *March*, at the Alter built in the honor of IULIUS (CÆSAR) of famous memorie. There have been others who wrote, that of verie purpose he tooke armes and made this warre to the end that his close aduersaries and those who rather for feare, then of good will held in, upon occasion given and opportunitie by L. ANTONIUS there leader, might be detected: that having once vanquished them and confiscated their goods, the rewards promised unto the olde soldiers he might the better performe.

The warre in SICILIE he began betimes and with the first, but drewe it out a long time; as being often intermitted: one while, for the repairing and rigging of his fleet which by two ship-wracks in tempest, (and that \* in summer time) he had lost: another while, by occasion of peace made at the earnest cry of the people, for the provision of their vituallies cutoff and kept from them: and the famine thereby dayly growing: untill such time as having built newe ships, manured and set free xx. thousand slaues, and those put to the ore for to learne to row gallies, he made the Haven *Iulius* at *Briz* by letting the sea into the Lakes, LVCRIIVS and ALBERIVS. In which when he had trained and exercised his sea forces whole winters, he overcame POMPEIUS betweene \* *Mile* and \* *Naulochus*: at the verie houre and instant time of which Naual battaile, he was suddenly surprized with such a found sleepe, that his friends were faine to waken him and raise him out of bed for to give the signall. Whereupon occasion and matter was ministred (as I thinke) to \* ANTONIUS, for to cast this in his teeth, that he could not so much as with his eyes open see directly before him the battaile set in ray, but lay like a fencelesse blocke on his backe, looking onely into the \* skie aloft: nor once arose and came in fight of his soldiours, before that M. AGRIPPA had put his enemies 12 ships to flight. Others blame and charge him both for a speech and deed: also of his: as if he should crye out and say, *That seeing his owne regiment of ships were cast away by tempest, he would even against the will of NEPTVNE obtaine victorie.* And verily the next day of the (a) *Circensian Games*, he tooke out of the solemne pompe there shewed, the *Image* of the said God: Neither in any other warre lightly was hee in more and greater dangers For having transported one armie into *Sicilie*, when he failed backe againe for to waite over the rest of his forces from the continent and firme land, he was at unwarres overtaken and surprised by DEMOCHARES and APOLLOPHANES the Lievetenants and Admirals of POMPEIUS.

15  
A.V.C. 714.

\* Brained with  
an axe: and  
no beheaded  
\* On which  
day *Iulius Cæsar*  
was murdered.

16

\* When *Cæsar*  
mooveth in  
calme in those  
Seas.

A.V.C. 717.

\* A port town  
in *Sicilie*,  
\* An bare  
bour neere  
*Messanah*.  
A.V.C. 718.  
\* *Marcellus*  
the  
Triumvir.

\* For Gods  
help.

\* Of *Italie*.

POMPEIUS, but at the length with uerie much ado, he escaped with one only barke. In like manner as he travailed by land unto (b) *Rhegium* neere *Locrie*, kenning a farre of \* POMPEIUS gallies sailing along the coasts, and weening them to be his owne, he went downe to the shore, and had like to have been caught and taken by them. And even then as he made shift to flic and escape through by-waies and blind-lanes: a bond-servant of AEMILIUS PAVLVS a companion of his, taking it to the heart that his Maisters father PAVLVS, was in times past by him proscribed and outlawed, and embracing, as it were, the good occasion and opportunitie of revenge now offered, gave the attempt to kill him. After the flight of \* POMPEIUS, when M. LEPIDVS one of his \* Collegues, whome hee had called forth of *Africa* to his aide, bare himselfe proude upon the confidence of xx. Legions, challenged a souverainetie over the \* rest, and that, with terror and menaces: hee stript him of all his armie, and upon his humble submission and supplication, pardoned his life, but confined him for ever to *Circij*. \* The Societie of M. ANTONIUS wauering alwaies in doubtfull tearmes and uncertaine, and notwithstanding many and sundrie reconciliations, not well knit and confirmed, he brake of quite in the ende: and the better to proove and make good that he (c) had degenerated from the ciuill behauiour and modettie of a (*Romaine*) Citizen, he caused the last will and testament of the said ANTONIE, which he had left at (d) *Rome*, and therein nominated even the Children of CLEOPATRA among his heires to be opened and red in a publike assemblee. Howbeit when hee was judged by the State an enemy, hee sent backe unto him those of his neereft acquaintance and inward friends and among other C. SOSTIUS, (e) and T. \* DOMITIUS, being Consuls at that time still. The *Bononiens* also, for that of olde they were dependantes of the *Antonij* and in there retinue and protection, hee by a publike Act acquit and pardoned for not entering into a conted-race with all *Italie*, (f) on his side. Not long after, he vanquished him in a Nauall battaile before (g) *Actium*, what time by reason that the fight continued untill it was late in the evening hee was forced to lodge all night conqueror as he was, on ship board.

17

When he had retired himselfe from *Actium* into the Iland *Samos* for his winter harbour, being disquieted with the newes of his soldiers mutinie demanding rewards and discharge from service; those Iuncane, whom after the victorie hee had from out of the whole number sent before to *Brindis*, he went againe into *Italie*: but in crossing the Seas thither, twice was he tossed and troubled with Tempests: first betwene the promontories or Capes of *Poloponnesus* and *Actolis*: againe, about the Mountaines or Cliffes *Ceraunij*. In both which places, part of his pinnaces were cast away and drowned: and with all, the verie takling of that shippe wherein he embarked was rent and forme a funder: yea, and the rudder thereof quite broken. Neither staid he at *Brindis* above 27. daies, that is to say untill hee had sciled his soldiers and contented them in their desires and requests: but fetching a compasse about *Asia* and *Siria*, sailed into *Aegypt* where after hee had laied seige unto ALEXANDRIA, whether ANTONIE and CLEOPATRA were together fled: He soone became Maist. of that Citie. And as for ANTONIE, who

\* Sext.

\* Sext.  
A.V.C. 718.  
\* In the Tri-  
umvirate.  
\* M. Antonij  
and O. Tullij  
Augustus.  
\* Some Cri-  
tiques begin  
here a newe  
Chapter.

\* Ch. D. Mitius  
A.V.C. 722.

A.V.C. 723:

A.V.C. 724

who now (all to late) made meanes for conditions of peace hee enforced to make himselfe away, and \* saw him dead. And to CLEOPATRA whom most gladly he would have saved alive for to beautifie his triumph hee set the (a) PISTILL to sucke out the venime & poyson within her bodie: for that supposed it was she died with the sting of the Serpent (b) *Aspis*: This honour he did unto them both, namely to burie them in one sepulcher: and the Tombe by them begun, he commanded to be finished. Young ANTONIE the elder of those twaine whom he had by FVLVIA, he caused to be violently haled from the Statue of IVLIVS CÆSAR of famous memorie, unto which, after many prayers but all in vaine; he was fled as to sanctuarie, and so killed him. Likewise CÆSARIO, when CLEOPATRA gave out openly that she had conceived by his \* father CÆSAR, he fetched backe againe from the place whither he was fled, and put him to death. The rest of the Children of ANTONIE and the Queene together, he both saued (no less than if they had beene linked in neere Alliance unto himselfe), and also according to the state of euerie one of them, he maintained and cherished respectiue.

About the same time, when he beheld the Tombe together with the corps of ALEXANDER the great, taken newly forth of the vault or secret Chappell where it was bestowed; he set upon it a coronet of gold: and strewing flowers thereupon worshipped it: And being asked the question, whether hee would looke upo the PTOLOMES also: he answered that he was desirous indeed to see a King but not the (a) dead. When he had reduced *Aegypt* in the forme of a province, to the end that he might make it more fruitfull and firs to yeeld come and victuals for the Citie of *Rome*, he skowred and cleansed by helpe of soldiers, all those ditches whete into *Nilus* overfloweth, which by long time had been choaked with mud. And that the memorie of his Actiacke victorie might be more renowned among posteritie, he built the Citie *Niopolis* over against *Actium*, and ordained certaine games and plaies there, euerie 5. yeeres: and hauing enlarged the old \* Temple of *Apollo*: and the place wherein he had encamped, he beautified with *Navall* spoiles and then consecrated it to *Neptune* and *Mars*.

After this, sundry tumults and the verie beginnings of commotions and insurrections, many conspiracies also detected before they grew to any head, he suppressed: and those, some at one time and some at another. Namely first one of LEPIDVS the younger: then, another of VARRO MURENA, and FANNIUS CAPIO: soone after that, of M. \* GENATIVS: and so forward of PLAVIUS RVFVS and L. PAVLVVS, his neeces husband: and besides all these, that of L. AVDASIVS accused of forgerie, and counterfeit seales: a man neither for yeares able nor bodie found: Likewise of ASIMIVS EPICADVS descended from the *Parthyns*; Nations a (a) \* *Mungrell*: and last of all, of TELEPHVS, a base \* *Amelclator*, seruant to a woman: For free was not AVGVSTVS from the conspiracie and daunger, no not of the most abiect sort of people. As for AVDASIVS and EPICADVS, they had intended to carrie away IVLIA his daughter and AGROPPIA, his Nephew (out of those Ilands wherein they abode confined) unto the armies: and TELEPHVS purposed upon a deepe conceite that the soveraintie of dominion was by the *Destinies* and will of *God* due unto him, even to lay upon him and the Senate violent hands. And more then that,

\* Videtur mor-  
tuus: In lone  
corpes we read  
thus: *Voluntate*  
mortuus: *Cleopatra*,  
Anghe Gw  
Cleopatra dead:  
For he heard  
only of An-  
tonies death and  
saw the sword  
wherewith hee  
wounded him-  
selfe.  
\* His great  
Vale indeeds  
but rather by  
adoption

18

\* Or *Proleptis*  
the bodie  
Tombe of the  
Proleptis, if  
you read *Prole-*  
ptis, it is  
next of *Legion*:

\* Which flood  
upon the side  
promontorie,  
actium.

19

\* Or *Egnatius*,

\* Beetweene be-  
tweene a bond  
slave and a  
mungrell:

\* Or *Proleptis*  
of names, em-  
ployed in telling  
of their names  
who came to  
saue and bid  
good morrow,  
and placing al-  
so of guests at  
the Table, and  
in no better  
one service

one time: there was taken neere vnto his bed-chamber by night, a camp-flave belonging to the ILLYRIAN armie, who had decieued the porters and gotten thither with a wood knife at his side, but whether he were out of his wits, or feigned himselfe mad, it was uncertaine: for nothing could bee wrung out of him by examination upon the racke and torture.

20  
A.V.C. 721.  
727.

Foraine warres he made in his owne person in all and no more: that is to say, the (a) Dalmatian, when he was yet a verie youth: and the Cantabrian, after he had defeated ANTONIUS. In the Dalmatian warre, he was wounded also: for in one battaile he gat a blow upon his right knee with a stone: and in another, not his leg onely, but also both his armes were hurt with the fall from a (b) bridge. The rest of his warres he managed by his Lieftennants: yet so as that in some of them namely the Pannonian and the Germane; hee would either come betwene times, or else remaine not farre of: making his progresse from the Cittie of Rome, as farre as to Rauenna, or Millano, or to Aquileia.

\* Or turner of  
woods,

21

He subdued partly by his owne conduct in proper person, and in part by his Lieftennants hauing cõmission immediatly from him & directed by his auspices Cantabria, Aquitaine, Pannonia and Dalmatia together with all Illyrium, Rhætia likewise, the Vindelici, the Salassians and the Nations inhabiting the Alpes. He repressed also the Incursions of the Dike, hauing slaine three of their Generals with a great number of them besides. And the Germanes he remooued and set further off; even beyond the riuer Albius. Howbeit, of these the Sueuians and the Sicambrians, because they yielded themselues, he brought over into Gaule and placed them in the lands next unto Rhene. Other Nations being mal-content, he reduced unto his obedience. Neither made hee warre vpon any people without iust and necessarie causes: and so farre was he from desire of enlarging his Empire, or advancing his martiall glorie, that he compelled certaine princes and potentates of the Barbarians, to take an oath in the Temple of Mars (a) the Revenger for to continue in their allegiance, & in the protection and peace which they sued for: yea and from some of them he assaied to exact a new kind of Hostages, even women, for that he perceived, that they neglected the pledges of the males. And yet he gave the libertie, as oft as they would, to receive their hostages againe. Neither proceeded he at any time against those, who either usually or treacherously above the rest tooke armes & rebelled, to any punishment more greivous then this, euen to sell the as captives: with this conditon, that they shold not serue in any neighbour Country, nor be manumifed and made free within the space of 30. yeares. By which fame of vertue and moderation that went of him, he induced and drew the very Indians and Scythians, Nations known by report and heere say onely, to make suite of their owne accord by Embassadours, for amitie of him and the people of Rome. The Parthians also, when as he laied claime unto Armenia, yielded soone unto him: whose militarie Ensignes which they had taken from M. CRASSVS & M. ANTONIUS, they delivered unto him againe at his demand: and moreover, offered hostages unto him. And finally when there were many Competitious together at one time claiming a title to the Kingdome, they would not allow of any, but one by him elected.

22

The temple of Ianus, Quirinus, which from the foundation of the City before his daies had once and twice beene shut, he in a farre shorter space of time hauing

\* Vaulted in  
stone daies.

\* Or so, 721.

(having peace both by sea and land) shut a third time. Twice he red on horse-backe (b) vnto the City: once presently upon the Phlipian warre; and againe, after the Sicilian. He kept three Triumphs riding in his chariot: to wit, the Dalmatian, the Aethiack, and the Alexandrian, and these continued all for three dayes together.

Of his hamfull foiles and grievous overthrowes, he received but two in all: and those in no place else but in Germanie; namely when LOLLIVS and VARRVS were defeated. That of LOLLIVS, was a matter of dishonour more than losse and damage; but the other of VARRVS, drew with it in manner utter destruction: as wherein three Legions with their Generall, the Lieutenant, and (a) Auxiliaries, all were slaine. Vpon the newes of this Infortunity he proclaimed a set watch both day and night through the City of Rome; for feare of some tumult and uprore: and the commissions of Presidents and Deputies over Provinces, he renewed and enlarged their time of government: to the end, that the Allies of the people of Rome might bee kept in a leageance by governours, such as were both skillfull and also acquainted with them. Hee vouchsafed also the Great Games and Playes to the honour of IVPITER OPT. MAX. If the Commonwealt turned to better State. This happened during the time of the Cimbrian and \* Marlian warre. For, therewith (by report) hee was so troubled and astonied, that for certaine moneths together hee let the haire of beard and head grow still and wore it long yea and other whiles would raine his \* head against the dores, crying out, QUINTILLVS VARRVS, I et which Rebellion he kept every yeere mournfull, with sorrow and lamentation.

23

A.V.C. 738  
764

24 In warfare & feates of armes, he both altered and also instituted many points: yea and some he reduced to the auncient manner. (a) Militarie discipline he exercised most severely. He permitted not so much as any of his Lieutenants, but with much adoe and discontentment, to visite other-whiles their wives; and never but in the (b) winter moneths. A Roman Knight, for cutting off the thombs of two young men his sonnes, to avoid the militarie oath and warre service, he let in open peate sale, himselfe (I say) and all his goods. Whom notwithstanding, because he saw the (d) Publicanes about to buy, and bid very well for him, he appointed and delivered to his owne Freed man; that being confined and sent away unto his living & lands in the Country, he might permit him to live as Free. The tenth Legion, for being stubborne and unwilling to obey, he dismissed all and whole with ignominie. Other Legions likewise, requiring malapertly their discharge he called without allowance of rewards due for their service. Whole bands or cohorts, if any of them gave ground and recoiled, he tithed, that is to say, executed every tenth man of them: and the rest, he allowed barly in steed of wheat to feede upon. Those centurions who forsooke their Stations, he punished with death, even as well as the common soldiers of their bands: and for other kinds of Delinquencie he put them to shame sundry waies, as cõmanding them to stand all the day long before the Prætorium sometimes in their single coats and ungirt; other-whiles with ten \* foote perches in their hands; or else carrying turfes of earth.

\* Si Rebus  
horre fectum  
vnt. fct.

\* VVhich al  
so was called  
Bellum sociale,

wherem, the  
Alcdate mon  
ons in Italy re-

bed: of  
ver up thy  
Legion againe.

on the Anshors  
were the Marf,

\* Vpon an op-  
nion of the  
Pannons, that if  
they did ipeane  
to their owne  
boulders they  
should sooner  
pacifie the  
Gods.

\* The Generals  
Pannians,

\* Or wast-  
coates, without  
their Seyes,

\* Or mee-  
ting, poles,

in token of Re-  
gration or  
putting downe  
to a lower  
place.

25

but

but plaine *Souldiours*. Nay hee would not suffer them otherwise to be termed so much as by his sonnes, or his wives sonnes: thinking it was a more affected manner of Appellation than stoude either with martial Law, or the (4) quietnes of those times, or the maiestie of himselfe and (b) Libertines he employed in foulderie unless it were at *Rome* about skarfires by night, (not withstanding there was feared some tumult and uprore by occasion of great dearth and scarcity) but twice onely: once in garizon for defence of those *Caenies* which bounded fast upon *illyrium*; a second time for keeping the banks of the river of *Rbene*. And those, being as yet bond, imposed upon men and women of the wealthier sort for to set out, but without delay manumitted, he kept with him to serve under one of the formost \*banners in the vanguard; neither intermingling with such as were free borne, nor in the same manner armed. As for militarie gifts hee gave unto his souldiours trappers collars and \*whatsoever stoude upon gold or silver, much sooner than (c) *Vallas* or *Mural* coronets which were more honourable. These he bestowed most sparily; and when he did it was without suit made therefore: and many times upon the common (d) and base souldiers. He gave unto M. A. GRIPPA after a nauale victory in *Cilicia* a blew streamer. Those Captaines onely who had triumphed, albeit they were both companions with him in his expeditions, and also partakers of his victories, he thought not meete to be rewarded with any gifts at all: because they also had power to bestow the same upon whom they would. Moreover he deemed nothing lesse befecoming a perfit and accomplished Capitaine, than haile-making and rashnesse. And therefore, these mots and sentences were rise in his mouth. *Εὐχὴ δὲ βραδύων,*

*Aspidius* ἴσ' ἐκείνων, ἡδὲ γὰρ σὺ γράμματα :

As also, *Sat teleriter fieri, quicquid fiat satis bene.*

His saying was, That neither battaile nor warre was once to be under taken, unless there might be evidently *some hope of aine thenfear of damage*: for such as fought after the *smallest commodities* not with a little danger, he likened unto those, that angle or fish with a golden hook: for the losse whereof, if it happened to be knapt or broken off, no draught of fish what/soever, was able to make amends.

26

\* By the lawes  
Annat. 7. or  
Annat.  
\* As the Tri-  
umvirate :  
\* As the Tri-  
umvirate with  
the and Cen-  
turship.  
\* Or casting it  
behind him  
restito sagitta.

He managed magistracies and honorable places of government before due \* time: some of them also of a \* new kinde; and others in \* perpetuity. The Consulship hee usurped and entred upon in the twentieth (4) yeere of his age, presenting forcibly and in hostile manner his legions before the City, sending some of purpose to demand it, even in the name of the Armie for him. What time verily, when the *Senate* made some doubt and stay of the matter, C. O. RNELIUS a Centurion and the chiefe man of that message, casting \* of his souldiours iacket and shewing his swords haft, stucke not to say thus openly in the *Senate* house, *This here shall doe the deede, if yee will not*. His second Consulship hee bare nine yeares after: the third, but one yeare betweene: the rest ensuing hee continued one after another unto the eleuenth. Afterwardes hauing refused many Consulships when they were offered unto him; his twelfth Consulship a greater while after, even 17 yeares, himselfe made suite for: so did hee againe, two yeares after it, for his thirteenth: to the ende that being himselfe in place of the Soueraine and highest Maiestrate, hee might bring honorably into the Common Hall, C. and L. his (adopted)

adopted) \* sonnes; each of them to Commence and performe their first pleadings at their \* due time in virile gownes. The five middle Consulships betweene, to wit from the sixth to the eleventh he held the whole yeeres thorough: the other, for the space of fixe, or nine, foure, or three moneths: but the second, very fewe howers: for upon the very Calends \* of Ianuarie, when hee had sitten a while upon his curle chaire of estate before the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; hee resigned up the Office, and substituted another in his place. Neither entred hee upon all his Consulships at *Rome*: but the fourth in *Asia*; the fifth, in the Iland *Samos*; the eighth and ninth at *Tarrac-*

\* The natural  
sonnes of his  
daughters *Julia*  
and *C. Iulius*.  
\* The elder in  
his twelfth, the  
younger to his  
thirteenth Con-  
sulate.  
\* The first of  
Ianuarie or  
New yeeres  
day.

27

The Triumvirate for \* setting of the Common-wealth, hee administr'd for the space of tenne yeeres: Wherein verily, hee stoude against his colleagues proceedings for a good while, That there might be no proscription: but when it was once on foote, hee executed it more sharply than they both. For, whereas they were exorable and would bee oftentimes intreated by favour and prayer, to respect the persons of many; hee alone was very earnest, that none might bee spared: among the rest, hee proscribed C. TORNIVS also, his owne Tutor and guardian, yea and the companion in the Office of *Ædileship* with his father OCTAVIUS. IVNIUS SATVRNINVS writeth moreover, that after the proscription was ended, when M. L. APIDVS had in the Senate house excused all that was past and given good hope of clemencie for the time to come, because there had beene execution enough done already: he on the contrarie side professed openly, That hee had determined no other end of the saide proscription, but that hee might have liberty still to proceede in all things as he would. Howbeit, in testimonie of repentance for this rigour and obstinacie of his, hee honoured afterward with the dignitie of Knighthood \* T. IVNIUS PHILOPEMEN, for that hee was reputed to have in times past hid his owne Patron, that was proscribed. In the same Triumvirate, hee incurred many waies the ill will and heart-burning of the people: for he commaunded that PINARIUS a Gentleman of *Rome*, (what time as hee himselfe made a publike speech in an assembly whereunto hee had admitted a multitude of Paganes, that is to say, such as were no souldiours, and espied him there to take notes of something that he delivered before the souldiours, supposing him to be over busie and a spie,) should be stabbed to death even in his sight: yea, and hee terrified T. DIIVS APER, Consullect, (because hee had maliciously in some spitefull termes depraved something that he had done) with so great menaces, that in a melancholy hee cast himselfe headlong and brake his owne necke. Likewise, as Q. GALLIVS the Pretour held under his robe a paire of duple writing tables, when hee came of course to doe his duty and salute him; he suspecting, that he had a (short) sword hidden underneath, and not daring straight waies to search him farther, for feare something else than a sword should bee found about him; within a little while after caused him to be haled out of the Tribunal seate of Iudgement, by the handes of certaine Centurions of Souldiours, and put to torture like a bondslave; yea & seeing he would confesse nothing, commanded him to be killed; having first

\* That was the  
colour & pre-  
tence of it.

\* Or *Pinnus*, for  
so was his Pa-  
tron named.

F

with

with his owne hands plucked his eies out of his head. Howbeit AVGVSTVS writeth, that the said GALIUS by pretending to parle secretly with him, laid waite for his life; whereupon hee committed him to prison, and afterwards dismissed and enlarged him onely to dwell in *Rome*: and that in the end hee perished either by shipwracke, or else by the hands of thieves who forlayed him. Hee received and held the *Tribunate* in perpetuity. Therein, once or twice, he chose and assumed unto him a colleague, for severall \* *Lustræ*. Hee tooke upon him likewise the government of manners and Lawes as a perpetuall Censour: In full right whereof, although hee had not the honourable title of Censureship, yet hee helde a survey and nombring of the people thrice: the first and third with a companion in office; the middle by himselfe alone.

28

Twice hee was in minde, to have resigned up his absolute government: First, immediately upon the suppressing of ANTHONIE, mindfull of that which oftentimes \* hee had objected against him, namely, as if it had beene long of \* him, that it was not resigned, and the Common-wealth brought to a freestate againe: and secondly, by reason that hee was weary of a long and lingering sicklineesse, what time he sent also for all the Magistrates \* and the Senate, home to his house; and delivered up an Account-booke or Register of the \* whole Empire. But considering better with himselfe, that were he once a private person, he could not live without danger; and withall, that it would greatly hazard the Common wealth, to be put into the hands and dispose of many; he continued in the holding thereof still. And whether the event ensuing, or his will heerein were better, it is hard to say. VVhich will of his, as hee pretended oftentimes when he fate in place, so hee testified also by a certaine edit in these wordes: *O that I might establish the Common wealth safe and sound in her owne \* proper seat, and thereof reape that fruite which I desire: even that I may be reported the Author of an excellent estate, and carie with mee when I die this hope, that the ground-work and the foundations of the Common-wealth which I shall lay, may continue and abide steadfast in their place.* And verily what hee wished, \* himselfe effected and brought to passe, having endeavoured and done his best every way, that no man might repent of this newe estate. For the Citie being not adourned according to the maiestie of such an Empire and Subject to the casualties of Deluges and fires, hee beautified and set out so, as rustly he made his boast, that where he found it built of bricke, hee left it all of marble. And for the safety thereof, hee performed as much for future posterity as could be fore-seene and provided for by mans wit and reason.

29

Publike works hee built very many whereof the chiefe and principal was his *Forum* or stately Hall of Justice, together with the temple of MARS the *Revenger*: The temple of APOLLON Palatinus; The temple likewise of IUPITER the Thunderer, in the Capitol. The reason why hee built the said *Fora*, was the multitude of men & their suites: which because, (a) it would not suffice, seemed to have need of a third also. And therefore with great speed erected it was for that publike use, even before the temple of MARS was finished. And expressly provided it was

by

by law, that in its publike causes should be determined apart, and choosung of Iudges (or Iuries) by it selfe. The temple of MARS hee had vowed unto him, in the Philippian warre which hee tooke in hand for the revenge of his fathers death. He ordained therefore by an Act, that heere the Senate should be consulted with, as touching warres & triumphs: that from hence those Pretours or Governours who were to goe into their provinces should be honorably attended & brought onward on their way: and that hither they should bring the ensignes and ornaments of triumph, who returned with victorie. The temple of APOLLO he reared in that part of the *Palatine house*, which being finituen with lightning was by that God required, as the Soothsayers out of their learning had pronounced: hereto was adioyned a gallerie, with a librarie of Latine and Greeke bookes. In which temple, he was wont in his old age both to sit oftentimes in counsaile with the Senate, and also to over-see & review the *Decuries* of the Iudges. Hee consecrated the temple unto IUPITER the Thunderer, upon occasion that hee escaped a danger, what time as in his *Cantabrian* expedition, as hee travailed by night, a flash of lightning glanced upon his sister, & stracke his servant stone dead, that went with a light before. Some works also he made under other folks names, to wit his nephew, his wife and sister; as the *Gallerie* and stately Pallace of \* LVCIVS and CAIVS: likewise the *Gallerie* or *Porches* of LIVIA and OCTAVIA: the Theatre also of MARCELLUS. Moreover divers other principall perfes hee oftentimes exhorted to adorne and beautifie the City, every man according to his ability either by erecting new monuments, or else by repairing and furnishing the old. By which means many an Edifice was by many a man built: as namely the temple of *Hercules* and the *Muses* by MARCUS PHILIPPUS: the temple of *Liana* by L. CORNICIUS. The \* Court of Liberty by ASINIUS POLLIO: A temple of *Saturne* by M. NATIVS PLANCUS: a Theatre by CORNELIVS BALBUS; and an (b) Amphitheatre by STATILLUS TAURUS: but many and those very goodly monuments by M. AGRIPPA.

30 The whole space of the City hee divided into (a) wards and streetes. Hee ordained, that as Magistrates or Aldermen verely by lot should keepe and governe the former: so their should be Maisters or Constables elected out of the Commons of every streete, to looke unto the other. Against skarefres hee devised night-watches and watchmen. To keepe downe Inundations and Deluges, hee enlarged and cleaned the channell of the River *Tiberis*, which in times past was full of frammell and the ruines of houses, and so by that means narrow and choaked. And that the Avenues on every side to the City might be more passable, hee tooke in hand himselfe to repaire the high way or *Cauisse Flaminia*, so farre as to ARIMINUM: and the rest hee committed to sundry men who had triumphed, for to pave; and the charges thereof to be heftred out of the money raised of spoiles and sackage. The sacred Churches and Chappels decayed and ruinate by continuance of time, or consumed by fire hee reedified: and those together with the rest hee adorned with moit rich oblations: as who brought into the Cel, or Tabernacle of Iupiter Capitolinus at one Donation, 15000 pound weight of gold, besides pretious stones valued at 50 millions of Sesterces.

But after that hee entered now at length upon the High priesthood when

F 2

LÆLIUS AVGVSTVS.

A.V.C. 731

\* A The space of 5. yeeres.

\* The false Antonie.

\* A Augus. fu.

\* As Smith or e (name) out of the Senate.

\* Or, of his acts &amp; proceedings in the government.

\* Base or Pled. still.

\* As if he had beene a God himselfe according to the saying, *Suum sibi.*

\* His daughter children by Agrippa.

Arrid. liberatid. A trium, quod. A place where learned men were wont to meete and conferre, as our Merchants doe in the Royal Exchange, built not unlike unto it with arched walks on every side standing upon pillars: as this cloister was called *peristylum*, so, the open yard within, *Atrium* as Swetius.



LEPIDVS was once dead, which he never could finde in his heart to take from him whiles he lived: what bookes soever of propheties & destinies went commonly abroad in Greeke and Latine, either without authors, or such as were not authentical and of credite, he caused to be called in from all places, to the number of 2000 & above: and when he had burnt them, he retained those only of *Sibyls* propheties. And even of those also he made some special choice: and bestowed them close in two little Desks or coffers under the base & pied footstool of *APOLLO PALATINVS*. The yeeres revolution reduced as it was into order by *IULIVS* of sacred memory, but afterwards through negligence troubled and confused, he brought againe to the former calculation. In the dispose whereof, he called the moneth *Sextilis* (rather than September wherein he was borne,) by his owne name, because in it there befell unto him both his first Consulship & also notable victories. Of all the Religious & priests, but especially of the vestall virgins he augmented the number, the dignity and the commodities also. And whereas in the rowme of any vestall Nun deceased, there must another of necessity be chosen & take, he perceiving many to make suite that they might not put their daughters to the lottery; protested and bound it with an oath, that if any one of his owne Nieces or daughters daughters were of competent age he would present her to the place. Divers auncient ceremonies also which by little & little were disused and abolished, he restored againe, as namely the (a) *Augurie of SALVS*, the *Flamingship* of *IUPITER*, the *sacred Lupercal*, the (b) *Secular* plays and the *Comptality*. At the *Lupercal* Solemnities, he commanded that no beardless boyes should runne. Likewise, at the *Secular* plays, he forbad young folke of both sexes, to frequent any shew exhibited by night; unlesse it were in the company of some auncient person of their kindred. The *Tutelare* Images of crosse-ways called *Lares Comptales* he was the first that ordained to adorne twice in the yeere with flowers of the spring & sommer seasōs. The principal honour next unto the immortall gods, he performed to the memoriall of those worthy Captaines, who had raised the *Romaine* onpire from a small thing to so high and glorious a state. And therefore both the works & monuments of every of them he repaired & made againe, reserving their titles and inscriptions still; and all their Statues also in triumphant forme and shape he dedicated in both the Porches or galleries of his *Hall of Justice*. And in a publick edict he protested thus much, That he devised it to this end, That both himselfe whiles he lived, and the Princes or Emperours his successors for the ages to come, might be called upon and urged by their Subjects and Citizens to conforme themselves as it were to their patron and example. The Statue likewise of *POMPEIUS*, translated out of the Court wherein *C. CÆSAR* was murdered, he placed over against the princely Pallace of his Theater under an Arch of marble in manner of a Through fare.

Many most daungerous enormities and offensive abuses, which either had continued by custome and licentious liberty during the civill warres, or else crept in and began in the time of peace to the utter ruine of the Commonwealth, he reformed. For a number of bold roisters & professed *Robbers* ietted openly with short swords & skaines by their sides, under colour of their owne defence. Passengers & waifaring men, as they travell'd through the Country, were caught up (by them) as well Free borne as slaves without respect; & kept hard

hard to worke in the *Prisons* of landed men: many factious crewes also, under the title of a *New Colledge* had their meetings & joyned in fellowshipp to the perpetrating of mischiefes in what soever. Where upon, he disposed strong guards, and set watches in convenient places: he repressed those *Robbers* and *Hacksters*, he visited and surveyed the foresaid *Prisons*: and all *Colleges* or *Guilds* save only those of auncient foundation and by law erected, he dissolved and put downe. The bills of old debts due to the Chamber of the City, he burnt, as being the chiefe matter and occasion of malicious accusations. The publick places & houses in the City, whereof the tenure & hold was doubtfull, he adjudged unto those who were in present possession. The debts & actions commenced against such as had been troubled and sued a long time in the Law, by whose mournfull habite & distressed estate their adversaries fought for nothing but pleasure and the fulfilling of their wills he annulled & denounced this condition withall, that if any one would needs bring them into new trouble againe, he should be liable to the like danger of punishment or penalty as the molested party was. And to the end that no lewd Act might escape with impunity; nor businesse in Court be shuffled over by delays, he added unto the Terme time 30. daies over & above: which daies he called the *Honorarie Games* & playes tooke up (before.) To three Decuries of Iudges he added a fourth out of a lower & meaner degree, which went under the name of *Ducenarij*, and were to iudge of smaller summes. As for those Iudges hee enrolled & elected them into the Decuries after they were once 30 yeeres of age: that is to say, five yeeres sooner then they were wont. But seeing that most of them refused & were loth to execute this burdensome office of iudging, he hardly granted that each Decurie should have their yeeres vacation by turnes; and that the law matters which were wont to be pleaded and tried, in the months of November & December should be let passe & omitted quite.

33 Himselfe sat daily in Iudgement, yea and other whiles until it was darke night, lying if he had not his health, in a lister which was of purpose set before the tribunall seate, or else in his owne house: and he ministred iustice not onely with exceeding severity, but also with as great lenity. For when upon a time there was one accused for a manifest parricide, because he should not be sowed up in a leather (a) male or budget (a punishment that none suffred but such as had confessed the Fact) he examined (by report) upon interrogatives in this manner, Certes thou never murderedst thy father, diddest thou? Again, when as a matter was handled before him as touching a forged will, & all the witnesses that set their hands & seales thereto, were attaint by the Law *Cornelia*, he delivered unto the Commissioners who had the hearing & deciding together, of the cause, not onely the two (ordinarie) tables of condemnation and acquittal, but a third also; whereby they might have their pardon, who were certainly knowne to have bene seduced & brought to be witnesses as is before said, either by fraudulent practise or error & over-sight. As for the appeales in Court, he yearly assigned those which were for the City-Suiters unto Pretours of the City; but if they were for Provinciall persons unto certaine men of the Consul degree, such as he had ordained, in every province one, for to be in commission and to determine provinciall affaires.

34 The lawes made before time he revised & corrected: some also hee ordained & established a-new: as namely (a) *Sumptuarie*, as touching expenses

\* In manner of  
Birds or  
brutes of cor-  
rection.

\* Or obligati-  
ons.  
\* Excess or  
excessus.  
canceled.

\* Or cause.  
\* Law daies, or  
pleading times.  
\* Liberallia,  
Baccanalia,  
Proffania, or o-  
thers in the ho-  
nour of men  
might be well  
spared.

\* For that they  
were valed at  
at 200 Sester-  
tia: where as  
therer were  
worth 400.  
\* Or soother  
for the ordina-  
re age was 25:  
yeares, at which  
they were eli-  
gible.

\* Quarte quop  
anno: ceteris 4,  
yeares.

\* Upon cer-  
taine daies.  
of those mo-  
neths, during  
which, there  
were Sports &  
Reues and the  
holidays, feast  
Saturnalia.

\* Supple [sic]:  
some reade,  
superstiti-  
upon such an  
arched Ianua or  
Through-fare.



\* De pudicitia,  
or impudicitia

at the bord: Of *(b)* *Adulteries* & \* unnaturall filthineffe comitted with the male kind: Of *(c)* *in irrech suite for offices*. Of the *(d)* mutall mariages of *Senatours* and Gentlemen with Commoners. This act last named, when he had amended and reformed some what more precisely and with greater severitie then the rest, he could not carie cleerely and go through with, for the tumult of those that refused to do so, but that part of the penalties at length was quite taken away or els mitigated; an \* immunity also & toleration (or widow-head) granted for \* 3 yeeres, & the rewards besides augmented. And notwithstanding all that, when the order of Gentlemen stood out stiffly & stoutly calling in open sight, & publicly for the repealing of the said Statute: he sent for GERMANICUS his children, and taking some of them himselfe, & bellowing the others in their fathers armes, shewed & presented them unto their view: signifying as well by the gesture of his hand, as by countenance, *That they should not be leath nor think much, to imitate the example of that young Gentleman*. Moreover perceiving that the force and vigor of that Law was dallied with, & avoided by the \* immaturity of young espoused wives, as also by often \* changing of mariages: he brought in to a narrower compass the time of wedding and having such spaces, and also limited divorcements.

35

The number of Senatours growing still to a shameful & confused company (for there were not of them so few as a 1000, and some most unworthy, as who after CÆSARS death were taken into the house for favour or bribes; who the common people termed \* abortive, (as it were untimely births or born before their time): he reduced to the ancient \* stent & honorable reputation: and that in two elections: the former, at their own choise, wyl, & pleasure, whereby one man chooseth his fellow. The second, according to his owne & AGRIPPAES mind: at which time he is thought to have sitten as president, armed with a shirt of maille or privie coate under his gowne, & a short sword or skeine by his side; having a gard also standing about his chaire of estate, to wit, ten of the stoutest & tallest men that were of Senatours degree & all his friends: CORDUS CREMUTUS writeth that there was not so much as admitted then into the Senate-house any Senatour but singly one alone by himselfe, & not before his clothes were well ferched & fet for having any weapon under them. Some of them he brought to this modellie, as to excuse \* themselves: and yet for such as thus made excuse he reserved still the liberty to weare a Senatours *(a)* habite: the honor also to sit & behold the *Games* & plaies in the \* *Orchestra*, together with priviledge to keepe their place at the solemne publique feasts. Now, to the end that being thus chosen & allowed (as is above said) they might with more religious reverence & lesse trouble execute the functions belonging to Senatours: he ordained, That before any one fat him downe in his chaire, he should make devout supplication & sacrifice with frankincense & wine, at the \* altar of that *God*, in whose temple they assembled for the time: and that ordinarily the Senate should not be holden oftner then twice in a moneth, to wit upon the *(c)* *Calend.* & *(d)* *Ides* of the same: and that in the moneths \* September & October, none els should be bound to give attendance, save those that were drawne by lot: by whose number, Decrees might passe. Furthermore, he devised to inflicture for himselfe, & that by casting lots, a privie Counsell for 6 moneths: with whom he might treat before hand of busineses and affaires to be moved unto a frequent Senate-house fully assembled. As touching matter of greater importance

\* Of living unmarried.  
\* After the decease of a former wife or husband.

\* Virginitie, under 12 yeeres.  
\* By means of divorces.

\* *Abortive*:  
Some readers have  
given this sense,  
*velut Abortiva*  
*terra nasci* i.  
obscure & balie.  
\* 300.

\* For taking  
upon them that  
dignity.  
\* Among  
other Senatours.

\* And that  
they should not  
need to come  
and salute him,  
but save that  
labour.

\* Lastly, by  
this ordinance  
that was  
not to be neglected.

tance put to question, he demanded the opinion of the Senatours, not after the usuall manner & in order, but as it pleased himselfe to the end that every man should bend his mind so inventively thereto, as if he were to deliver his owne advice, rather then give assent unto another.

Other things there were besides, wherof he was the author and beginner: and among the rest: *That the \* Act of the Senate should not be published nor appear upon record: Item that no magistrates after that they had left or given up their honorable places, should shew themselves, be sent as governors into any provinces. That for preconsuls or presidents, their should be a certaine rate in monie set downe: and allowed, for their sumpter-mules, for their tentes and hales: which were wont really before time to be set out and allowed for them, at the publike cost of the Citie. Item, that the charge of the Citties Treasure should be distasted from the Questours: or treasurers of the Citie unto those that had been pretours, or to the preicurs for the time being: lastly that certaine \* Decemvirs should summon and assemble the *(a)* *Centumviri* court, and call the *Centumviri* to the speare, which they once were wont to do; that I ad borne the office of Questours shippe.*

And to the end that more men might beare their part in administration of the common weale, he devised new offices: to wit, *The overseeing of the publike works, the surveying of the waies, streetes, and canies, of the water courses or conduits, of the channel of Tybris, and distributing come among the people.* Also the prouership of the Citie: One \* *Triumvirate*, for chusing Senatours: an another for reviewing & visiting the troupes or cornets of horsemen, so oft as need required. The Censours, whose creation was forlet and discontinued, after a long time betweene, he created againe. The number of pretours he augmented. He required also and demanded, that so often as the Consulship was conferred upon him he might have for one, ii. colleagues or copanions in office: but he could not obtaine it, whilst all men with one voice cried out, *That his maiestie was abridged enough already, in that he bare not that honourable office by himselfe, but with another.* Neither was he more sparing in honorably rewarding martial prowes, as who gave order, that to 30. *Captaines* and above, there should be granted by publike decree full triumphs: and to a good many more triumphall *(a)* ornaments. Senatours Children, to the end they might be sooner acquainted with the affaires of State, he permitted to put on even at the first their viril gowne: to weare likewise the Senatours robe powdered with broad headed purple fluds; and to have their places in the Senate house. Also at their first entrance into warlike, he allowed them to be, not onely \* *militaire Tribunes* in the legions, but also *capitaines* over the \* *horsemen* in the wings. And, that none of them might be unpert of the Camp-affaires: he ordained for the most part over every wing or Cornet, ii. such Senatours (Iannes) to be provosts. The troupes & copanies of *Romaine Gentlemen*, he often reviewed: & after a long space of time betweene, brought into use againe the manner of their muster or *(b)* riding solemnly on horse backe, to shew themselves. Neither would he suffer any on of the during this solemnity, to be unhorsed & arrested by his adversary, that preceded any matter in law against him: a thing that was usuallly done. And to as many as were known to be aged or to have any defect or imperfection of body, he gave leave to send their horses before, and to come on foote to answer when so ever they were cited. And soone after he did those this favour, to deliver uppe their

36  
\* *Acta Senatus*  
and not *Senatus*  
consults. He  
meaneth *Dis-*  
\* *alle*, the  
proceedings  
that passed  
there every day  
of sitting.  
\* Ten men  
either chosen  
of the Centum  
virs by lot; or  
created of pur-  
posely.

\* An office  
which 3. men  
jointly bare

38

Colonels of  
1000. footmen  
\* O. men of  
Armes.

\* *Triumvir*  
211.

their (publike) horses, who being above 45. yeares of age, were unwilling to keepe them still.

39 Having obtained also by the \* Senate. x. *Coadiutours*, hee compelled euerie Gentleman (that serued with the Citties horse) to render an account of his life. And of such as were blameable and could not approve their livings, some he punished, others he noted with shame & ignominie: the most part of them with admonition, but after sundrie forts. The easiest & lightest kind of admonition, was the tendering unto the in open place & all mens sight, a paire of \* writing tables, to read unto themselves presently, in the place where they stood. Some also he put to rebuke & disgrace for taking up of money upō smal interest for the use, and putting it forth againe for greater gaine and ulurie.

40 At the Election of \* *Tribunes (of the Common)*: if their wanted (a) *Senatours* to stand for that office, he created the out of the degree of *Romaine Gentlemē*: so as, after they had borne that magistracy, they might remaine ranged in whether degree they would themselves. Now, when as many of the *Romaine Gentlemē*, hauing waisted & decayed their patrimonie, & estate in the civil warres, durst not out of the 14. formost seats beheld the publike plaies & games, for feare of the penalty by the (law *ROSCIA & LVIA*) called *THEATRALIS*, he pronounced openly & made it knowne, that such gentlemen were not liable thereto if either themselves or their \* fathers before them, were euer at any time valued to the \* worth of *Romaine Gentlemen*: He made a review of the people of *Rome*, street by street: & to prevent that the common people should not be oftē called away frō their affaires by occasion of the dole and distributiō of corne, he purposed to give out thrice a yeare, tiquets or talies for to serve 4. months: But when the people were desirous of the old custome, he granted the again to receive the same upō the (b) *Nimes* of every moneth: The ancient right and libertie also, in *Elections & Parliaments* he brought in again: & having restrained the indirect suing for dignities by manyfold penalties, upō the day of such *elections* he distributed out of his own purse among the (c) *Fabians & Scaptians*, who were of the same *Tribes*, wherein himselfe was incorporate: a thousand Sesterces a peece, because they should not look for ought at any of their hands who stood for offices. Moreouer supposing it a matter of great consequence to keepe the people incorrupt & cleare from all base mixture of foraine & servile blood, he both granted the freedom of the City of *Rome* most spariely, & also set a certain gage & limitatiō of manumising & enfranchising slaves. When *TIBERIUS* made request unto him by letters, in the behalfe of a *Grecian*, his client to be free of *Rome*: he wrot backe unto him, That he would not grant it unless he came personally himselfe, and could perswade him, what just causes he had of his suite: And, what time as *LVIA* intreated the like for a certaine French-man, tributarie to the *Romains*: he flatly denied the freedome of the City, but offered in lieu thereof immunitie and remission of Tributes: avowing, that he would more easily abide that somewhat went from the publike treasure and chamber of the City, than have the honour of the *Romaine* Citie to be made vulgar, & common: Nor content, that he had by diverse straight edicts & provisos kept many slaves from all manner of freedome, but more a great deal frō full freedom in the best cōdition: as having precisely & with much curiositie put in caveats both for the nūber & also for the condition & respect otherwife of those that were to be made free: he added thus much moreover.

Thas

\* A *trium* or *triumph*: but out of the *Senate* was degree

\* wherein were written at their faults.

40 *Demetrius Dion.*

\* Of, enclosure or of the *Senators*

\* *Parthenia*: comprehending all sunceitious. \* 400. Sesterces. or 400000. Sesterces. \* 3125. Sterling. \* *Senatus* came. \* *Monie*.

That no slave, who had ever beene bound and imprisoned, or examined by torture should obtaine the freedome of the Citie in any kind of enfranchisement what soever. The olde manner of going and wearing apparell also, he endeavoured to bring into use againe. And having scene upon a time assembled to heare a publicke speech, a number of Citizens cladde all in blacke \* clothes or \* sullied gownes, taking great indignation thereat crying out with all. Beholde, quoth he.

*Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.*

The \* *Romains*, Lords of all the world, and longe rob'd Nation. He gaue the *Aediles* in charge not to suffer any person from thence forward, to abide or stay, either in the Common place or the Cirque, but (d) in a gowne, laying a hide all clothes or mantils thereupon.

His liberality unto all degrees of Citizens he shewed often times as occasions and opportunities were offered: for both by bringing into the Citie in the *ALEXANDRINE* *Triumph* the treasures of the *Aegyptian* Kings he caused so great plenty of monie, that ulurie fell, but the price of Landes and Lordships ascle to auerie high reckoning: and also afterwards, so often as out of the goods of condemned persons there was any surplussage of monie remaining above their fines, he granted for a certaine time the free lone and use thereof to as many as were able to put in securitie for the principall, by an obligation in double the summe. The substance and wealth of *Senatours* hee augmented, and whereas the value thereof before amounted to the summes of \* 800000. Sesterces, he taxed or lessed them at 1200000: and looke who had not so much, he supplied and made it up to the full. Hee gave \* *Congiarie* often times to the people but lightly they were of diuerse summes, one while 400, another while 300, and some times 200: and fiftie Sesterces: and he left not so much as boyes under age, whereas they had not wont to receive such *congiar*, unless they were above eleuen yeares olde: Hee measured out also to the people by the Poll, Corne in times of scarcitie oftentimes at a verie lowe price, and otherwhiles freely, without payinge therefore: and as for the Tickets, of monie, he doubled the summe in them contained.

And that you may know, hee was a prince more respectiue of thrift and holisomenes, than desirous of popularitie, praise, & honour: when the people complained of the want & dearth of wine, he checked and snibbed the with this most severe speech, That his sonne in lawe *AGRIPPA* had taken order good enough that men should not be thirst, by conueighing so many waters into the Citie. Vnto the same people demanding the *congiarie*, which indeede was by him promised, he answered, That his creditte was good, and he able to performe his word; but when they earnestly called for one which hee had never promised, hee hit them in the teeth by an edict or proclamation with their dishonestie, & impudencie: assuring them, that give it he would not although he had intended it.

And with no lesse gravitie and resolution, when uppon his proposing & publishing of a *congiarie*, he found that many in the meane time were manumitted and inserted into the number of Citizens, he reiected such, and said: they should not receiue any, unto whom he had made no promise: and to all the rest hee gave

\* By blacke the meaneth cloe, or gowne or a siller russet colour, for their gownes should be white and fairly not sullied. \* By the trope *trima* meaning those that were in clothes or foule gownes.

41

\* the *Proletaries*

\* Double the worth of *Congiar* then en. \* Larger:

42

gave lesse than he promised: that the summe which he had appointed, might hold out and be sufficient. When upon a time, there was great barraineisse and scarcitie of corne, being put to an hard exigent and to seeke a difficult remedie, in so much as he was driven to expell out of the Citie, all the sort of young slaves pampered and trimmed up for sale, as also whole scholes & companies of Novice-fencers and sword players: all strangers and forainers, except Phisitians and scholemaisters: yea and some of the ordinarie household servants: so soone as the market began to mend, and victuals grew plentifull, he writeth, *That is tooke him in the head to abolish those publike doles of Corne for ever; because upon the trust and confidence of them, tillage was cleane laid downe.* Howbeit he continued not in that mind long, as being assured, that the same doles might be set up againe one time or other by the ambitious humour (of Princes his successors.) And therefore after this he ordred the matter so indifferently, as that he had no lesse regard of the Citties fermours of tillage, & other undertakers and pursuiours of the publike corne, than of the people and commons of the Citie.

43

\*Quæstus or  
Varrus.

In number, varietie, and magnificence of solemne shewes exhibited unto the people he went beyond all men. Hee reporteth of himselfe that he set fourth plaies and games in his owne name foure and twentie times: and for other magistrates who either were absent or not sufficient to beare the charges, three and twentie times. Diuers times, he exhibited plaies by euerie streete, and those upon many stages, and acted by plaies skillfull in all languages not in the *Common forum* only, nor in the ordinarie Amphitheater, but also in the *circus*. In the enclosure called *Septa*, he never represented any sportes but the baiting and couring of wild beasts and the shewes of champions-fight having built wooden scaffolds and seats for the nonce in *Mars* field. In like manner, he made the shew of a Navall battaile about the River *Tiberis*, having digged of purpose a spacious hollow pit within the ground, even there where-as now is to be seene the grove of the *Cæsars*. On which dayes he bestowed wardens in diverse places of the citie, for feare it might be endangered by thurde theues and robbers, taking their vantage, that so few remained at home in their houses. In the *Circus* he brought forth to doe their deuour. *Charioters, Runners, and killers of savage beasts*: otherwhiles out of the noblest young gentlemen of a the Citie. As for the warlike *Riding* or *Tournament* called *Traie*, he exhibited it ofteneft of all other, making choise of boyes to performe it, as well bigger as smaller, supposing it a matter of antiquitie: a decent and honorable manner besides, that the towardly disposition and prooffe of noble blood should thus be seene and knowne. In this solemnitie and sport, he rewarded, *C. NONIUS ASPRENAS*\* weakened by a fall from his horse, with a wreath or chaine of gold, and permitted both himselfe and also his posteritie to beare the surname of *TORQUATVS*.\* But afterwards he gave over the representation of such pastimes, by occasion that *ASINIUS POLLIO* the Orator, made a grievous and inuidious complaint in the Senate house, of the fall that *ÆSERNIUS* his nephew tooke, who likewise had thereby broken his legge. To the performance of his stage plaies also and shewes of sword fight, he employed some times even the Gentlemen and knights of *Rome*: but it was before he was inhibited by vertue of an Act of the Senate. For after

\*Orlandus.

it

itverily, he exhibited no more, save onely a youth called *L. IVIVS*, borne of worshipfull parentage, onely for a shew: that being a dwart not two foote high, & weighing but 17 l. yet he had an exceeding great voice. One day of the sword fight that he set forth, he brought in for to behould the solemnitie, even through the midd of the Shew place, the *Parthians* hostages who then were newly sent (to *Rome*) and placed them in the second\* ranke or row of seats above himselfe: His manner was moreover, before the usuall daies of such spectacles and solemne fights, and at other times, if any strang and new thing were brought over unto him, and worthieto be knowne, to bring it abroad for to be seene upon extraordinary daies, and in any place whatsoever. As for example, a *Rhinoceros* within the empaled or railed enclosure called *Septa*: a *Tigre* upon the stage: and a *Serpent* 50: cubits long, within the *Hall Comitum*. It returned that during the great *Circian* games which he had vowed before, he fell sick: whereby he lay in his litter and so devoutly attended upon the sacred chariots called *Thensa*. Again, it happened at the beginning of those plaies, which he set out when he dedicated the temple of *Marcellus*, that his curule chaire became unioincted, and thereby he fell upon his back: Allo at the games of his nephews when the people their assembled were mightily troubled & astonished, for feare that the Theater would fall seeing that by no means he could hold them in, nor cause them to take heart againe, he removed out of his owne place, and sat him downe in that part thereof which was most suspected: The most confute and licentious manner of beholding such spectacles, hee reformed and brought into order; mooved thereto, by the wrong done to a Senator, whom at *Puteoli* in a frequent assemble sittinge at their right solemne Games, noe man had received to him and vouchsafed a rowne.

Hercupon when a decree of the Senate was passed, *That so often as in any place there was ought exhibited publickly to be seene, the first ranke or course of Seats should be kept cleere and wholly for Senators*: he forbade the Embassadour, of free nations and confederats to sit at *Rome* within the *Orchestra*: because he had found, that even some of their libertines kind were sent in embassage. The soldiers hee severed fro the other people. To married men that were comoners, he assigned several rowes by themselves. To Noble mens childre under age his own quarter: and to their teachers and governors the next thereto. He made an Act also, that not one of the base Commons wearing blacke and sullied gownes should sit so neere as the midd of the Theatre. As for women he would not allow them to behold so much, as the sword Fencers, (who customarily in the time past were to be seene of all indifferently) but from some higher\* loft above the rest, \* sit. Hee senting there by their selues. To the *Vissall Nunnas* he graunted a place a part from the rest within the Theatre, and the same iust over against the Pretours Tribunal. Howbeit from the Solemnitie of Champions shew, he banished all the female sex: so farre forth, as that during the\* Pontificall Games, he put of a couple of them who were called for to enter in to combat, untill the morrow (b) morning. And, made proclamation, that his will and pleasure was, *That no woman should come into the Theatre before the\* fift hour of the day.*

Himselfe behelde the *Circian* Games, for the most part from the upper

\*His lighnes was so much noted that his short stature: For whereas the full height is 6: foote and the weight some-what above 100 lb: this lighnes of a foot is vnder that proportion the chaire, or behind at his backe high-er, and therefore is rather of a second fraction from the office one side, but in the same ranke too high not take

44

\*Circum (seem) or a ranke of their owne.

\*And by consequence farther off. \*Seats are of 12. which him selfe exhibited being 7. as the Maximianus the High priest. \*Even at the clock, by which hour all that night was past.

45

\* And soe,  
pauiser.  
The best  
when the  
Images of  
the Gods  
were de-  
uotely be-  
towed,  
which had  
been brought  
to their  
Thens and  
carried  
thither, at  
the solemn  
games.  
\* As if he  
had no  
delight in  
those games.

\* Pagius an-  
swered in  
Greece to the  
Romaine  
Gladiators.  
\* And he  
had learned  
the rules  
and reate  
of fighting.

\* B. bearing  
with rods.  
\* Pretours and  
Audaces.

\* Pompey, Bili-  
to Metell. For  
so many there  
were in Rome  
for dayes, be-  
sides the An-  
phitheatre of  
Statilius Taurus.  
A cunning  
A Court Count  
terling all  
parts.

46

\* Voices.

\* upper lofts and lodging of his friendes and freed-men Sometime out of the  
Pulvinar, sitting there with his wife onely and children. From these thewes and  
fights he would be absent many houres together, and otherwhiles whole  
dayes: but first having craved leave of the people, & recommended those unto  
them, who should sitte as presidentes of those Games in his turne. But so  
often as he was at them, he did nothing els but intend the same: either to avoide  
the rumor and speech of men, whereby his father CÆSAR (as he said himselfe)  
was commonly taxed, namely for that in beholding those solemnities he used  
betwene whiles to give his mind to read letters & petitions, yea and to write  
backe againe: or els upon an earnest desire and delight he had, in seeing such  
pastimes, pleasure and contentment, wherein he never dissimuled, but often-  
times frankly professed. And therefore he propoed and gave of his owne at  
the games of prize and plaies even of other men, Coronets and rewards, both  
many in number, and also of great worth: Neither was he present at any of  
these Greeke games (a) and solemnities, but he honored everie one of the Ac-  
tors and provors of Maieties therein according to their deserts. But in those  
affectionately of all other he loved to see the Champions\* at fist fight: and the  
Latines especially; not those onely who by lawfull calling were professed, &  
by order allowed, and even those he was wont to match with Greeks; but such  
also as out of the common sort of townes-men; fell together by the cares peil  
mell in the narrow streets, and though they had no skill at all of fight, yet could  
lay on load, and offend their concurrents one way or other. In summe all those  
in generall, who had any hand in those publike games or set them forward a-  
ny way, he deigned good rewards and had a speciall respect of them. The priu-  
ledges of Champions he both maintained entier, and also amplified. As for  
sword fencers he would not suffer the to enter into the lists, unlesse they might  
be discharged of that profession, in case they became victorious. The power to  
chastise Actours and plaiers at all times and in everie place (granted unto the  
Magistrates by auncient law) he tooke from them, save onely during the plaies  
and upon the stage. Howbeit he examined straightly nevertheless at all times  
either the matches or combats of Champions called (b) *Agiles*, or the fights of  
sword fencers. For the licentiousness of stage plaiers he to repressed, that whē  
he had for certain found out, That STEPHANO an actor of Romaine plays  
had a mans wife waiting upon him, borne & rounded in manner of a boy, he confined &  
sent him away as banished: but well beaten first with rods through all the three The-  
atres. And HYLAS the \*Pantomime at the complaint made of him by the Pre-  
tour, he scourged openly in the Court yard before his house: and excluded no  
man from the sight thereof: yea and he banished PYLADIS out of the Citie of  
Rome and Itale, because he had pointed with his finger at a Spectatour who his-  
sed him out of the stage, and so made him to be knowne.

Having in this manner ordred the Citie and administrated the civill affaires ther-  
in, he made Itale populous and much frequented with (a) Colonies to the num-  
ber of 28, brought thither and planted by him: yea he furnished the same with  
publike workes and revenues in many places. He equalled also after a sort,  
and in some part with the verie Citie of Rome in priviledges and estimations:  
by devising a new kind of \* Suffrages which the decurions or elders of Colonies  
gave every one in their owne Towneshippe, as touching Maiestates to be created

created in Rome, and sent under their hands, and seales to the City against the  
day of the solempne Elections. And to the end, there should not want in any place  
either honest and worshipfull inhabitants, or issue of the multitude; looke who  
made suite to serve as men of armes on horse-backe upon the publike com-  
mendation of any towneshipp\* whatsoever, those hee enroled and advanced  
unto the degree of Gentlemen. But to as many of the Commoners as could  
by good evidence prove unto him as hee visited the Countries and \* Regions  
of Italy, that they had sonnes and daughters he distributed a thousand sesterces a  
piece, for every child they had.

As for those Provinces, which were more mighty than other, and the go-  
vernment whereof by yeerely Magistrates was neither easie nor safe; he under-  
tooke himselfe to (a) rule: the (b) rest hee committed to Proconsuls by lot.  
And yet otherwhiles he made exchange of such Provinces: and of both sorts,  
hee oftentimes visited many in person. Certaine Cities, confederate and in  
league with Rome, howbeit by over-much libertie running headlong to mis-  
chiefe and destruction, hee deprived of their liberties. Others againe, either  
deepely in debt hee eased, or subverted by earthquake hee rectified, or able to al-  
ledge their merits and good turnes done to the people of Rome hee endowed  
with the franchises of Latium; or else with freedom of Rome. There is not, I  
suppose, a Province, (except Affricke onely and Sardania) but hee went unto it.  
Into these Provinces after hee had chased SEXTUS POMPEIUS thither, he pre-  
pared to saile out of Sicilie and to crosse the Seas: but continuall stormes and  
extreme tempests checked him: neither had hee good occasion or sufficient  
cause afterwards to passe ever unto them.

48

All those kingdomes which hee wan by conquest and force of armes, unlesse  
some fewe, hee either restored unto those Princes from whom hee had taken  
them, or else made them over to other. KK. mere Aliens, Princes, his Associ-  
ates hee conioyned also together among themselves by mutual bonds of alli-  
ance, as being a most ready procurer and maintainer of affinity and amity of  
every one: neither had hee other regard of them all in generall than of the very  
naturall members and parts of his owne Empire. Moreover, he was wont to  
set Guardians and Governours over the said Princes, when they were either  
young and under age, or lunatick and not well in their wits; until such time as  
they were growne to ripe yeeres; or began to come againe to themselves. The  
children of very many of them, he both brought up and also trained and instru-  
cted together with his owne.

49

Out of his militarie forces, he distributed both Legions and Auxiliaries by  
Provinces. He placed one fleet at Misenum, and another at Ravenna, for the  
defences of the \* upper and \* nether Seas. A certaine number of Souldiours  
he selected for a guard, partly of the City, and in part of his owne person, ha-  
ving discharged the regiment of the \* *Calagurritanes*; which hee had retained  
about him, until hee vanquished ANTONIUS: and likewise of the Germanes  
which hee had waged among the Squires of his body, unto the disastrous  
overthrow of VARUS: And yet hee suffered not at any time, to remain within the  
City more then 3 cohorts, and those without their pavilions. The residue, his  
manner was to send away to wintering places & sommer harbours about the  
neighbour-

\* Calagurritanes  
appeale.\* And those  
were deces,47  
A.V.C. 746\* Saveri, called  
otherwise the  
Adriatick Sea:  
Venice gulf.  
\* Inferi, other-  
wise, Tiber, or  
Tiberinus: the  
Tuscan Sea.  
\* People of  
Spain.

neighbour-towens. Moreover, all the fouldiours that were in any place whatsoever, hee tied to a certaine prescript forme and proportion of wages and rewards, setting downe according to the degree and place of every one, both their times of warfare, and also the commodities they should receive after the terme of their service expired & their lawfull discharge. Least that by occasion of old age, or for want, they should after they were freed from warfare, be solicited to sedition and rebellion. And to the end, that for ever, and without any difficulty, there might be defrayed sufficient to maintaine and reward them accordingly, he appointed a peculiar *Treasurie* for soldiours with new revenues devised for their maintenance. And that with more speede and out of hand word might be brought, and notice taken what was doing in every province, hee disposed along the rode high-ways, within small distance one from another, first, certaine young men as posts; and afterwards swift wagons to give intelligence. This he thought more commodious, and better to the purpose, that they who from a place brought him letters might be asked questions also, if the matters required ought.

50 In charters, patents, writs, bills and letters he used for his seale, at the first, the image of (a) *SPHINX*: Soone after, that of *ALEXANDER* the great: and last of all, his owne; engraven by the hand of *DIOSCURIDES*: wherewith the Princes and Emperours his successeurs continued to signe their writings. To all his missives his manner was, to put precisely the very minutes of houres, not of day onely but of night also, wherein it might be knowne, they were dated

51 Of his clemencie and civill (a) curtesie, there be many, and those right great proofes and experiments. Not to reckon up, how many and who they were of the adverserfaction, that he vouchsafed pardon & life; yea, and suffred to hold still a principall place in the City: he was content and thought it sufficient, to punish *IUNIUS NOVATUS* and *CASSIUS PATAVINUS*, two commoners; the one with a fine of money and the other with a slight banishment: notwithstanding that *IUNIUS NOVATUS* in the name of young *AGRIPPA* had divulged a most biting and stinging letter, touching him, and *CASSIUS PATAVINUS* at an open table and full feast, gave out in broad termes, That he wanted neither hartie wishes nor good will to stab him. Moreover in a certaine iudiciall trial, when among other crimes this article was principally objected against *ÆMILIUS ÆLIANUS* of *Corduba*, That hee was wont to have a bad conceite and to speake but basely of *CÆSAR*, himselfe turned unto the accuser, and as if he had bene fore offended, *I could*, quoth he, *thou wert able to prove this unto me: In faith ÆLIANUS should well know that I also have a tongue: for I will not becke to say more by him.* And farther than this he neither for the present nor afterwards inquired into the matter. Likewise, when *TIBERIUS* grieved and complained unto him of the same indignity in a letter, and that uncessantly and after a violent manner, thus he wrote back againe: *See not my good TIBERIUS in this point follow and feed the humors of your age: neither let it too neere your heart, That there is any man who speaketh evil of me; For it is enough for us, if no man be able to doe us harme.*

52 Albeit, hee wist well enough, that Temples were usually graunted by decree even unto Proconsuls, yet in no Province accepted hee of that honour, but ioyntlie in the name and behaife of himselfe and of *Rome*. For in

*Rome* verily, he forbore this honour most resolutely: yea, and those silver Statues which in times past had bene set up for him, he melted every one. \* Of which, he caused golden *Tables* to be made, and those he dedicated to *APOLLO PATAVINUS*. When the people offered and instantly forced upon him the Dictatorship, he fell upon his knees, cast his gowne from off his shoulder, bared his brest, and with detestation of the thing, besought them not to urge him farther.

53 The name and title of \* *Lord*, (a) he alwaies abhorred as a contumelious & reproachfull terme. When upon a time, as he beheld the plaies, these words were pronounced out of a Comedie \*, *O good and gracious Lord*: wherupon the whole assembly with great ioy and applause accorded thereto, as if they had bene spoken of him: immediately both with gesture of hand and shew of countenance, he repressed such undecent flatteries: and the next day reproved them most sharply by an edict: neither would hee ever after suffer himselfe to be called *DOMINUS*, no not of his owne children and nephewes either in earnest or boord. And that which more is, such faire and gawing wordes hee forbade them to use among themselves. Lightly, you should not have him depart forth of the City or any Towne, nor enter into any place, but in the evening, or by night: For disquieting any person in doing him honour by way of dutifull attendance. In his Consulship hee went commonly in the streetes on foote: out of his Consulship oftentimes in a close \* (b) chaire or litter. In generall Salutations and duties done unto him he admitted the very Commons, entertaining the suites and desires of all commers with so great humanity as that he rebuked one of them merily, because in reaching unto him a supplication, he did it so timorously, as if hee had raught a small peece \* of coine to an Oliphant. On a Senate day, he never saluted his Nobles but in the (c) *Curia*: and those verily as they sat, every one by name without any \* prompter: and at his departure out of the house, he used to bid them farewell one by one as they were set, in the same manner. With many men he performed mutual offices yielding one kindnes for another interchangeably. Neither gave he over frequenting their solemnities & \* feasts until he was farre steeped in yecres: and by this occasion, that once upon a day of \* Elspousals he was in the presse & throng of people forecrowded. *GALLUS TERENTIUS* a Senator, & one of his familiar acquaintance, howbeit fallen binde and purposing resolutely to pine (a) himselfe to death, he visited in proper person, and by his consolatory and comfortable words perswaded him to live still.

As he delivered a speech in the Senate one said unto him, *I conceived you not: & another, I would gain say you if any place were left for me to speake* \* Divers times when upon occasion of excessive altercation and brabbling among the Senators in debating matters, he was about to whip out of the Senate a pace in a great chafe, some of them would choke him with these words, *Senators we beseech you to have liberty to speake their mindes concerning the Common-weale.* *ANTISTHIUS LABEO* at a certaine Election of Senators, when \* one man chooseth another, made choise of *M. LEPTIUS*, who sometime was (*AUGUSTUS*) mortall enemy, and then in Exile. Now when he demanded of the said *ANTISTHIUS*, if there were not others more worthy to be chosen: hee returned this answer, *That every man had his owne liking and iugement by himselfe.* Yet for all this, hee

\* Feet, censures, land and living.

\* Ducenti simi et quinquaginta milia summi denarii, with there hundred pence and the fifth penny of water sold with the goods also of condemned persons.

\* A cunning Lapidary and grave engraver, called stone.

\* Male of others. The same in this Author, that Male dice.

\* Young impudent: his collector & cruelty to the hearts of youth & beasts being remaining by himselfe.

\* With the money, for which they were sold.

\* Certum, otherwise called Treptanlian, being upon 3. feet: From which Oracles were delivered.

\* Dam. minor Sr.

\* Or Enterlude Mims.

\* Or Sr.

\* Adversus: adversa the fence is contrary.

\* Silepi. Quintilianus reddidit, 40 milia 6. s. p.

\* Or Nem. n. dicitur.

\* As Birth-days, & Marriage Mirth.

\* A turning mingling of a marriage.

\* Adversus: adversa the fence is contrary.

\* Or Sr.

55

mans free speech or froward selfe-will, turne him to dispicaure or danger.

Moreover, the diffamatory libels of him cast abroad & dispersed in the *Curia*, he neither was affrighted at, nor tooke great care to refute; making not so much as search after the Authors. Onely this he opened, *That from thence forth there should be inquisition made, and examination had of those that either in their owne name or under other mens, did put forth libels, or verses to the infamie of any person.* Furthermore, to meete with the spitefull taunts and skurrile scoffes of some, wherewith he was provoked, he made an Edict against such. And yet, to the end that the Senate should passe no Act, for the Inhibition of their (a) licentious liberty in their last wils & testaments, he interposed his negative voice.

56 Whensoever he was present himselfe at the Generall Ward-motes for Election of Magistrates, he went with his owne (a) *Candidates* round about to the *Tribes*, and humbly craved their voices according to the usuall custome. Himselfe also gave a voice in his owne Tribe as one of the ordinary people. When hee appeared as witnesse in iudiciall courts, hee suffered himselfe right willingly to be examined upon interrogatives, & also to be impleaded against and confuted. His common Hall of Iustice he made lesse of narrower \* compasse; as not daring to encroach upon the next houses & dispossesse the owners. He never recommended his finnes unto the people, but with this clause added thereto. If they shall deserve. When, being yet under age, and \* in their

purpled child's habit, al the people generally that sat in the Theater rose up unto them, and the standers below clapped their hands, hee tooke it very ill and complained grievously thereof. His minions & inward friends he would have to bee great and mighty men in the City; yet so, as they should have no more liberty than other Citizens, but be subiect to lawes and iudgements as well as the rest. When *Asprenas Nonius* (b), a man of neere alliance & acquaintance with him was accused by *Cassius Severus*, for practising poison, & pleaded for himselfe at the Barr, hee asked counsell of the Senate, what they thought in duty he was to do? For I stand in doubt, quoth he, *least being here present as an advocate, I should acquit the prisoner \* defendant, and so hinder the course of law*; againe, if I be absent & faile him, least I might be thought to forsake and preiudice my friend: Whereupon, by all their consents, he sat there in the \* *Pues* certain houres, but spake never a word nor afforded so much as a commendatorie speech in the defendants behalfe, as the manner of friends was to do in the triall of such cases. He pleaded the causes even of his very clients, and by name, of a certaine \* shield-bearer, (c) whom in times past he had called forth to serve him in the wars: he spake I say in his defence, when he was sued in an action of the case. Of all those that were thus in trouble, he delivered one & no more from making his appearance in Court: and him verily no otherwise, but by earnest prayers & entreating the Accuser before the Iudges: and him he perswaded at length to let fall his action. And *Castricius* it was a man, by whose meanes he came to the knowledge of *Murenae's* conspiracie.

How much, and for what demerits of his, he was beloved, an easie matter it is to make an estimate. The acts & decrees of the Senate concerning his honors I passe over, as which may be thought wrested from them either upon mere necessity or basishul modesty. The Gentlemen of *Rome* of their owne accord and by an uniforme consent celebrated his birth-feast alwaies for 2 daies together. All States & Degrees of the City, yeerely upon a solemne vow that they

57

made, threw small pieces of brasse-coine into \* *Curius* lake for the preservation of his life & health. Semblably, at the Calends of Ianuarie every yeere they offered a new yeeres-gift in the Capitoll unto him, although he were absent. Out of which masse & grosse fum he disbursed as much money, as wherewith he bought the most precious Images of the Gods, and dedicated them in divers streets: as namely *Apollo* \* *Sandalarius*, & *Iupiter* \* *Tragædus*, and \* others besides. For the rectification of his house in \* *Palatine* consumed by fire, the old soldours, the *Decuries* (of the Iudges) the *Tribes*, & many severall persons by themselves of all sorts, willingly & according to each ones ability brought in their monies together. Howbeit, he did no more but slightly touch the heapes of such money as they lay, & tooke not away out of any one above one single \* denier. As he returned out of any province, they accompanied him honorably, not onely with good words & lucky \* wishes, but also with songs set in musickall measures. This also was duly observed, that how often so ever he entred *Rome*, no punishment that day was inflicted up on any person.

58 The \* surname in his stile of *Pater Patriæ*, they all presented unto him with exceeding great & unexpected accord. The Commons, first, by an Embassage which they sent unto *Antium*: then, because he accepted not thereof, at *Rome* as he entred the Theater to behold the plaies, they tendered it a second time themselves in great frequence, dight with Lawrell branches & Coronets. Soone after, the Senate did the like, not by way of decree nor acclamation, but by *Valerius Messalla*, who had commision from them all, to relate their minds in this maner. That, quoth he, which may be to the good and happinesse of thee & thy house *O Cæsar Augustus* (for in this wile we think, that we pray for perpetuall felicity & \* prosperity to this Commonwealth.) The Senate according with the people of *Rome*, do iointly salute thee by the name of \* *Pater Patriæ*. Vnto whom, *Augustus* with teares standing in his eyes, made answer in these words, (For I have let the very same downe, like as I did \* those of *Messala*) Now that I have (mine honorable Lords) attained to the height of all my vowes and wishes, what remaineth else for me to crave of the immortal Gods, but that I may carie with mee this universall consent of yours unto my Ives end?

Vnto *Antonius Musa* his Physitian, by whose meanes he was recovered out of a dangerous disease, they erected a Statue, by a generall contribution of brasse, iust by the image of *Esculapius*. Some \* householders there were who in their last wils and testaments provided, that their heirs should leade beasts for sacrifice into the Capitoll and pay their vowes, with this title caried before them containing the reason of so doing, *Because they had left Augustus living after them*. Certaine Cities of *Italy* began their yeerly that very day, on which he first came to them. Most of the Provinces, over & above Temples & Altars \*, ordained almost in every good Towne, solemne Games & Playes every fifth yeere in his honor.

Kings his friends and Confederates both severally every one in his own kingdom built Cities calling them *Cæsarea*, and iointly altogether intended, at their common charges fully to finish the temple of *Iupiter Olympicus* at *Athens* which long time before was begun, & to dedicate it unto his *Genius*. And oftentimes, the said Princes leaving their realmes, going in Romaine gownes, without Diadems & regall Ornaments, in habit & manner of devoted Clients, performed

65

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\* Into the railled or empaled place named *Sepia*, where sometimes was that Lake.

\* In the Shoo, makers Preet.

\* In the Tribes, the Tragicallians street.

\* Alleg. In the, the name of the.

\* Mount Palatine.

\* 7d. ob. \* Fastiis omnibus, or, sometimes, names.

\* Or addition A. V. C. 758

\* Felicitatem Resp. et laud.

\* laud: prosperitatem et laud Resp. et laud.

\* Father of the Country.

\* Sicut Messala

59

\* Patresfamilias good honest Citizens of Rome that were

\* iuris.

\* Their Father's, the Ecclias. tious.

\* As if he had beene a Demagogue.

60

their continuall attendance unto him day by day: not at *Rome* only, but also when he visited and trauielled over the provinces.

For as much as I have shewed already what his publique cariage was in places of Command and Magistracies: in the managing also and administration of the Common-weale throughout the world both in warre and peace: Now will I relate his more private and domestical life: as also what behaviour hee shewed and what fortune hee had at home, and among his owne, even from his youth unto his dying day. His mother he buried during the time of his first Consulship, and his sister OCTAVIA in the 54 yeere of his age. And as hee had performed unto them both, whiles they lived, the offices of pietie and love in the best manner: so when they were dead, he did them the greatest honours hee possibly could.

62 He had espoused, being a very youth, the daughter of P. SERVILIUS ISAU-  
RICUS: but upon his reconciliation unto ANTONIUS after their first discorde  
at the earnest demand of both their soldiours, that they might be conioyned  
and united by some nere affinitie, he tooke to wife (ANTONIUS) daughter in  
law CLAUDIA, the naturall daughter of Dame FULVIA by P. CLODIUS: a  
young Damosell, scarce mariageable. And upon some displeasure, falling out  
with FULVIA his wives mother, he put her away, as yet untouched and a vir-  
gine. Soone after, he wedded SCRIBONIA, the wife before of two husbands,  
both men of Consular dignity, and by one of them a mother. This wife also  
he divorced, not able to endure, as hee writeth himselfe, her shrewd and per-  
verse conditions: and forthwith, tooke perforce from TIBERIUS NERO,  
LIVIA DRUSILLA his lawfull wife & great with child. Her he loved entirely,  
her he liked onely, and to the very end.

63 Vpon SCRIBONIA he begat IULIA. By LIVIA he had no issue, although full faine he would. Conceive once she did by him; but the miserie and the Infant was borne before time. As for IULIA, hee gave her in marriage first to MARCELLUS the sonne of his sister OCTAVIA, even when he was but newly crept out of his chillesage. Afterwards, when MARCELLUS was departed this life, he bestowed her upon M. AGRIPPA, having by intreatie obtained of his sister, to yeeld up unto him her right and interest in her sonne \* in law. For, at the same time AGRIPPA had to wife one of the \* MARCELLE (her daughters) and of her body begotten children. When this AGRIPPA was likewise dead, he cast about and sought for divers matches a long time, even out of the ranks of Romaine Gentlemen, and chose for her, his wives sonne \* TIBERIUS: whom he forced to put away a former wife then with child, and by whom hee had become a father already. M. ANTONIUS writeth, that he had affianced the said IULIA first, to ANTONIE his sonne; and afterwards to COTIS King of the Getes: what time ANTONIE himselfe required to have a Kings daughter likewise to wife.

64 By AGRIPPA and IULIA he had 3 nephewes, CAIUS, LUCIUS, and AGRIPPA: nieces likewise twaine, IULIA and AGRIPPINA. IULIA he bestowed in marriage upon LUCIUS PAULUS, the Censors sonne: and AGRIPPINA upon GERMANICUS, his \* sisters (4) Nephew. As for CAIUS and LUCIUS he adopted them for his owne children at home in his house, having bought them of AGRIPPA their Father by the brazen coin \* and (b) the balance. Whom being yet in their tender yeeres, he employed in the charge of the common-

men weale: and no sooner were they Consuls Eleſt, but hee ſent them abroad to the government of Provinces and conduct of armies. His daughter and nieces above named, hee brought uppe and trained ſo, as that hee acquainted them with houſewifery, and ſet them even to card, ſpinne and make cloth: forbidding them ſtreightly either to ſay or doe ought but openly in the ſight and hearing of all men, and that which might be recorded in their day \*bookes. Certes, ſo farre forth hee prohibited and forewarned them the companie of ſtrangers, that he wrote uppon a time unto L. T. U C I N I V S, a noble young gentleman and a perſonable, charging him that he paſſed the bounds of modeſtie, in that hee came once to Baize for to ſee and ſalute his daughter: his nephewes himſelfe for the moſt part taught to reade, to write (e) & to ſwinne, beſides the rudiments & firſt introductions to other Sciences. But in nothing travailed hee ſo much as in this, that they might imitate his handwritting: Hee never ſupped together with them, but they ſatte at the nether end of the Table: neither went hee any Iourne, but hee had them eiter goinge before in a Wagon, or elſe about him riding by his ſide.

But as joyous and confident as hee was in regard both of his selfe, and also of the discipline of his house, fortune failed him in the proofe of all. His daughter and niece either of them named *VLIA* disflour'd with all kinde of leawdnesse and dishonestie, he sent out of the way as banished: \* *CAIVS*, \* *G*, and *LVCIVS* both, hee lost in the space of 18 moneths, *CAIVS* died in *Lycia*, *LVCIVS* at *Maffia*. His third nephew *AGRIPIA*, together with his wives sonne *TIBERIVS* (6) hee adopted his sonnes in the *Forme of Rome* by an Act of \* all the Cūize. But of these twaine within a small time hee cast out of his favour, yea and confined aside into *Surreyntum* *AGRIPIA*, for his base disposition and fell nature. Moreover hee tooke much more patiently the death, than the reprochfull misdeameours of his children. For, at the infortunitie of *CAIVS* and *LVCIVS* he was not extremely dismayed and cast downe: mary, of his daughter & her lewd pranches, he gave notice in his absence to the Senate, and that in writing, which his (6) Que[n]sor red openly before them and for very shame hee absent himselfe a long time and avoyded the company of men: yea, and that which more is, once hee was of mind to further to death. And verely, when as, about the same time, a freed woman of his named *PHOEBE*, one of them that were privie to her naughtiness, knith one neck in a halter, & so ended her dayes, he gave it out, *that hee wept with all his heart be had bene?* *Phoebe* was *faster*. Confined thus when she was, he debaired her wholly the use of wine, and all manner of delicate trimming and decking her bodie: neither would hee permitt any man, one or other, bond, or free to have access unto her without his privie and leave asked: nor unless he might be certified before, of what age, of what stature and colour hee was, yea and what (a) markes and skars hee carried about him. After 5. yeares end, he removed her out of the \* *Iland* into the Continent where shee abode at more libertie somewhat, and not so freighly looked unto: For, to call her home againe once for all, he could by no means bee intreated: as who, many a time when the people of Rome befoUGHT him, earnestly and were very instant with him in her behalfe, openly before a frequent assembly of them cursed such daughters and such wives: saying God blesse a foel from the like. The infant that his niece *VLIA* bare after she was condemned, hee cald expressly to take knowledge of, & to give it the rearing. As touching his nephew *AGRIPIA* seeing him to prove nothing more tractable, but rather braine sicke every day more than other, he transported him (from *Surreyntum*) into an Iland and enclosed him there, besides with a guard of soldiers. Hee provided also by an Act of the Senate, that in the same place he should be kept for ever. And so often, as there was any mention made either of him or his (6) \* *VLIA*, hee used to fetch a sigh and grone againe, and with all to breake out into this speech.

ἂν ἦν ἄλλος ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἡμεῖς, ἔργον ἢ ἀπολέσθαι,  
 W. *if God I never had wedded bride*  
*Or else without any child had died.*



66

Friendship with any persō as he did not easily intertain, so he maintained & kept the same most constantly; not honoring only the vertues & deserts of every man according to their worth, but enduring also their vices & delinquencies at least wife if they exceeded not for out of all that nūber of his depēdants their wilhardly be any found, during his friendship to have bin plunged in adversity & thereby overthrowen: except *SALVIDIENSIVS* & *REVS* whom he had before advanced to the dignitie of Consul; & *CORNELIVS GALLVS* promoted by him to the pro vothip of *Æt. 47*, raised both from the verie dunghill. The one of these for pra ctising seditiously an alteration in the state: & the other for his unthankful and malitious mind, he forbad his house & all his provinces. But as for *GALLVS*, whē as both by the menaces of his accusers, & also by the rigorous Acts of the Senate passed against him, he was driven to shorten his owne life: *AVGVSTVS* considred verely their kiad harts to him for being so wroth & grieving so much in his behalfe: howbeit for *GALLVS* sake he wept, & complained of his owne hard fortune, in that he alone might not be angrie, with his friends, within that measure as he would himselfe: all the rest of his favorites flourished in power & welth to their lives end, as chiefe persons every one in their ranke: notwithstanding some discontentment & millikes came between. For otherwhiles, hee found a want in *M. AGRIPPA* of patience, and in *M. ECENAS* of Taciturnitie & secrecie; when as the one upon a light suspition of his cold love, & affection, with a lousie besides, that *MARCELLVS* should be preferred before him left all & went to *MITYLENE*: the other (b) unto his wife *TERRANTIA* revealed a secret, as touching the detection of *MVERNARS* conspiracie. Himselfe also required seembly mutual benevolence of his friends, as well dead as living. For although he was none of these that lie in the winde to mung and catch at Inheritances, as who could never abide to reape any comoditie by the last will & testamēt of an unknown person; yet weighed he most strictly & precisely the *supreme* judgments & testimonies of his friends concerning him, delivered at their deaths: as on who dissimuled neither his grief in case a man respected him slightly & without honorable tearmes: nor his ioy, if he remembered him thankfully & with kindnes. As touching either legacies or parts of heritages, as also portions left unto him by any parents whatsoever, his manner was either out of hand to part with the same unto their children, or if they were in their minority, to restore all unto them with the increase, upon the day that they put on their virile gownes, or else whereon they married.

67

A patron he was (to his freedmen) and Maist. (to his bondservants) no lesse severe, than gracious & gentle. Many of his enfranchised men he highly honoured and employed especially: by name, *LICINIVS ENCLADVS*, with others. His servant *COSMVS*, who thought & spake most hardly of him, he proceeded to chastise no farther, than with hanging a paire of fetters at his heeles: As for *Diomedes* his Steward, who walking together with him, by occasion of a wild Bore running full upon them, for very feare put his Maist. between himselfe and the Beast, hee imputed unto him rather timiditie, then to bee any fault else: and although it were a matter of noe small perill, yet because there was noe prepened mallice, hee turned all into a jest. Contrariwise, the selfe same man, forced to death *PROCELLVS* a freed man of his and whome hee set greatest store by, because hee was detected for abusing mens wives. *GALLVS* his scribe, had received 500 deniers

For

\*M. Agrippa:  
\*Frigid: or  
eager, as if  
Angustus had  
looked sternely  
or strangely  
upon him.  
\*Mecenas.

\*Final or last

\*O. Tiberius.  
\*Clerks or  
secretary:

For making on priue unto a letter of his hands: but he caused his legges to be broken for his labour. The pædagogue and other servitours attendant upon *CÆSAR* this sonne, who taking the vantage of his sickenesse and death bare themselves proudly and insolently in his province and therein committed many outrages, hee caused to be throwne headlong into a River, with hea-vie weights about their neckes.

In the Prime and flower of his youth he incurred sundrie waies the infamous note of a vicious and wanton life. *SEXT. POMPEIUS* railed upon him as an effeminate person. *M. ANTONIVS* layed to his charge, that he earned his unlikes adoption, by suffering the filthy abuse of his bodie: Semblably *LEUCIVS* brother to the said *MARCUS* envied against him, as if he had abandoned and prostituted his youth (deflowered and tasted first by *CÆSAR*) unto *A. HIRTIUS* also in *Spain* for 300000: festerces: and that hee was wont to finde his legges with red\* hottie Walnutshells, to the end the haire might come up softer: The verie people also in generall one time on a day of their Solemne Stage plays, both consitred to his reproach, and also with exceeding great applause verified of him a verse pronounced vpon the Stage, as touching a priest of (*Cybele*) whether of the Gods playing upon a *Timbrell*,  
*Vides (a)ne: Cinadus orbem digito temperat.*

That he was a common adulterer: his verie friends did not denie: but they excuse him for sooth: saying, That he did it not upon filthy lust, but for good reason and in pollicy: to the end he might more easily search out the plots & practices of his adversaries, by the means of women & wiewes, it skilled not whose. *M. ANTONIVS* objected against him besides his over hastic marriage \* with *LIVIA*, that he fetched a certaine Noble dame, the wife of one who had beene Consul, forth of a dining parlour, even before her husbands face, into his own bed chamber, and brought her thither backe again to make an end of the banquet with her haire all rustled, even while her eares were yet glowing red. also that he put away \* *SCRIBONIA*, because she was too plaine & round with him, upon grieffe she tooke, that a Concubine was so great & might do so much with him: as also that there were bargaines and matches sought out for him by his friends, upon liking: who stucke not to view & peruse both wiewes, & young maidens of ripe yeares, all naked, as if *TORVIVS* the baud were a selling of them: Moreover he writeth thus much to himselfe, after a familiar sort, as yet being not fallen out flatly with him, nor a professed enemy: *What hath changed and altered you: is it because I lie with a Queene, she is my wife. And is this the first time? Did I not so 9. yeares since? Alas good fir, you it is would have me company with OCTAVIANVS wife onely tell me true: know you for your part none other women but DAVCILIA: go so so may you fare well & have your health, as when you shall read this letter, you be not redy to deale carnally with \* *TERTIVLLA* of *TERENTILLA* OF *RVFILLA*, or *SALVIA* *TITISCENIA* or with all of them. And thinke you it skilleth not, where and whom you lust after and meddle with?*

Moreover, much talke there was abroad, of a certaine supper of his more secret, ywis then the rest, & which was commonly called\* (a) *Dodecatheos*: As which, that their sarguests in habit of Gods & goddesse, & himselfe among the adorned instead of *Apollo*: not onely the letters of *ANTONIVS*, who hee heard most bitterly the names of every one do lay in his reproach, but also these verses without an author so vulgarly knowen and rife in everie mans mouth:

Cum

\*A kind of  
T. iustitiam

69

\*Whome hee  
could not  
bear, because  
when she was  
great with  
children,  
\*His owne  
wife.

\*Terre Ter-  
thine, Ref: as  
lovers vie to  
name their  
in their hearts.





appeareth by his dining pallets and tables yet remaining: the most part whereof he scarce answerable to the elegancie of a meere private person. Neither slept he by mens saying otherwise than upon a \* low-bed, and the same but meanely spread and laid with Coverlets. He wore not lightly any appaerell but of huswifes cloth, made within house; by his wife, his sister, his daughter and neiceps. His gownes were neither streight and skant, nor yet, wide and large. His Senatours robe neither with overbroad fluds of purple guarded, nor with narrow. His shoes underlaide somewhat with the highest, that hee might seeme taller than hee was. As for the raiment which hee used a-broade, and his shooes, hee had them at all times layed readie within his Bedchamber, against all suddaine occurrents and unlooked for occasions whatsoever.

Hee feasted daily: and never otherwise than at a set \* table: not without great respect and choise of degrees and persons. VALERIUS MESSALLA writeth, that hee never entertained any of his libertines at supper except MEANVS, and him \* naturalized first, even after the betraying of Sex: POMPEIVS flectes: Himselfe writeth, that he invited one, in whose ferme hee would make his abode, and who in times past had beene a \* Spie of his. Hee came to the bourde himselfe when he made a feast, sometimes very late, and otherwhiles left the same as soone: and then his guests would both fall to their suppers before hee sat downe, and also continued sitting still after hee was gone. The suppers hee made consisted ordinarily of three dishes \* of meate and when hee would fare most highly of 6: at the most: and as he entertained his guests in no exceeding sumptuous manner, so he welcomed them with all the kindeesse and curtesie that might be. For he would prouoke them, if they either sat silent or spake softly to the fellowship of discourse and talke: yea and interpose either \* \* Acroames and players or else \* Triviall fellows out of \* the Circle, but most commonly these discoursing poore \* threedbare Phylosophers:

75 Festival and solemne daies he celebrated sometimes with unmeasurable expenses, otherwhiles with mirth and sport onely: At the *Saturnalia*, and at other times when it pleased him, hee used to send abroade as his gifts, one while appaerall, golde and silver: otherwhile money of all stampees, even olde peeces currant in the Kings dayes, and strange coynees: sometime nothing but haire clothes, spunges, cole \* rakes, \* cizars and such like stufte, under obscure and doubtfull titles symbolizing somewhat else: Hee was wont also to offer sale, by marting in the time of a banquet to his guesstes, of such things, as were in price most unequall, yea and to tender blinde bargaines unto them also of painted Tables, with the wronge side outwarde, and so by uncertaine venturing upon their happe, either to frustrate and disappoint, or fully to satisfie the hope of the Chapmen: yet so, as the cheapninge of the thinge should alwayes passe through everie bourde, and the losse or gaine growe to them all as common,

As touching diet (for I may not over passe so much as this) hee was a man of verie little meate, and feedinge for the most part grosse. \* Seconde breade and small fishes: cheefe made of coves milke and the same \* pressed

\* Not rayfed  
uppe and  
swelling high  
with downe.

74  
\* Canasta,  
or rille, abo-  
lutely, or diffe-  
rence of por-  
tula.  
\* Restored to  
his blood  
and created a  
gentle man.  
For he was Do-  
matist and his  
anxiety to inter-  
ingress his baler-  
tur Dim.  
\* Speculator, or  
aquire of his  
bodice.  
\* Tribus frenis,  
mouisch about  
be, but framed  
in manner of  
Tropes, with  
desires that  
some meates  
might be bat  
others hang  
thercupon.  
\* As mindrels  
Musicians,  
Quintors &c.  
\* As fortune  
rellers, iuglers  
Bassors &c.  
\* Artelogs,  
\* Or firefords,  
\* Or suppers,  
\* A kinde of  
Lottorie.

76  
\* Or cheas,

pressed \* with the hand, & greene figges especially of that kinde which beare twice a yeere, his appetite served unto. His manner was to eate even iust before supper, when and wheresoever his stomacke called for foode. His very wordes out of his owne Epistles shewe no lesse, which are these: *Whiles wee were in a Britis Waggon, wee tasted of bread and Dates.* Again, *As I returned homeward in my Lister from the Palace, I eate an ounce weight of bread with a fewe hard coated Grapes.* And once more, *The very Iewe, my TIBERIUS, observed not his Fast upon the (a) Sabbath so precisely, as I have this day: who in the baines, not before the first houre of the night was past, \* chewed two morsels of bread, even before I began to be anointed.* Upon this \* retchlesse neglect of diet, he used divers times to take his supper alone, either before his other guests were set and fell to meate, or else after all was taken away, and they risen: whereas, at a full board he would not touch a bit.

77  
Hee was by nature also a very small drinker of wine. CORNELIUS NEPOS reporteth of him, that his usuall manner was during the time hee lay encamped before *Mutina* to drinke at a supper not above thrice. Afterwards, whensoever hee dranke most liberally hee passed not \* fixe Sextants; or if hee went beyond, he cast it up againe. Hee delighted most in *Rhetian* wine; and seldome dranke hee in the \* day time. In steede of drinke hee tooke a sop of bread soaked in colde water; or a peece of a Cucumber, or a young lettuce head, or else some new gathered apple, \* sharpe and tart, standing much upon a winish liquour within it.

78  
After his noones repast hee used to take his repose, and to sleepe a while, in his clothes as he was, with his shooes (a) on, stretching (b) out his feete, and holding his hand before his eyes. After supper hee retired himselfe into a little Closet (c) or Studie. And there continued hee by a candle farre in the night, even until he had dispatched the rest of that daies businesse, either all or the most part. From thence, he went directly to his bed: Where, hee slept at the most not above seven houres: and those verily not together but so, as in that space of time hee would awake three or foure times: and if hee could not recover his sleepe thus broken and interrupted (as it happened otherwhiles); hee would send for some to reade or \* tell tales; and by their meanes catch a sleepe againe, and drawe the same out often after day-broke. Neither would he ever lie awake without one sitting by his beds side. Much offended hee was with want of sleepe (or waking) early in a morning: and if hee were to be awakened sooner than ordinarie, either about some worldly affaires of his friends, or service of the Gods, because hee would not preiudice thereby his owne good or health; hee used to stay in some of his familiar friends upper rooms and loft, next to the place where his occasions lay. And even so, many a time for want of sleepe, both as he was caried through the streets, and also when his lister was set downe, hee would betweene whiles take a nap and make some stay.

79  
Hee was of an excellent presence and personage, and the same through-  
out

\* Much like  
Angels wad-  
no press, nor  
more pressum-  
Greene cheese  
new made.  
\* Or Germain,  
Esse. For they  
were used in  
both countries  
indifferently.  
\* As daucy,  
or, with hard  
kernels.  
\* Or did care.  
\* Ex has in ad-  
ferre, yd-  
ex bac obfer-  
vante: upon  
this due obser-  
ving of his, to  
eate when his  
stomack called  
for it; not els.  
\* 6 measures,  
containing ei-  
thers ounces a  
peece, or two  
cyathes, 3  
unces. In all,  
at the most not  
above a good  
pint, or a firrall  
wine quart, cal-  
led *Sextarius*,  
or fixing of  
12 unces.  
\* Isterias, as  
we say, betwixt  
meales.  
\* Andrus, or  
Andrus, dried,  
but yet of a win-  
nish taste.

\* Or, so hold  
him with talke.

out all the degrees of his age most lovely and amiable; negligent though hee were in all manner of pikednesse, for combing and trimming of his head so carelesse, as that he would use at once many Barbers: such as came next hand, it skilled not whom: and one while hee clipped, another while hee shaved his beard; and yet at the very same time, he either read, or else wrote somewhat. His visage and countenance, whether he spake or held his peace, was so mild, so pleasant and lightfome, that one of the Nobles and Potentates of Gaule; confessed unto his Country-men, he was thereby onely staied and reclaimed, that he did not approach neere unto him, under colour of conference as hee passed over the Alpes, and so shove him downe from a steepe cragge to breake his necke, as his full intent was. Hee had a paire of cleere and shining eyes: wherein also, (as hee would have made men beleewe) was seated a kinde of Divine vigour: and hee joyed much, if a man looking wistly upon him helde downe his face, as it were against the brightnesse of the Sunne. But in his olde age he saw not very well with the left eye. His teeth grewe thicke in his head, and the same were small and ragged: The haire of his head was somewhat curled and turning downward; and withall of a light yellowe colour. His eye-browes met together: his eares were of a meane bignesse: his nose both in the upper part, bearing out round, and also beneath somewhat with \* the longest. Of colour and complexion, hee was betweene a browne \* and faire white. His stature but short: (and yet IULIUS MARATHUS his freed-man writeth in the Historie of his life, that hee was five foote (a) and nine inches high). But as lowe as the same was, the proportionable making and stature of his limmes hid it so, as it might not be perceived, unlesse he were compared with some taller person than himselfe standing by.

80

His body, by report, was full of spottes: having upon the brest and bellie naturall markes which hee brought with him into the worlde; dispersed, for the manner, order, and number, like unto the starres of the celestiall \* beare: as also certaine hard risings of thicke brawnie skinne, occasioned in divers places by the ytching of his bodie, and the continuall and forcible use of the \* Strigil in the Baines: Which callosities resembled a Ringworme (a). In his left hucklebone (b), thigh and legge, hee was not very found: in so much, as many times for griefe thereof hee bated on that side: but by a remedie that he had of Sand (c) and Reedes, he found ease and went upright againe. Also, the fore-finger of his right hand hee perceived otherwhiles to be so weak, that being benumbed and shrunked by a crampe upon some colde, he could hardly set it to any writing, with the helpe of an hoope and finger stall of home. Hee complained also of the griefe in his (d) bladder, but voiding at length little gravell-stones by urine, he was eased of that paine.

81

All his life time hee tasted of certaine grievous and dangerous sicknesses, but especially after the subduing of CANTABRIA: what time, by reason of his liver diseased and corrupted by Destillations, hee was driven to some extremitie: and thereby of necessitie entred into a contrarie (a) and desperate course of Physicke: For, seeing that hote fomentations did him no good,

forced

forced hee was by the direction and counsell of ANTONIUS MUSA his Physitian, to be cured by colde. He had the experience also of some maladies which came (b) yeerely and kept their course at a certaine time. For about his (c) birth-day, most commonly he was sickish and had a faintnesse upon him: likewise in the beginning of the (d) Spring, much troubled hee was with the inflation of the midriffe and \* hypochondriall parts: and whensoever the winde was southerly, with the murr and the poise. By occasion whereof, his body beeing so shaken and crasie, hee could not well endure either colde or heat.

82

In winter time clad he went against the colde with foure coates, together with a good thicke gowne, and his Waistcoate or Peticoate bodie of woollen: well lapped also about the (a) thighs and legges. During Sommer he lay with his bed chamber dores open, and oftentimes within a cloisture supported with pillars, having water (b) warming out of a spring, or running from a spout in a Conduit: or else some one to make (c) winde hard by him. Hee could not away so much as with the Winter sunne shine: and therefore even at home hee never walked up and downe in the aire without a broad brim Hat upon his head. He travailed in a licker, and never lightly but in the night. The iourneys that he made were soft and small: so as if hee went from Rome but to Tibur (a) or Preneste, he would make two daies of it. Could hee reach to any place by sea: hee chose rather to saile thither, than goe by land. But as great infirmities as he was subiect unto, hee maintained and defended his body with as much care and regard of himselfe: but principally by seldome \* bathing (c): For, anointed hee was very often and used to sweate before a light fire: and then upon it to be dowelled in water luke warme, or else heated with long standing in the Sunne. And so often as he was to use the Sea waters hote, or those of \* Albulæ for the strengthening of his sinewes, hee contented himselfe with this: namely to sit in a wooden bathing Tub, which himselfe by a Spanish name called DURETA, and therein to shake up and downe his hands and feet one after another, by turnes.

83

The exercises in (Mars) field of riding on horse-backe and bearing armes, hee laid aside immediately after the civile warres, and tooke himselfe, first, to the little (a) tennis-ball, and the hand-ball blowne with (b) winde. Soone after, he used onely to bee \* carried and to walke, but so as that in the end of every walke he would take his runne by iumpes, lapped and wrapped within a light garment called \* Sesterius (c) or a thinne vaile and sheete of linnen. For his recreation and pastime, his manner was: for sometime to angle or fish with the hooke, otherwhiles to play with cockall bones, or \* trundling round (c) pellets, or else with nutres even among little boyes; whom hee would lay for, and seeke out from all parts, if they were of an amiable countenance and could \* prattle prettily with a lovely grace, but principally those of the Moores and Syrians kind. As for Dwarfes, crooked and misshapen Elves and all of that sort, he could not abide such, as being the very mockeries of natures work, and of unluckie prodage,

\* Toward his forehead.  
\* De la fleur, or as some expound it, sharp & thin, Leptan.  
\* Inter aquilam, candidumq; somewhat tinged and furnished, as Casan- non seemeth to interpret.

\* Charlemaine his waine.

\* Much like a currie comb.

\* Destillations: but I knowe not what. What if we thus point and read? Dr. Ffiliatibus, incipere vitare: to this sense. That he was much inclined to rheumes by occasion that his liver was diseased, & to wit, obstructed or stopped.

\* Or Bond: grace.

\* In hot waters.

\* Which naturally were hote standing upon a vase of brass floor.

\* Either on horse-backe, or in a chariot.  
\* Two foote & a half square.  
\* These the Romans called Patera, as their players and dancers used in an undecent gesture, such as the Greeks in an undecent gesture named Paida.  
\* want off baggage, &c. Catamites



\*In Greeke:

AREUS the Philosopher and his two sonnes, DRONYSIUS and NIKANOR: yet so, as for all that he neither could speake readily, nor durst compose any thing. For if occasion required ought, he drew it in Latine, and gave it unto another for to be translated into Greeke. And, as he was not altogether unskillfull in Poesmes, so he tooke delight even in the (b) olde Comœdie also, which he exhibited oftentimes to be acted in publique solemnities. In reading over and perusing Authors of both Languages, hee sought after nothing so much as holisome precepts and examples, serving to publique or private use: and those, when he had gathered out of them word for word, hee sent either to his inward friends and domestickall Servitours, or to the Commanders of armies and Governours of Provinces: or else for the most part to the Magistrates of the Citie, according as any of them needed admonition. Moreover, whole bookes he both read from one end to the other unto the Senate, and also published oftentimes to the people by proclamation: as namely, the Orations of Q. (c) METELLUS touching the propagation and multiplying of children: those likewise of RUTILIUS concerning the model and forme of buildings: thereby the rather to perswade them, *That hee was not the first that lookt into both these matters, but that their fore-fathers in old time had even then a care and regard thereof.* The fine wits flourishing in his daies he cherished by all means possible. Such as reheard before him their Compositions he gave audience unto, courteously and with patience: not onely verses and histories, but orations also and dialogues. Many, if anything were written of himselfe, unlesse it were done with serious gravity and by the best, hee tooke offence thereat; and gave the Prætors in charge not to suffer his name to be made vulgar and stale, in the trivial contentions (of Oratours, Poets, &c) when they were matched one with another.

90

\*Or of a fæ-  
calle, with a  
Plinie writeth  
cheeketh all  
lightning:.

For Religious scrupulosity and Superstition, thus by heere-say hee stood affected. Thunder and Lightning hee was much affraide of: in so much as all waies and in every place, hee caried about him for a preservative remedie a Scales skinne: yea, and whensoever he suspected there would be any extraordinary storme or tempest, he would retire himselfe into a close secret room under (a) ground, and vaulted above head: Which hee did, because once in times past, he had bene frighted with a flash of lightning, crossing him in his journey by night; as we have before related.

91

\*Medici So me  
read, em, c. 4.  
trind:

As for dreames, neither his owne, nor other mens of himselfe, he neglected. At the battaile of PHILIPPI albeith hee meant not to step out of his pavilion by reason of sicknesse, yet went he forth, warned so to doe by the dreame of his Physician. And it fell out well for him: considering that after his Campe forced and woon by the enemies, his sister was in that concurse of theirs stabbed through and all to rent and torne, as if hee had remained there behind lying sicke. Himselfe every spring was wont to see many visions most fearefull, but the same proved vaine illusions and to no purpose: at other times of the yeere he dreamed not so often, but yet to more effect. When as hee ordinarily frequented the temple dedicated to IUPITER, the Thunderer in the Capitoll, he dreamed that IUPITER CAPITOLINUS complained, *How his worshippers were taken from him perforce: and That hee answered, Hee had placed Thundering*

IUPITER

IUPITER *hard by him, in steede of a Porter:* whereupon soone after hee adorned the *Lanterne* of that Temple with a *Ring* of belles, because such commonly do hange at mens *Gates*. By occasion of a vision by night, he begged (a) yearly upon a certaineday mony of the people, and held out his hand *hollow* to those that brought and offred unto him brazen *Dodkins* or mites called *Affes*.

Certaine foretokens and ominous signes he observed as unfallible presages, to wit, if in a morning his shoes were put one wronge, and namely, the left for the right, he held it unluckie: Again, when hee was to take any long journey by land or sea, if it chanced to mizzle of raine, hee took that for a luckie signe betokening a speedie and prosperous returne. But mooved he was especially with uncouth and supernaturall sights. There happened a date tree to spring forth betweene the very jointes of the stones before his dore, which he remooved and transplanted in the inward court of his domestickall Gods; taking great care that it might get roote and grow there. Hee joied so much that in the lland *Capree*, the boughes of a very old holmetree hanging and drooping now for age down to the ground, became fresh againe at his coming thither, that he would needs make an exchange with the State of *Naples*, and in lieu of that lland gave them *ÆNARIA*. Certaine dayes also hee precisely observed: as for example: hee would not take a journey any whither, the day after the (a) *Nandine*: not begin any serious matter upon the *Xones* of a Moneth: Herein verily avoyding and elchewing nought else, as hee writeth unto *TIBERIUS*, but the unluckie ominousnesse of the name.

Of foraine ceremonies and religions, as hee entertained with all reverence those that were auncient, and whereof hee conceived good reason: so hee despised the rest. For having bene instituted and professed (in the sacred mysteries of *CERES*) at *Athens*, when afterwards he sat judicially upon the *Tribunall* at *Rome* to here and determine a controversie as touching the priviledge of *CERES* priests in *Attica*, and perceived that certaine points of great seccrecie were proposed there to be debated: hee dismissed the assembly and multitude of people standing all about in the Court, and himselfe alone heard them plead the cause; but contrariwise, not onely when hee read in visitation all over *Egypt*, himselfe forbore to turne a little out of his way for to see (a) *Apis*, but also commended his nephew *CARUS*, because in tyding through *Jurie*, he did not so much as once make supplication in (b) *Hiersusalem*.

And seeing we have proceeded thus farre, it would not be impertinent to annex hereto, what befell unto him before hee was borne: What happened upon his verie birth day: And what presently ensued thereupon? Wherby, that future greatnes and perpetuall felicity of his, might be hoped for and observed. At *Arvuttre*, part of the (Towne) wall in olde time had bene blasted by lightning: upon which occasion, answer was given by *ORACLE*, that a Citizen of that Towne should one day be ruler of the world. The *Veturines*, in confidence hereof, both then immediatly, and afterwards also, many a time warred with the people of *Rome*, even wel neere to their own final ruine and destruction. At length (though late it was) by good proofes and evidences it appeared that the said strange accident, portended the mightie

H 4

power

\*Dore keeper,  
& C. drop  
\*Ci chime  
\*To rattle the  
posters.  
\*As beggers  
do.  
\*Or peeces,  
worth .x. s. 9.

92

\*Wherby they  
stood.

\*Dusphemian  
\*Munus

93

\*Or do his des  
votions:

94

\*In the histori-  
cal reports of  
so great and  
worthy a prince

power of AVGVSTVS. IVLIVS MARATHVS reporteth, that some fixe moneths before AVGVSTVS Nativitie, there happened at Rome a prodigie publickly knowne, whereby foretold and denounced it was, *That nature was about to bring forth a King* (a) *over the people of Rome*, at which the Senate being affrighted made an Act, *that woman child that yeere borne should be reared and brought up*. But they whose wives then, were great bellied (for everie one was readie to drawe the hope unto him selfe,) tooke order, *but the said Act, of the Senate should not be brought into the Cittie Chamber* and there enrolled. I reade in the bookes of ASCLEPIADES Mendes entituled *Theologicon menon*, \* Howe ATIA, being come at midnight to celebrate the *solemne sacrifice and divine service of Apollo*, whilst other dames slept, fell fast a sleepe also; and sodainly a (b) serpent crept close unto her, and soone after went forth from her: She therewith being awakened purified her selfe, as she would have done upon her husbands companie with her; and presently there arose to bee seene upon her bodie a certaine marke or peeke representing the picture of a serpent, which never after could be gotten out: in so much as immediatly thereupon shee forbore the publick baines for ever: Also, how in the x. moneth after, she was delivered of AVGVSTVS: & for this cause he was reputed to be the sonne of *Apollo*. The same ATIA, before she was brought to bed of him, dreamed that her entrails were heaved up to the stars, and there stretched forth & spread all over the copasse of earth and heaven. His father OCTAVIUS likewise dreamed, that out of the wombe of ATIA, there arose the shining beames of the Sun. The very day on which he was borne, what time as the conspiracie of CATILINE was debated in the Senate house, and OCTAVIUS by occasion of his wives Child-birth came verie late thither, well knowne it is and commonly spoken, that P. \* NIGIDIUS understandinge the cause of his stay, so soone as he learned the houre \* also when shee was delivered, gave it out confidently, *That there was borne the Sovereigne Lorde of the Worlde*. Afterwards, when OCTAVIUS leadinge an Armie through the secret partes of *Thracia*, inquired in the Sacred grove of *Liber pater* (according to the rites and ceremonies of that Barbarous Religion,) concerning his sonne, the same answer hee received from the Priestess there; For, that when the wine was powred upon the Altars, there arose from thence so great a shining flame, as surmounted the \* *Lanterne of the Temple*. and so ascended uppe to Heaven: and that in times past the like strange tokens happened to ALEXANDER the great, and to none but him, when hee sacrificed upon the same Altars. Moreover, the night next following, hee \* presently thought he sawe his sonne carrying a stately Maiestie above the ordinarie proportion of a mortall wight; with a \* Thunder bolt and a Scepter (in his hand) with the Triumphant Robes also of *Iupiter. Opt. Max.* (upon his backe) and a Radiant Coronet (on his head): over and besides his Chariot dight with Lawrell and drawne with 12. steeds exceeding white. While hee was yet a very babe, (as C. DRAVS hath left in writing extant,) being by his nourse laide in the evening within a Cradell in swadling bands, beneath upon a lowe floure: the next morning hee could no where bee seene: and after long seekinge was found at last, lying upon a

\* Or Mendes, here bearing the name of the Cittie Mendes in Aegypt.  
\* Of divine discourses.  
\* The mother of Augustus.

\* famous Astrologer.  
\* And thereby the Horo-cope of his Nativitie

\* Or Steeple:

\* (Iulius)  
\* Which properly are attributed unto Iupiter:

\* Augustus

verie

verie high Turret just against the Sunne-ryfinge. So soone as hee began to speake, hee commaunded the Frogges to keepe silence, that by the manour of his Grandfires by the Cittie side, chaunced to make a foule noyse: and thereupon ever after, the Frogges in that place are not able to croke. About foure miles from Rome, as yee \* goe directly to Capua, it fell out, that sodainly an Eagle snatched a peece of bread out of his hand as hee tooke his dinner within a pleasant grove: and when he had mounted up a very great height, came gently downe of a suddaine againe and retored unto him the same: Q. CATVLVS after the dedication of the Capitol dreamed two nights together: In the former, him thought, that *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*: Whiles many young boyes, Noble mens sonnes, were playing about his Alter, seuered one of them from the rest and bestowed in his bosome the publike broad (c) Seale of the \* State to carrie in his hand. And the next night followinge he saw in another dreame the same boy in the bosome of *Iupiter CAPITOLINVS*: Where when hee commaunded to bee pulled from thence, prohibited hee was by the admonition of the God, as if the same boy should be brought up for the defence and tuition of the Common-weale: Nowe the morrowe after, chauncing to meete with (young) AVGVSTVS, (whome earli hee had not knowne before,) hee beheld him wifly not without great admiration, and withall openly gave it out, *That hee was for all the world like unto that boy of whom hee dreamed*. Some tell the former dreame of CATVLVS otherwise: as if *Iupiter*, (when as a number of those boyes required of him a Tutor) pointed out one of them, unto whom they should referre all their desires: and so lightly touching his lipps, & taking as it were an assay therof with his fingers, brought that kisse backe to his own mouth. M. CICERO having accompanied CAIUS CÆSAR into the Capitoll, happened to report unto his familiar friendes the dreame hee had the night before: namely how a boy of an ingenious face and countenance, was let downe from heaven by a golden Chaîne, and ftoode at the doore of the Capitoll, unto whom *Iupiter* deliuered a (d) whip: Hereupon espying at unawares (little) AVGVSTVS whom (as yet altogether unknown to most men) his Vnkle CÆSAR had sent for to the sacrifice, hee avouched plainly, that this boy was very he, whose Image was presented unto him in a vision as he lay a sleepe. When hee was putting on his virile gowne, it fortuned that his broad \* fludded Coate with purple; being unstitched in the seams of both shoulders, fell fro about him downe to his feete. There were who made this interpretation: *That it betokened nothing else, but that the \* degree wherof that Robe was a badge should one day be subiect unto him*. IVLIVS of sacred memorie being about to chooise a plot of ground: for to encamp in, about *Munda*, as he cut downe a wood, chaunced to light upon a date tree which he caused to be spared and reserved as the verie presage of victorie: from the root of it, there sprung immediately certaine shoots which in few dayes grew to fast, that they not onely equalized but over topped also and shadowed their flocke: yea and \* doves haunted the same, therein to nestle and breede. notwithstanding that kind of birde cannot of all others away with any hard leaves and rough branches. Vpon this strange sight especially, CÆSAR, by report was moved to suffer none other to succede him in the Empire but his sisters \* Nephewe, AVGVSTVS, during the time that he was retired to *Apollonia*, went up in the company

\* in the way Appia.

\* Or Citie.

\* Which Cæsar instead of Iupiter carried.

\* Senators.

\* Dates or coconates are from whence the olive is defended. By them therefore & the date tree was signified persons all full: one to the name and the other to the milke.

companie of AGRIPPA, into the \*gallerie of *Theogenes* the \*mathematician. Now, when AGRIPPA, (who inquired first what his owne fortune should be) had great matters and those in manner incredible foretold unto him; AVGVSTVS \*himselfe concealed the time of his owne natiuitie, and in no wise would utter the same; for feare and bashfulnesse, least he should be found inferior to the other. But when, hardly after many exhortations and much ado, hee had delivered the same, *Theogenes* leapt forth and worshipped him. AVGVSTVS then anon conceived so greate a confidence in his fortunes, that hee divulged his Horoscope and the ascendant of his Natiuitie: yea and also stamped a peece of silver coyne, with the marke of the Celestiall signe *Capricornus*, under which figure and Constellation hee was borne.

95

After CÆSARS death, being returned from *Apollonia*, as he entered *Rome* Citie, sodainly when the skie was cleere and wether verie faire, a certaine round coronet in forme of a raime bowe compassed the circle of the Sunne, and therewith soone after, the monument of *VLIA*, CÆSARS daughter was smitten with lightning. Moreover in his first (a) Consulship, whiles he attended to take his Augurie, there were presented unto him, like as to *Romulus*, 12 \*geirts: and as hee sacrificed, the Livers of all the beasts then killed appeared in open view enfolded double, and turned inwardly from the nether fillets: And no man of skill conjectured otherwise, but that prosperitie and greatnes hereby was portended.

96

Furthermore, the very events, also of all his warres hee foresaw. What time as all the forces of the \**Triumvirs* were assembled together at *Bononia*, an Eagle perching over his tent, all to beatt. Ravens that assailed and fell upon her of either side, and in the end stricke them both down to the ground: which sight the whole armie marked verie well, and presaged thereby that one day, there would arise betwene the Colleagues of that *Triumvirate* such discorde, and the like ensued thereof, as after followed. At *Philippi* there was a certaine \**Thessalian*, who made report of the future victorie: alledging for his author CÆSAR of famous memorie, whose \*Image encountered him as he journeyed in a desert and by-way. About *Perusia* where he offered sacrifice & could not \*speede, but demanded (a) more beasts still to be killed: behold, the enemies made a sodaine fallie forth, caught up and carried away the whole provision of the Sacrifice. The Soothsayers then agreed upon this point, *That these perilsous and adverse calamities which had bene threatened and denounced to him that sacrificed should light all, and returne upon their heads, who got the Inwards*: And so it fell out in deed. The day before he fought the battaile at Sea neere *Sistiæ*, as he walked upon the shore, a fish leapt out of the sea and lay at his feet: At *Actium*, as hee was going down to fight the battaile, there met him in the way an Asse with his driver, the mans name was (b) *EVTVCHVS*, and the beasts *Nicores*: After victorie obtained, hee set uppe the Images of them both in brasse, within that Temple, into which hee converted the verie place where hee encamped.

97

His death also (whereof from hence forth I will write) and his deification after death was knowne before by many signes most evident, when hee had taken a review of the Citie; and was about the solemne \*purging thereof within

Mars.

*Mars* before a frequent assemblie of people: an Eagle there was that soared oftentimes round about him, and crossing at length from him unto a house thereby, settled upon the name of AGRIPPA, and iust upon the first \*letter of \*A. that name: Which when he perceived, the vowes which the manner was to be made until the next (a) *Lustrum*, he commanded his colleague *TIBERIUS* to nuncupate and pronounce. For, notwithstanding the Tables and (b) instruments containing them were now written and in readinesse, yet denied he to undertake those vowes which he should never pay. About the same time the first \*letter of his owne name, upon a flash and stroke of lightening went quite out of the Inscription that stood upon his statue: Answer was made by the Soothsaiers, that he was to live but iust one hundred dayes after: which number that letter did betoken; And that it would come to passe that hee should be Canonized and registred among the Gods, because CÆSAR, the residue of the name CÆSAR, in the *Tuscano* Language signified God. Being about therefore to send *TIBERIUS* away into *Illyricum* and to companie him as far as *Beneuentum*, when diverse suiters, for one cause or other interrupted him, yea and detained him about hearing and determining matters iudicially, hee cryed out aloud (which also within a while was reckoned as a presaging office) *That were he once out of Rome, he would never after be there againe what occasion forever might make him stay*. And to being entered upon his journey he went forward as far as to *Astura*: and so presently fro thence (contrary (c) to his usuall maner, with the benefite of a forewind & gentle gale \*tooke water by night and sayled over.

The cause of his sickenes he caught by a flux of the bellie. And for that time having coasted *Campanie* and made circuit about the Ilands next adjoining, he bestowed also foure dayes within a retiring place of pleasure at *Caprea*: where he gave his minde to all ease and courteous affabilitie. It happened as he passed by the Bay of *Puteoli*, certaine passengers and souldiers out of a ship of ALEXANDRIA, which then was newly arrived, all clad in white, dight also with garlands, and burning frankincense, had heaped upon him all good & fortunate words, chaunting his singular prayes in these terms. *That by him they lived, by him they sayled, by him they enjoyed their freedome, and all the riches they had*. At which, he tooke great contentment and was cheered at the heart: Inasmuch as thereupon he divided to everie one of his traine about him 40. (d) peeces of gold, but he required an oath againe & assurance of ech one, that they should not lay out that monie otherwise than in buying the wares (e) & commodities of ALEXANDRIA. For certaine dayes together that remained, among diverse and sundrie giuts, he distributed among them over and above, gownes and clokes, with this condition, that *Romans* should use the *Greekish* habite and speake likewise *Greeke*; the *Greekes* also wear *Romaine* attire and use their language. He beheld also continually the youthes exercising themselves (of whom there remained yet some store at *Caprea*) according to the \*ancient custome. And even unto them he made a feast in his owne sight, permitting them or rather exacting of them, their old libertie of sporting, permitting appells and cates, and of skimming for such small gifts and favours as were sent or skattered abroad. In one word, he forbore no manner of mirth and pastime. The Ile (a) hard by *Caprea*, he called *Apragopolis*, of the Idleness of such as

out

\*Or Schoole.  
\*Or Altrolo.  
ger.

\*Angelus.

\*Or Vulture.

\*Antonie  
Lentulus, and  
Octavius Angu-  
stinus.

\*And therefore  
by likelihood  
a wizard,  
\*Or spectre.  
\*i. Obtaine  
the favour of  
the Gods.

\*C. in Capra.

For Astura was  
a water towne  
with a river also  
of that name  
running by it

98

\*of the greeks  
who sometime  
inhabited  
those parts.



out of his traine retired themselves thither. But one of his beloved minions named (f) MASGABAS, hee had wont merily to call ΚΤΙΣΚ, as one would say, *The founder of that Island*. The sepulcher of this MASGABAS (who died a year before) when he perceived one time out of his dining chamber to be frequented with a sort of people and many lights: he pronounced this verse a loud which he made *ex tempore*.

ΚΤΙΣΚ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΡΩΝ ΤΥΡΕΜΕΝΩΝ.

*I see the Tombe of \*KTISTES all on fire.*

\*The founder

And therewith turning to THRASYLLUS a companion of TIBERIUS sitting over against him, and not wotting what the matter was, he asked him of what Poets making he thought that verse to be? And when he stucke at the question and made no answer, he came out with another to it.

ΟΥΔΕΣ ΦΙΛΕΣΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΩΝ,

*Thou seest with li: his MASGABAS honoured.*

Of this verse also he demanded whom he thought to be the maker? but when THRASYLLUS returned no other answer but this, *That who soever made them, right excellent they were*; he laughed a good and made himselfe exceeding merie. Soone after he crossed over to Naples, albeit even then his guts were greatly enfeebled & the disease (g) grew variable: yet for all that, the (h) *Quinquenniall Gymnick* games instituted in the honor of him, he beheld to the very end, and so together with TIBERIUS went to the place appointed. But in his return from thence, his disease increased more and more, so as at length he yielded to it, at Nola: where, having sent for TIBERIUS and called him backe from his journey, he held him a great while in secret talke; neither from that time framed he his minde to any greater affaire.

99

Vpon his dying day, enquiring ever and anone, whether there was as yet any sturre and tumult abroad as touching him? hee called for a \*mirror, and commanded the haire of his head to be combed & trimmed: his chawes also readie for weaknesse to hang or fall, to be composd and set straight. Then having admitted his friends to come unto him, and asked of them whether *they thought he had acted well the Enterlude of his life*? he adioyned with all this finall \*conclusion for a Plaudite,

ΔΩΤΕ ΚΡΕΤΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΣΤΕ ΟΥΣΕΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΧΑΡΕΩΣ ΚΥΤΙΝΟΝΤΕΣ.

*Now clap your hands and all wish they resound a shout.*

After this he dismissed them all, and whilst he questioned with some that were new come from the Citie, concerning the daughter of DRVSVS the sicke, sodainly amidst the kisses of LIVIA, and in these words he gave up the ghost, *Livia: mine full LIVIA of our wedlocke, and so farewell*. Thus died he an easie death and such as he had ever wished to have. For lightly, so often as he heard of any body to have departed this life quickly & without all panges he prayed unto God, that hee and his might have the like \**Euthanasia*, for, that was the verie word he was wont to vie. One signe onely and no more he shewed of a minde disquieted and distracted, before he yielded up his vitall breath: in that he suddenly started as in a fright and complained, *That hee was hurried away by 40. tall and lustie young men*. And even that also was rather a pregnant preface of his minde, than a raving fite and idle conceit of light braine. For so many souldiers they were indeede of the *Prætorian* bande: who carried

him

him forth (dead) into the streete upon their shoulders.

Hee died in that very bed-chamber wherein his Father OCTAVIUS left his life before him, when POMPEIUS and APPELLIUS, having both their forename SEXTUS, were Consuls: \**Fourteene daies before the Calends of September, at the ninth houre of the day: being 76 yeeres olde wanting five and thirtie daies*. His corps was conveighed and borne by the Decurions \* of the free burrowghes and Colonies from Nola to Brivilla by night, for the hote season of the yeere: whereas till the day time it was bestowed in the Hall of every towne, or else in the greatest (a) temple thereof. From Brivilla the degree of Romaine Gentlemen tooke charge of it, and brought it into the Citie of Rome, where they placed it within the Porch of his owne house. The Senate both in setting out his Funerals, & also in honouring his memorialls, proceeded so farre in striving, who should shew greater affection, That among many other complements, some were of minde, *That the pompe and solemn convey of his obsequies, should passe forth at the Triumphal gate with the image of victorie, which is in the Court Iulia going before*: and the chiefe Noble mens children of both sexes singing a dolefull and lamentable song, others opined, *that upon the very day of this funerall, their (b) rings of gold should be layd away and others of yron put on*. Again, divers gave advice, *That his bones should be gathered \* up by the (c) priests of the most ancient Societies*. And one above the rest would have had the name of the moneth \* August to be shifted and transferred unto September; For that, AUGUSTUS was borne in this and died in the other. Another perswaded, That all the time from his very birth unto the dying day, should be named \* SACULUM AUGUSTUM, and so recorded in the Kalendars and Chronicles. But, thought best it was, to keepe a meane in the Honours done unto him. Whereupon, twice, and in two severall places praised hee was in a funeral Oration: once before the temple of IULIUS late decafed, of sacred memorie, by TIBERIUS; and againe \* at the (d) *Rosira* under the *Veteres*, by DRUSUS the sonne of TIBERIUS, and so upon Senatours shoulders was hee borne into *Campus Martius*, and there committed to the fire & burnt. Neither wanted there a \* grave personage, one that had been Pretor, who affirmed & bound it with an oath, That he saw his very \* image when he was burnt, ascending up to heaven. The chiefe Gentlemen of the Knights order, in their single \* waiste-coates, ungirt & bare-footed gathered up (e) his reliques together, & bestowed them in a stately (f) monument: which peece of work himselfe had built between the street *Flaminia* & the bank of *Tiberis* in his sixth Consulship, & even then given the Groves growing about it & the walks adioyning to be common for the ule of the people of Rome for ever.

101 His last will & testament made by him when L. PLANCUS and C. SILIUS were Consuls, the third day before the \* Nones of April, a yeere and foure moneths before hee died, and the same in two bookes written partly with his owne hand, and in part with the hands of POLIBUS and HILARIUS his freed men, the vestall virgins (a) who had the keeping thereof upon trust brought forth: together with three other rolls or volumes sealed alike. All which Instruments were opened and read in the Senate. He ordained for his 6 heires; In the first place, TIBERIUS of the one halfe and a (b) sixt part: and LIVIA of a (c) third: whom also he appointed to beare his owne (a) name. In a \* second

I

rank, they dyed.

100

A.V.C. 779.  
\* The Nineteenth of August.  
\* About three of the clocke after noone.  
\* Aldermen, or Senators.

\* A thing, a game the olde received religion.  
\* Before him called *Sacred*.

The August 28.

\* Or before;

\* B. named him *Augustus*.

Atticus: & faith,

he was hired by

him for two

millians of Se-

sterces, to see

that of *As-*

trict, which

*Prætorius* had

some time sworn

of *Romulus*.

\* Or true Per-

tract.

\* Or fliters, as

some would ex-

ound *taurus*.

\* In *Manes*.

\* The third of

April.

\* For default of

the other if

\* Or if yeer dis-  
tinguished  
Morosus and  
Temen for yet  
by reason that  
his disease in-  
creased, & humil-  
ity was better  
some time then  
other.

\* A looking  
glass.  
\* Or chaps.

\* As the man-  
ner is at the  
ende of Comedies  
dies to call for a  
Plaudite. hee  
persisted there  
fore in them  
tuphor, and by  
this plaudite,  
allegorizing  
the end of this  
life, which hee  
called before  
Bismumvire.  
\* Euthanasia.

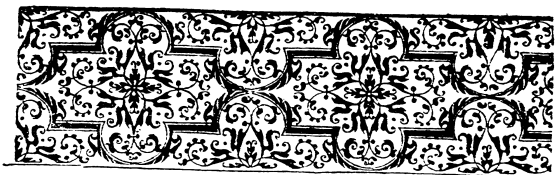


ranke, hee appointed DRVSVS the sonne of TIBARIUS to inherit one third part: and GERMANICVS with his three male children, the other parts remaining. In \* a third degree, he nominated of his owne kinsfolke, Allies & friends, very many. Hee bequeathed as a legacie to the (\*) people of Rome \* 400000 Sesterces an hundred times told. To the Souldiours of the \* guard a thousand Sesterces a peece. Among the Cohorts of the City Souldiours 500, & to those of the Legionarie cohorts 300 a peece. Which summe of money he commaunded to be paid presently: For hee had so much in store at all times (put up in bagges and coffers) lying by him. Sundry parcels gave hee besides by legacie parole. And of some thereof he deferred the \* payment, if the same were above 20000 Sesterces. For paying of which he set a yeeres day at the farthest: alledging for his excuse his meane estate: and protesting, that by this account there would not come to his heires hands, above 150 \* millions: albeit within the compasse of 20 yeeres immediatly going before, hee had received by the wills and testaments of his friends \* 4000 millions. All which masse of treasure, together with two patrimonies by his \* two fathers and other inheritances, hee had spent wel-neere every whit upon the Common-weale. The two LULI, to wit, his daughter & \* niece (if \* ought hapned unto them) he forbad expressly to be entered in his owne Mausoleum. Of those three Rolls or Instruments above named, in the first he comprised his owne directions as touching his funeral: The second contained a Register or Index, of those Acts which he had achieved: and his pleasure was, that the same should be engraven in brazen \* tables, and erected before his Mausoleum. In the third he represented a Breviary and abstract of the whole Empire: to wit, *How many Souldiours were enrolled and in pay, in any place whatsoever: as also, How much money was in the common Treasury of the City and in his owne coffers? Lastly, what the arriergages were of such renewes and tributes as were due to the state and unpaid: Whereto he annexed also a Schedule, containing the names of Freed men and bond, his receivers, at whose hands the reckoning might be exacted.*

\* If the second heires failed,  
\* Som read *quæ*  
*arrogantes* *truces*  
*guirupus*: and  
there is three  
millions and a  
half more.  
\* Or *Priestorum*  
band.  
\* *Proder* *eq*  
*quædam* *et*  
*tenus* *Servilia*.  
So *Tiberius*  
expoundeth it.  
\* Of Sesterces.

\* *Quædam* *decem*  
million, four  
thousand mil-  
lions.  
\* *Octavius* and  
*Iulius Cæsar*.  
\* His daugh-  
ters daughter.  
\* If they died.

\* *Amicus* *scribitur*  
other writers  
say, *Pallus*.



## THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Nero Cæsar, vvrit-

ten by Caius Suetonius Tran-  
quillus.



**H** He Patritian familie CLAUDIA (for, there was likewise another *Plebeian* of that name, neither in power nor dignity inferiour) had the first beginning out of \* *Regillum* a Towne of the Sabines. From thence they came with a great retinue of vassals to Rome newly founded, there to dwell: induced thereto by the counsell of T. TATIUS, fellow in government of the kingdome with ROMULUS; or (which is the more received opinion) through the perswasion of (a) ATTA \* CLAUDIUS, a principall person of that house, about the 6 yeere after the kings were expelled: and so, by the Senatours of Rome, raunged they were among the *Patritij*. Vpon this, soone after, they received by vertue of a graunt from the whole City, for their Clients & vassals, lands to occupy beyond the river *Anio*:

\* Or *Regilla*.

\* Or *Claudia*.

\* Locum, Some read locum, not in the strict signification of a sacred Grove, but of a pleasant taste of trees where monuments were beautified: as you may gather by the Mausoleum of Mausolus.

\* y Blind.

A.V.C. 474  
490  
457

A.V.C. 304  
\* Or: Atque Claudius.  
\* J. One of the ten Decemviri.

\* J. The Faure.  
A.V.C. 305

\* Or: Ilycia.

\* Pius: See Hist. lib. 7. cap. 35.  
\* Cybele.  
\* Or: Burt.

A.V.C. 380.  
For, unto this time that she had not become empress, and that of Treason.  
See Pater. lib. 8. cap. 15.

\* C. Fuscus.

and for themselves a \* place of sepulture under the Capitol: and so forth, in process of time obtained 28 Consulats, five Dictatures, Censures seaven, Triumphs sixe, and two Ovations. This family being distinguished by sundry fore-names and surnames both, in a general consent rejected the fore-name of Lucius, after that two of their lineage bearing that name were convicted, the one of robbetrie, the other of murder. Among surnames it assumed the addition of (b) NERO, which in the Sabine tongue signifieth *Strong or stout*.

2 Many of these *Claudij*, as they deserved many waies passing well of the Common-wealth: so, in as many sorts they faulted and did amisse. But to relate the principall examples onely in both kindes; APPIUS surnamed \* CÆCUS was hee, who disswayed the entering into league and societie with King PYRRHUS, as prejudiciall unto the State: (4) CLAUDIUS CAUDEN was the first man that passed over the narrow Seas with a flecte, and drave the Carthaginians out of Sicilie: CLAUDIUS NERO surprised and defeated ASDRUBAL coming out of Spaine with a very great and puissant armie before he could ioyne with his brother ANNIBAL. Contrariwise, \* CLAUDIUS APPIUS REGILLANUS being \* *Decemvir* chosen to frame and pen the Romaine Lawes, went about by violence (for the satisfaction of his fleshly lust) to enthrall a virgine free-borne: and thereby gave occasion to the Commons for to fall away and forsake the Nobles a second time. CLAUDIUS DRUSUS having his owne statue erected with a Diademe in a Towne called (b) *Forum Appij*, attempted with the helpe of his favorites and dependants to hold all *Italy* in his owne hands. CLAUDIUS \* PULCHER, when as in taking of his (c) *Auspicia* before Sicilie, the sacred pullets would not feede, caused them, in contempt of Religion, to be plunged into the Sea, *That they might drinke seeing they would not eat*: and thereupon struck a battaile at Sea: In which, being vanquished, and commaunded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, scornings, as it were, and making but a iest at the publique danger & calamitie of the State, named a (base) Sergeant of his owne called \* GLYCIA. There stand likewise upon record, the examples of women, and those as divers and contrary. For, TWO CLAUDIJS there were of the same house: both surnamed \* that drew forth the ship with the sacred images of the \* *Idæan* mother of the Gods sticking fast and grounded within the \* shelves of TIBERTIS, having before made her prayer openly, *That as she was a true and pure virgin, so the ship might follow her, and not otherwise*: as also another, who after a strange and new manner being a woman, was arraigned before the people of high treason, for that when her Coach wherein shee rode could hardly passe forward by reason of a thicke throng and preasse of people, she had openly wished, *That her brother PULCHER were alive againe, and might leese a flecte the second time, to be end there might be by that means a lesse multitude at Rome*. Moreover, very well knowne it is, that all the CLAUDIJS, excepting onely that P. CLAUDIUS who for expelling T. CERRO out of Rome, suffred himselfe to be adopted by a \* Commoner and one younger (4) also than himselfe, were alwaies *Optimates*, the onely maintainers or patrons of the dignitie and power of the Patriians: yea, and in opposition of the Commons so violent, stubborne and selfe-willed that not one of them, although he stood upon his triall for life and death before the people, could

finde

finde in his hart so much as to change his (e) weede, or to crave any favour at their hands. Nay, some of them there were, who in a brawle and altercation, stuck not to beat the very (f) Tribune of the Commons. Furthermore, a \* *Claudius*, virgin vestale there was of that name, who when a brother of hers triumphed A.V.C. 611 without a warrant from the people, mounted up with him into the chariot, & accompanied him even into the Capitoll: to this end, that none of the Tribunes might lawfully \* oppose themselves and forbid the Triumph.

3 From this race and lineage TIBERIUS CÆSAR deriveth his Genealogie, and that verily in the whole bloud and of both sides: by his Father, from TIBERIUS NERO: by his mother from APPIUS PULCHER, who were both of them the sonnes of APPIUS CÆCUS. Incorporate hee was besides into the familie of the LIVII, by reason that his Grandfather by the \* mothers side was adopted thereinto: Which family (Commoners though they were) flourished notwithstanding and was highly reputed; as being honoured and graced with eight Consulships, two Censureships, and three Triumphs: with a Dictatorship also and Maistertship of the Horsemen: renowned likewise and ennobled for brave and notable men, (4) SALINATOR especially and the \* DRUSI: As for SALINATOR, in his Censureship hee noted and taxed all the Tribes everie one and whole bodie of the people, for unconstant levities, for that having upon his former consulship condemned him and set a fine upon his head, yet afterwards they made him Consul a second time and Censour besides. DRUSVS, upon the killing of one DRAVSVS the Generall of his enemies in close combat and single fight, purchased unto himselfe and his posteritie after him that surname. It is reported also that this DRUSVS being proprietour, recovered and fetched againe out of his province *Gaul*, that gold which in times past had beene given unto the Senatours when they besieged the Capitoll: & that it was not CAMILLUS (as the voice goeth) that wrested the same perforce out of their hands. His \* sonne in the 4. degree of descent, called for his singular imployment against the *Gracchi*, Patron of the Senate, left behind him a sonne: whom in the like variance and debate as he was busied in devising and putting in practise sundrie plots, the adverse faction treacherously flew.

4 But, the Father of this TIBERIUS CÆSAR, being Treasurer unto C. \* CÆSAR, and Admirall of a flecte in the *Alexandrine* warre performed very good service for the achieving of victory, whereupon hee was both substituted Pontifex in steed of SCIPIO, and also sent with commission to plant Colonies in *Gaul*, among which were \* Narbona and Arelate. Howbeit, after that CÆSAR was slaine, when as all men for feare of troubles and uprores decreed a finall abolition \* and oblivion of that fact (and all other quarrels thereupon depending) he proceeded farther and opened, *That they should consult about the rewards of such Tyrant-killers*. After this, having borne his Pretourship (in the end of which yeere there arose some discord betweene the Triumvirs) hee retaining by him still the \* ensignes and ornaments of that office after the time fully expired, and following L. ANTONIUS the Consull and the Triumvirs brother, as farre as to *Perusia*, when the rest yielded themselves, continued alone fast, and stuck to the faction (that sided against OCTAVIUS) and first escaped to *Preneste*, then to *Naples*: where when hee had proclaimed (but in

\* Of fore-rent regard were these Nuncios, that no magistrate might either attach or cross them.  
\* Or mothers Grandfather *materno avo*.

\* Or rather Drusus.  
A.V.C. 550

A.V.C. 433  
\* Or Nephew, *nepos*.

A.V.C. 463  
\* Dictator.  
A.V.C. 707

\* Or Nephew.  
A.V.C. 710  
\* This is that *emissus* which *utroque* person did unto.

A.V.C. 713  
\* To wit, his face lighted or *reges* with their Knives through the throats & axes sticking therein.  
Alexander, ab *Alexandri*.

\*Service pil-  
am vocat: be-  
cause the cap  
or bonnet was  
the badge of  
freedom.

vaine) \*freedome for all bondslaves, hee fled into *Sicilie*. But taking it to the heart, that hee was not immediately admitted to the presence of *SEXTUS POMPEIUS*, but debarred the use of his (a) Knitches of rods to bee borne before him, hee crossed the Seas into *Achaia*, and went to *M. ANTONIUS*. With whom, by occasion that shortly after, an attennement and peace was made betweene all parties, hee returned to *Rome*; and at the request of *AUGUSTUS*, yielded unto him his owne wife *LIVIA DRUSILLA*, who both at that time was great with chid, and also had already before brought him a sonne named *TIBERIUS*, in his owne house. Not long after, he departed this life, and left his children surviving him, namely *TIBERIUS NERO* and *DRUSUS NERO*.

5

\*Or his gran-  
dame by the  
mothers side.  
\*Felicite, or  
Felicitee, or  
Felicitee.  
\*The sixteenth  
of November.  
A.V.C. 712

Some have thought that this *TIBERIUS (CÆSAR)* was borne at *Funde*, grounding upon a light coniecture, because his mothers \*Grandame was a *Fundane* borne; and for that loone after the image (a) of \**Felicite*, by vertue of an Acte of the Senate was there publicly set up. But, as the most Authors and those of better credite doe write, borne hee was at *Rome* in the *Mons Palatium*, the \*sixteenth day before the Calendes of December, when *M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS* was Consul the second time together with *MUNATIUS PLANCUS*, even after the warre at *Philippi*: For so it standes upon record and in the publique Registers. Yet there want not some who write otherwise: partly that he was \*borne a yeere before in the Consulship of *HIRTIUS* and *PANSA*, and partly the yeere next following, wherein *SERVILIUS ISAUERICUS* and *ANTONIUS* were Consuls.

\*Gemitus.

6

\*Lustriofon  
growing a  
pace to manu-  
rity.  
\*Or discor-  
red.

His infancie and childhood both were exceeding \*forward (a) and the same full of toilefome travaile and daunger, by occasion that every where, hee accompanied his Parents still, in their flights and escapes. And verily, twice hee had like to have \*descried them with his wrawling at *Naples*, what time as a little before the forcible and suddaine entrie of the enemy, they made shift secretly to get into a ship: namely once, when hee was taken hastily from his Nources breast: and a second time out of his Mothers lap and armes, by those who as the necessity of the time required, did their best to ease the poore women of their burden and load. Hee was carried away with them likewise through *Sicilie* and *Achaia*: yea, and being recommended to the *Lacedæmonians* (who were under the protection of the *CLAUDI* their Patrones) for to take the charge of him in publique, as hee departed from thence by night, hee was in daunger of his life by reason of a light flaming fire, which suddainly from all parts arose out of a wood: and compassed all the companie in his traine so; as that some part of *LIVIAS* apparell and the haire of her head was scorched and singed therewith. The giftes bestowed upon him in *Sicilie* by *POMPEIA* the sister of *SEXTUS POMPEIUS*, to wit, a little Cloake with a button or clasp to it: likewise studds and bosses of golde, continue and are yet shewed to bee seene at *Baie*. After his re-

tume

turne into the Citie of *Rome*, being adopted by *M. GALLIUS* a Senatour in his last will and testament, hee accepted of the inheritance and entred upon it: but within a while forbore the name, because *GALLIUS* had sided with the adverse faction and taken part against *AVGVSTVS*. Being 9. yeares olde hee praised his father deceased openly from the *Rosfra*. Afterwardes, as he grew to be a springall, he accompanied in the *Atiak* triumph the *Chariot* of *AVGVSTVS*, ryding upon the steede drawing without the \*yoke on the left hand, when as *MARCELLVS* the sonne of *OCTAVIA* rode upon the other on the right hand. Hee was president also at the *Atiak* Games and plaies yea & the *Troian* Turnament in the *Circen* solemnities, where heeled the troupe of the bigger boyes.

\*Or (pism):  
pik.

7

After hee had put on his \*virile robe, his whole youth and all the time besides of the age next ensuing, even unto the beginning of his Empire, hee passed for the most part in these affaires following. He exhibited one sword fight performed by fencers to the outrance, in memoriall of his father: likewise another in the honourable remembrance of his Grandfather *DRVSVS*: and \*those at sundrie times and in diverse places: the former in the \**Forum*, of *Rome*: the second in the Amphitheatre: having brought againe into the *Lits*, even those that were freed before time and discharged from that profession: whom hee now hired and bound to fight, with the summe of one hundred thousand sesterces. Hee did set forth stage playes also, but whiles himselfe was absent: all with great magnificence, and also at the charges of his \*mother and \*father in Law, \**AGRIPPINA* the daughter also of *M. AGRIPPA*, and neice to *POMPONIVS ATTICVS* a Gentleman of *Rome*, him I meane, unto whom *CICERO* wrote his Epistles, hee tooke to wife. And when hee had begotten of her a sonne named *DRVSVS*, albeit shee fitted him well enough and was besides with Childe againe, enforced hee was to put her away; and forthwith to wed *LIVIA* the daughter of *AVGVSTVS*: not without much griefe and heart brake: considering that hee both desired still the companie of *AGRIPPINA* and also misliked the conditions and demeanour of *LIVIA*, as whom hee perceived to have had a minde and fantasie unto him whiles shee was the wife of a former husband. Which verily was thought also abroad. But as hee grieved, that after the divorce hee had driven away *AGRIPPINA*, so when hee chanced but once (as shee mette him) to see her, hee followed her still with his eyes so bent, so swellinge, \*and staring, that streight order was given, and a watch set, shee should never after come in his way nor within his sight. With *LIVIA* he lived at the first in great concord and mutuall love: but afterwardes hee began to \*estrangle himselfe, and (that which was the more griefe) hee proceeded to part beddes and to lie from her continually, namely, after that the pledge of love, their sonne begotten betweene them, was untimely taken away: who being borne at *Aquileia* died a very infant. His owne brother \**DRVSVS* hee lost in *Germanie*, whose bodie he conveyed thorough to *Rome* going before it all the way on foote.

\*at 17. yeeres  
of age.

\*Or great  
market place;

\*Livia,  
\*Augustus:  
\*Whom Tacit-  
us calleth repu-  
tans: after the  
surname of her  
father,

A.V.C. 744.

\*Readie as it  
were to run out  
of his head.

\*Or disgraced.

\*Who died  
when he was  
Cæsars  
A.V.C. 735.

In

In his first rudiments and beginnings of civile offices, he pleaded at the barre in defence of *Archelaus*; of the *Trallians* and *Thessalians*: all of them in fundrie causes whiles *AVGVSTVS* sat in iudgement to heere their tryall: In the behalfe also of the *Ladiemes*, *Thyaterenes* and *Chians*, who had suffered great losse by Earthquake, and humbly fought for reliefe, he intreated the Senate. As for *FANNIVS CÆPIO*, who together with *VARRO MVRÆNA* had conspired against *AVGVSTVS*, hee arraigned of high treason before the iudges, and caused him to hee condemned: And amid these affaires, he \* executed a duple charge and function: to witte, the purveyance of Corne and Victualles, whereof there happened to bee scarcitie: and the skouringe or riddance of the worke-houle \* prisons: the Lordes and Maisters whereof were become odious, as if they had caught uppe and held to worke not onely waifaring persons, but those also who for feare of taking a militarie oath and to be enrolled, were driven to throwd themselves in such corners and starting holes.

His first service in the warres was in the expedition of *Cantabria*, what time hee had the place of a \* Tribune Militarie. Afterwardes, having the conduct of an armie into the East parts, hee restored the kingdome of *ARMENIA* unto *TIGRANES*, and from the Tribunall seat did put the *Diademe* uppon his head. Hee recovered also those militarie ensignes which the *Parthians* had taken from *M. CRASSVS*. After this hee governed as Regent that part of *Gaul* beyond the *Alpes*, called *Comata*: which was full of troubles, partly by the incursions of barbarous nations, and in parte through the intestine discorde of Princes and Nobles of the Countrie. Then, warred hee uppon the *Rhetians* and *Vindelici*, and so forwarde vpon the *Pannonians* and *Germanies* (whom hee vanquished all). In the *Rhetian* and *Vindelicke* warres, hee subdued the Nations inhabiting the *Alpes*: in the *Pannonian*, hee conquered the *Brenici* and *Dalmatians*. In the *Germanie* warre hee brought over into *Gaul* 40000 that yeelded unto him, and placed them neere unto the *Rhene* banke, where they had these habitations assigned. For, which Acts, hee entered the Citie of *Rome* both *Orant* (tyding on horsebacke) and also *Triumphant* mounted uppon a Chariot: being the \* first (as some thinke) that was honoured with Triumphant ornaments, a newe kinde of honour and never granted to any man before: To beare Magistracie hee both beganne betiques, and also ranne through them all in manner joyndly without intermission, namely his Questure; Præture and Consulate. After some space betweene hee became Consul a seconde time, yea and also received the Tribunitian Authoritie for fve yeares together:

10

In this confluence of so many prosperous successes, in the strength also of his yeares and perfect health, hee had a full purpose, sodainly to retire himselfe and remove out of the way as farre as hee could. Whether it were for the wearinesse hee had of his wife, whome neither hee durst plainly charge or put away, nor was able to endure any longer, or to the ende that by avoiding contempt (a) incident to daily and continuall residence, hee might maintaine and increase his authoritie by absenting himselfe: if at any time the State stood in neede of him, it is uncertaine.

Some

\* Whilest hee was Questour, and but 19 yeares olde, \* *Fresulorum* Such as bridle well, and houlde of correction:

9  
A.V.C. 738.  
\* *Consell* of a thousand footmen  
A.V.C. 738.

\* *Primum*, some lead *primum*, and the variations, before hee had ridden over: or triumphed:  
A.V.C. 739.  
738.  
712.  
747.

A.V.C. 748.

Some are of opinion, that considering *AVGVSTVS* his children were nowe well growne, he of his owne accorde yeelded up unto them the place and possession as it were, of the second \* degree, which himselfe had usurped and held a long time: following herein the example of *M. AGRIPPA*, who having preferred *M. MARCIVS*, to be employed in publike affaires, departed unto *MITYLENE*; least by his presence he might seeme to \* hinder them or deprave their proceedings. Which cause even himself, but afterwards, alleadged: *Marie*, for the present, pretending the fatietye that he had of honorable places, and rest from his travailes, he made suite for licence to depart: neither gave he any care to his owne mother humbly beseeching him to stay; nor to his father in law, who complained also that hee should be forsaken thereby and left desolate in the Senate. Moreover, when they were instant still to holde him backe, hee abstained from all kinde of meate foure dayes together. At length having obtained leave to be gone, he left his wife and sonne behind him at *Rome*, and forthwith went downe to *Offia*: giving not so much as one word againe to any that accompanied him thither, and kissing very few of them at the parting.

As he sayled from *Offia* along the coast of *Campanie*, uppon newes that he heard of *AVGVSTVS* weakenesse, he stayed a while and went not forward; but when a rumor began to be spred of him, (as if he lingred there, waiting some opportunitie of greater hopes,) hee made noe more adoe, but even against winde and wether sayled through & passed over to *Rhodes*: having taken a delight to the pleasant and healthfull situation of that lland, ever since he arrived there in his returne from *Armenia*. Contenting himselfe here, with a meane and small habitation, with a ferme house likewise by the Cittie side not much larger nor of greater recite, he purposed to lead a verie civill and private life: walking otherwhile in the \* *Gymnase* without \* licitor or other officer, performing acts and duties in manner one for another with the *Greekes* converting there. It happened uppon a time, when he disposed of the businesse which hee would dispatch one day, that hee gave it out before hand, *He was aspired to visit all the \* sick in the Cittie*. These words of his were mistaken by those next about him. Whereuppon all the lazars and diseased persons were by commandement brought into a publike porch or gallerie and placed there in order according to the fundrie sorts of their maladies. At which unexpected sight, being much troubled and perplexed, he wist not for a good while what to doe: howbeit he went round about from one to another, excusing himselfe for this that was done even to the meanest, poorest and basest of them all. This onely thing and nothing else beside was noted, wherein he seemed to exercise the power of his Tribunes authoritie. Being daily and continually conversant about the Schooles and Auditories of professors, by occasion that there arose a great braule among the \* *Sophists*: opposite in arguing *causes* and declaiming one against other, there chanced to be one who perceiving him coming betweene and inclining to favorize one part above the other; rayled bitterly at him. With drawing himselfe therefore by little and little, and retyring home to his house, he came forth sodainly againe and appeared with his *Lictours*: where he cited by the voyce of his crier to appeare judiciously before his Tribunall, that foule mouthed rayling fellow, and so commanded him to be had away.

\* In administration of the code mon wale;

\* To darken their light

11

\* Or suitable place of exercise.  
\* He was then Tribune of the Commons and Consul the second time.  
\* *Armenia*, some read *armonia* as if he minded to walk the fields.

\* *Reverend*

away to prison. After this, he had certaine intelligence given him that IULIA his wife was convict and condemned for her incontinencie and adulteries; also that in his name (by a warrant directed from AVOVSIVS) she had a bill of divorce sent unto her. And albeit, he was glad of these tidings, yet he thought it his part as yea as lay in him, by many letters to reconcile the father unto his daughter: yea and how ever she had deserved badly at his hands, yet to suffer her for to have whatsoever he had at any time given unto her in free gift. Now, after he had passed through the time of his Tribunes authoritie, and confessed at last, that by this trying of his out of the way he fought to avoide nought else but the suspicion of Ielousie and emulation with CAIVS and LVCIVS: hee made suite, *That seeing he was now secured in this behalfe, and they strenghtened enough and able with ease to manage and maintaine the second place in government, he might be permitted to returne and see his friends and acquaintance againe, whose presence he missed and longed after.* But hee could not obtaine so much: nay, admonished hee was and warned before hand, to lay a side all regard of his friends and kinsfolke, whom he was lo willing to leave and abandon before.

12

Hee abode therefore still at Rhodes, even against his will: and hardly by the meanes and intercession of his owne mother wrought thus much, that for to cover his ignominie and shame, he might be absent under this pretence, *as if he were AVOVSIVS his Lieutenant.* And then verily, lived he not onely private to himselfe, but also exposed to daunger, and in great feare of some hard measure: lying close and hidden in the uplandish and inward parts of the Iland: and avoyding the offices of them that made faile by those coasts, who had frequented him continually: For as much as no man went into any province that way, as Lord Generall or \* Magistrate, but he strucke a side and turned to Rhodes. Besides, other causes there were of greater feare and trouble presented unto him. For when as he crossed the seas to Samos for to visit CAIVS, \* his wives sonne, president of the East parts, he perceived him to be more estranged than before time through the slaunders and criminous imputations which M. LOLLIVS companion and governour to the saide CAIVS had put into his head. He was drawn also into suspicion by certaine CENTVRIONS, whom his favour had advanced, & who at the day limited in their passport were returned to the camp, *That he had delivered unto many \* (of them) MANDATES of an ambiguous & double construction, such as might seeme to found the mindes of everie one and sollicite them to rebellion.* Of which suspicion being certified by AVOVSIVS, hee never rested to call for, and require to have some one of any degree and order what soever, to observe all his deedes and words.

\* As Pretor, propraetor, praefectus, &c.  
\* The sonne of his wife Julia by Agrippa.

\* Orofithis friends.

13

\* The gonow.

\* Pantofles or cork shoes after the Greekish fashion.

He neglected also his wonted exercises of horse and armour: yea and having laid by the \* habite of his native Countrey, hee betooke himselfe to a cloke and \* slippers. In such a state & condition as this, continued hee almost two yeeres throughout, more diffided and hatefull everie day then other: insomuch as the *Meniansians* overthrew his Images and statues: and upon a time, at a certaine feast, where familiar friends were met together (by occasion that mention was made of him,) there was one stood up who promised CAIVS, *That in case he did but command and say the word, he would immediately style to Rhodes and fetch*

*fetch unto him the head of that exiled person:* For so was hee commonly called. And chiefly upon this which was now no bare feare, but plain perill, enforced he was by most earnest prayers not onely of his owne but also of his mother, to require and seeke for to returne, which he obtained at length with the helpe somewhat of good fortune. AVOVSIVS had fully set downe with himselfe to resolve upon nothing as touching that point, but with the wil & good liking of his elder sonne: now was he, as it happened at that time much offended and displeased with M. LOLLIVS, but to his \* father in law (TIBERIVS) well affected, and easie to be by him intreated. By the permission therefore and good leave of CAIVS called home he was; but with this condition, *That he should not meddle one leete in the affaires of State:*

Thus in the 8. yeare after his departure, returned he full of great hopes and nothing doubtfull of future fortunes, which he had conceived as well by strange sights, as also by predictions and prophesies even from his very birth. For LIVIA whiles she went with child of him, among many and sundrie experiments which she made, and signes that she observed (and all to know whether shee should bring forth a man child or no) tooke closely an egge from under an hen that was sitting, and kept it warme sometime in her owne, otherwhiles in her womens hands by turnes one after another, so long, untill there was hatched a cock-chicken with a notable combe upon the head. And when he was but a very babe, SCRIBONIVS the Astrologer gave out and warranted great matters of him, namely, *That he should one day raigne as Monarch, but yet without the reall \* Ensignes.* For as yet, ye must wote, the soveraigne power of the CÆSARS was unknowne. Also, as he entred into his first expedition, and led an armie into Syria, through Macedonia: it chaunced that the consecrated Altars of the victorious \* Legions in time past at Philippi shone out \* suddenly of themselves alon a lighte fire. And soone after, when in his journey towards Illyricum he went to the Oracle of Gergon nere unto Padua, and drew forth his lotte, whereby he was adviced that for counsell and resolution in such particulars as he required after, he should throw golden \* dies (a) into the fountaine Apennis, it fell out so that the dies thus cast by him shewed the \* greatest number: And even at this verie day these dies are seene under the water. Some fewe dayes likewise before he was sent for home, an Eggle, (never seene afore time at Rhodes) perched upon the very top and ridge of his house: and the verie day before he had intelligence given him of his returne, as he was changing his apparel, his shirt was seene on fire. THRASYLLVS (b) also the Astrologer, whom for his great profession of wisdome & cunning he had taken into his house to beare him companie, he made then most trial of; namely, when upon kenning a \* ship a farr off, he affirmed, *That joyfull newes was coming in,* whereas at the verie same instant as they walked together TIBERIVS was fully purposed to have turned him headlong downe into the sea, as being a false prophet, (for that things fell out untowardly and contrarie to his former predictions & cne besides; who chaunced for the most part to bee privie unto him of all his secrets.

15 Being returned to Rome, and having brought his sonne DRVSVS solemnly into the \* Forum, he remooved immediately out of Curia, and the house \* of POMPEIVS unto \* Esquilis, and the Hort-yards of MÆCENAS: where he gave himselfe

\* CAIVS, his nephew or daughter sonne.

\* His mothers husband.

14

A.V.C.755.

\* The Dies-iræ.

\* Under Tullies or Augustus.

\* Sabinus regulus or Sabellus regulus.

\* When the fire was taken from them.

\* Or Cockles.

\* Venator Caus, which is the best chance.

\* which brought the messenger of his returne.

\* There to converse & shew the best private of pleading.

\* at Barre.

\* Which was in the streete Curia.

\* Or Esquilis an other streete in Rome.

himself wholly to quietnesse performing priuate duties onely and not meddling at all in publicke offices. After that CAIUS and LVCIVS were dead with in the compasse of \* 3. yeares, he together with their brother M. AGRIPPA was adopted by AVGVSTVS, but compelled first himselfe to adopt GERMANICVS his brothers sonne. Neither did he ought afterwards as an \* householder, nor retained one jot of that right which he had forgon by his adoption. For, he gave no donations, he manumitted no person: nor yet made benefite of any inheritance or legacies otherwise then in the nature of \* Peculium: and so he did put them downe in his booke of receipts. But from that time forward he was nothing pretermitted for the augmentation of his state and Maiestie: and much more after that AGRIPPA once was in disfavours and sent away: whereby the world tooke knowledge for certaine, that the hope of succession rested onely in him.

16. Nowe was the Tribunitian Authoritie conferred a second time upon him, and that for the terme of 5. yeeres: the honorable charge and commission likewise, for to pacifie the State of *Germanie* was assigned unto him: and the *Parthian* Embassadors, after they had declared their message at *Rome* unto AVGVSTVS, were commanded to repaire unto him also \* into his province: But upon the newes that ILLYRICVM revolted, he remooved from \* thence to the charge of a new warre, which, being of all foraine warres the most dangerous since those with the *Carthaginians*, he managed with the power of 15. Legions, & equal forces of *Auxiliaries*, for the space of 3. yeares in great extremity of all things, but especially in exceeding scarcetie of Corne. And notwithstanding that he was oftentimes revoked from this service, yet persisted he unto the end, fearing least the enemy so neere a neighbour and so puissant with all, should make head and come upon them, if they first did quit the place and retire. And verily, passing well paid and rewarded was hee for this perseverance of his; as having thereby fully subdued and brought under his subjection all ILLYRICVM as farre as reacheth and spreadeth betwene *Italie*, the kingdom of *Noricum, Thracia, and Macedonie*: betwene the river *Danubius* also and the gulfes of the *Adriaticke* sea.

Which glorious exploit of his was yet more amplified and encreased by the opportunitee of an accident that fell betwene. For, about the verie same time QVINTILIUS VARS together with 3. Legions was overthrowne and defeated in *Germanie*: and no man made any doubt, but that the *Germanes* following the traine of this their victorie, would have ioyned with PANNONIA in case ILLYRICVM had not bene subdued before. For these his noble Acts, a triumph with many great honours was decreed for him: Some also delivered their sentence, that he should be surnamed PANNONICVS; others would have had the addition of *Invincible*: and some againe of PIVS, in his Style; But as touching any such surname, AVGVSTVS interposed his negative voyce, promising and undertaking in his behalfe, that he should rest contented with that, which he was to assume after his death: As for the Triumph, himselfe did put it off unto a further day, by occasion that the whole \* state, sorrowed for the overthrow and losse above saide of VARS: Nevertheless, he entred the City in his rich Prætexta or imbrodded purple Robe, with a chaplet of lawrell upon his head: and so mounted up to the Tribunal erected for him in the (a) *Septis*, whilce

\* Of 5. yeeres rather by *Pelleius* and *Dis* and as himselfe hath written in *Augustus*.

\* One that was *suavis*, falling into him by the Testaments of his friends.

\* A stocke given & granted unto one by him under whose tuition he is, be hee father or master.

A.V.C.757, \* *Germanie* \* Out of *Germanie*. A.V.C.760.

A.V.C.765, 17

\* *Augustus*.

\* Of *Rome*.

whiles the Senate stood to give attendance: and there, together with AUGUSTVS, in the mids betwene the two Consuls hee tooke his place and sate downe: From whence, after he had saluted the people, hee was honourably conducted round about all the Temples.

18

The next yeere following, being returned into *Germanie*, when hee perceived that the *Farian* defeatere aforesaid hapned through the rashnesse and negligence of the Generall, he did nothing at all without the opinion of his Counsell of warre. And whereas hee had used also before, to stand upon his owne bothom, and to rest in his selfe iudgement alone; then, contrary to his manner hee conferred with many as touching the management of the warre: yea, and he shewed more care and circumspection in every point than his wont was aforetime. Being about to passe over the Rhene, all his provision of victuals strictly reduced to a certaine rate and stint, hee would not lend over the water before he had considered (standing upon the very banke of the river) the lode of every Waggon, that no carriages might bee \* discharged or unloaden, but such as were by him allowed and thought necessary. When hee was once on the other side of *Rhene*, this course and order of life he held: Namely to sit upon a bare banke of turfe, and so to eat his meate: to lie abroad all night, and take his rest oftentimes without tent: to deliver all directions for the day following, as also what suddaine service or businesse was to bee enjoyed, by writing; with this caveat and admonition, *That whereof any man doubted, hee should repaire unto him at all houres of the night, and seeke for no other expositor but himselfe*.

Martiall discipline he required most sharply, bringing againe into ure and execution certaine kindes of chastisements and ignominious disgraces which had bene used in auncient times: in so much, as he branded with open shame the Lieutenant of a Legion, for sending a few Souldiours with his owne freedman over the other side of the river a hunting. As for battailes, albeit hee did put as little as might be upon the hazard of Fortune and chaunce: yet entred he upon them with much more resolution, so often as whiles hee watched or studied by a candle, the light suddainly fell downe and went out, when no body forced it: trusting confidently (as hee said) upon this signe, which both hee and all his Ancestors had tried and found to be infallible during all their warlike conducts and regiments. But howsoever hee sped well and had good successe in this Province, he escaped very faire that hee had not bene killed by a certaine \* Rhutene (a), who being among those that were next about his person, and detected by his timorous gesture, was apprehended, and with torture forced to confesse his prepenised designment.

20

Being after two yeeres returned out of *Germanie* to *Rome*, hee rode in that triumph which he had differed, accompanied with his Lieutenants, for whom hee had obtained (a) triumphall Ornaments. And ere hee turned into the Capitoll hee alighted from his Chariot, and bowed himselfe to the knees of his \* Father, sitting then before him as President. A Captaine and Commander of PANNONIA named BATON, hee rewarded first, with exceeding great Presents, and then remooved him to *Ravenna*, in thankfull requital

A.V.C.763;

\* *Deposcentur*, rei depositum: i. e. transported and carried over.

19

\* *Rhutene* *quadam*.

\* *Augustus* *Cæsar*.

K for

for suffering him upon a time, when with his Armie hee was enclosed within the streights, to passe forward and escape. After this, hee belowed upon the people (of Rome) a solemne dinner, where they fate at a thousand tables: and gave besides to them three thousand Sesterces a peece for a Congiarie. Hee dedicated also the temple of *Concord*: likewise that of *Pollux and Castor* in his owne name & his brothers, all out of the spoile woone from the enemies.

21  
A.V.C. 766. And not long after, when by vertue of an Act preferred by the Consuls, That hee should administer the Provinces jointly with Augustus: and likewise hold the general review and muster of the people, hee had performed the same and finished it with a solemne purging called *Lustrum*, hee tooke his journey into *Illyricum*. And being incontinently called backe out of the very way, he came and found Augustus dangerously sicke, howbeit yet breathing and alive: with whom he continued in secret talke, one whole day. I wrote well, it is commonly received and beleaved, that when Tiberius after private conference was gone forth, these words of Augustus were overheard by the Chamberlaines. *Miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit. O unhopie people of Rome, that shall be under such a slow (a) paire of chawes.* Neither am I ignorant of this also, that some have written and reported of Augustus, How openly and in plaine termes without dissimuling, hee disliked his churlish behaviour and harshnesse of manners so much, as divers times being in pleasant discourse and merry talke, he would breake off when Tiberius came in place: Howbeit, overcome by his wives intreaty and earnest praier he refused not to adopt him: or rather was induced so to doe, upon an ambitious humor and conceite of his owne, that leaving such a successfull, himselfe might another day be more missed and wished for againe. Yet cannot I be perswaded otherwise, but to thinke, that Augustus a right circumspect, considerate and prudent Prince did nothing, especially in so weighty a businesse, hand over head and without advise: but having duly weighed the vices and vertues of Tiberius, esteemed his vertues of more worth: and namely seeing that both he swore solemnly in a general assembly of the people, *That hee adopted him for the (b) good of the Common-weale*: and also commendeth him in certaine Epistles for a most expert and martiall warriour, yea the onely Defender and Protectour of the people of Rome. Out of which, I have thought good to quote some places heere and there for example. *Farewell most sweet Tiberius, and God blesse your conduct and proceeding, warring as you doe for mee and the *Muses*. Again, O most pleasant, and (as I desire to bee happy) right valiant man, and accomplished Captaine, with all perfections, adieu. Also, As touching the order and manner of your Sommer-campe, for mine owne part verily, my Tiberius, I am of this minde, That considering so many difficulties and distresses: in regard also of so great sloath and cowardise of Souldiours, no man in the world could performe the service better than you have done. And even they of your traine, who were wish you doe all confesse, that this verse may be applied fitly unto you.*

Explaine words  
on this story in  
thy friends.

(c) *Vnus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.*

One man alone by watchfull sights

Our sarr'ring state hath set up right.

And whether, quoth he, there fall out any occurrents to be considered upon with more care and diligence, or whether I be displeased and angry at any thing, I have a great

great misse, I assure you, of my Tiberius: and evermore that verse of Homer commeth into my remembrance:

(d) *Τὴν δὲ δὴ τὴν οὐκ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀνέστη  
ἀνὰ τὴν ποταμῷ, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀνέστη*

\* *Thad.*

Whiles this man beares me company (so well hee doth fore-see)

We may ev'n out of flaming fire returne, both land and hee.

When I beare say and read, that you are weakened and growne leane with incessant and continuall labour, God consoend me, if my body doe not quake and tremble. I pray you therefore spare your selfe: least if it come to our eares, that you are sicke, both I and your mother also die for sorrow, and the people of Rome beside, hazard the Empire. It makes no matter, whether I be in health or no: \* if you be not well; The Gods I beseech, to preserve you for us and vouchsafe your health both now and ever, unlesse they hate the people of Rome to death.

\* *Sic non val-  
letis: or, if it  
be not well, I  
beseech the Gods,  
to preserve you  
for us, unless  
they will.*

The death of Augustus hee divulged not abroad, before that young Agrippa was slaine. This Agrippa was killed by a militarie Tribune, set and appointed to guard him, so soone as hee had read the writ\*, whereby hee was commaunded to doe the deece. This writ, whether Augustus left behind him when hee died, thereby to take away all matter that might minister tumult after his death: or whether Livia in the name of Augustus ended it, and that with the privy of Tiberius, or without his knowledge, it resteth doubtfull. Certaine it is, that when the faide Tribune brought him word, that the thing was dispatched which he had commaunded, he made answer, *That he gave no such commaundement*, and added moreover, *That he should answer it before the Senate*: Declining no doubt the envie and hard conceit of men for the present: for within a while after he buried the matter in silence.

23  
\* *Colonel  
or warrent.*

Having nowe assembled the Senate by vertue and authority (a) of his Tribuneship, and begun to make a speech unto them by way of Consolation: \* Which hee all on a suddaine, as unable to maister his griefe, he fell into a fit of sighing and groaning: Yea he wished, *That not onely his voice, but his untall teath also might forsake him*: and therewith gave the booke unto his sonne Drusus to read it out. After this, when the last will or testament of Augustus was brought in, and none of the witnessies admitted to come in place, but those onely who were of Senators degree, the rest standing without the Curia & there acknowledging their hands and seales, hee caused it to be read and pronounced by his freed man. The will began in this manner. *For as much as sinister fortune hath bereft me of Caius and Lucius, my sonnes, I will that Tiberius Cæsar be mine heire, in the one moiety and a sixth part.* By which very beginning, their suspicion was augmented who thought thus, that seeing he forbore not after this sort to make his preface, hee ordained Tiberius to be his successeur upon necessity, rather than any iudgement and discretion.

23  
\* *Which hee  
had pronounced.  
\* For the death  
of Augustus.*

Albeit hee made no doubt to enter upon his imperiall government immediately and to menage the same, and that by taking unto him a strong guard of Souldiours about his person, that is to say maine force & the very forme of absolute rule & dominion: yet notwithstanding, he refused it a long time: & putting on a most impudent & shamelesse mind, one while he seemed to rebuke his friends that encouraged him thereto, as those who knew not, what a monstrous and untamed beast an Empire was: and otherwhiles with ambiguous answers

24



and crafty delays holding the Senate in suspense when they besought him to take it upon him, yea and humbly debated themselves before his knees: in so much as some of them having their patience moved therewith, could endure him no longer: and one among the rest in that tumult cried aloude, *Let him either doe it at once, or else give over quite*: and another openly to his face upbraided him in these words, *Whereas other men be slacke in doing, and performing that which they have promised, he was slacke in promising that which hee did and performed*. In the end, as if sorrow he had bene compelled, and complaining withall, that there was imposed upon his shoulders a miserable and burdensome servitude, he tooke the Empire upon him: and yet no otherwise, than giving hope, that one day he would resigne it up. His very words are these, *Until I come unto that time, wherein yee may thinke it meete to give some rest unto mine aged yeeres*.

25

The cause of this holding off & delay that he made, was the feare of imminent dangers on every side, in so much as he would often say, *hee held a Woolfe by the eare*. For there was one of AGRIPPÆS slaves named CLEMENS, who had levied & gathered together no small power, for to revenge his Masters death: and L. SCRIBONIUS LEO, a noble man, secretly plotted sedition and rebellion: yea, and a two-fold mutinie of the Souldiours arose, in *Illyricum* and in *Germanie*. Both the armies called hard upon him for performance of many matters extraordinarily: but above all, that they might have equall pay with the (a) Pretorian souldiours. And as for the (b) Germanician souldiours, they verily refused him for their Prince and Sovereigne, as not by them ordained: and with all their might and maine urged GERMANICUS, who then was their General to take upon him the government of the State, albeit he withstood & denied them stoutly. Fearing therefore the issue and danger of this occurrent most of all, he required for himselfe to have that part of the Common-weale in charge, which it should please the Senate to lay upon him: seeing that no man was sufficient to weld the whole, unlesse he had another or many assistants rather ioyned with him. Hee feigned himselfe also to be sickly, to the end that GERMANICUS might with the better will and more patience abide in expectation either of speedy succession after him, or at least waies off fellowship in the Empire with him. Well, after hee had appeased those mutinies, CLEMENS likewise by a fraudulent wile he over-raught, and brought to his devotion. As for LEO, because he would not be thought at his entrance newly into the Empire for to proceede rigorously, two yeeres after and not before he charged & reproved him before the Senate, contenting himselfe all that meane space to beware of him onely, and to stand upon his guard. For, as the said LEO was together with him among other Pontifices sacrificing, hee tooke order, that in stead of the (yron) cleaver, there should be closely laid for him a chopping knife of Lead: And when the same LEO requested upon a time to have secret talke and conference with him, he would not grant it, without his sonne DRUSUS might be by: and so long as he walked up & downe with LEO, he seemed to lean upon his hand: and so, held it sure enough all the while untill their communication was ended.

\* Paulo minus  
quid privatum  
ergo: or little  
better than the  
port, &c.

26 But being once delivered fro this feare he caried himselfe at the beginning very orderly and after a civill sort, yea and somewhat \* under the port of a pri-

vate

vate person. Of very many dignities and those right honourable, which by publique decree were presented unto him, he accepted but few, and those of the meanest kind. His birth-day-mind, falling out in the time of the Plebeian (a) games and plaies exhibited in the Cirque, hee hardly would suffer to be celebrated and honoured so much as with the addition extraordinarily of one chariot drawne with two Steedes. Hee forbade expressly, any temples Flamins or Priests to be ordained for him, yea and the erection of Statues and images in his honour, without his leave and permission: the which ranne with this onely clause and condition, *That they should not be set up among the images of the Gods, but stand with other ornaments of the house*. Hee prohibited also by his negative voice the solemne oath of observing and keeping his Acts inviolably: as also to call the moneth \* September, TIBERIUS; or \* October, LIVIUS. The forename also in his stile of (b) IMPERATOR; the surname likewise of PATER PATRIÆ; as also a (c) Civick Coronet at the fore gate or porch of his Palace he refused. Nay, the very name of AUGUSTUS, hereditarie though it were, he would not put as an addition to any of his Epistles, but those onely which he sent unto Kings and great Potentates. Neither bare hee more than three Consulships: the first but a few dayes; the second three moneths; the third in his absence no longer than unto the \* Ides of May.

Hee detested flattery and obsequious complements so much, as that hee would admit no Senatour to his Litter side either by way of dutifull attendance, or otherwise about any business whatsoever. When a certaine \* Consulare person was about to make satisfaction unto him, and humbly to entreate and crave pardon by a reverent touching of his knees, he started and fled from him as fast as hee fell therewith and \* lay along upon his backe. Yea, and that which more is, if in any talke or continued speech there passed words of him smelling of flatterie, hee would not sticke to interrupt the speaker, to checke him, and presently to alter and correct such termes. One there was who called him DOMINUS, that is, \* S: but hee gave him warning not to name him any more by way of contumely. Another chanced to say, *His sacred busineses*: and a third againe, *That he went into the Senate, auctore J. by his warrant or authoritie*. Hee caused them both to change those words, and for auctore to say *Suavore*, that is, *by his advice and counsell*: and in steede of *Sacred*, to put in, *Laborious* and painful.

Moreover, against railing taunts, bad reports and rumours, as also slanderous libels, verses and songs cast out either of himselfe or those about him, hee flood so firme and patient, as that ever and anon he would give out, *That in a free state, folke ought to have both tongue and thought free*. And when upon a time the Senate called earnestly unto him, *That such crimes, and the offenders themselves might be brought judicially into question*; Wee have not quoth hee, so much leisure as to entangle ourselves in many affaires. If I open this window orce, yee will suffer nothing els to be done: for under pretence hereof yee shall have the quarrell of every man preferred unto \* yee. There is besides a passing civill \* A: Such a muti-  
pophthegme of his extant which hee uttered in the Senate, *If so be* quoth hee, *that hee speake otherwise of mee than well, I will endeavour to give an account of my deeds and wordes, but in case hee continue so still, I will hate him for it as a game*.

\* Or Novem-  
ber taken for  
imperial was  
from his own  
name.

\* September  
of his methods:  
\* The Ca-  
lends or first  
day of January  
toile 15 of  
May.

27  
\* One who had  
been Consul.  
Tiberius said, it  
was a shame  
to sit in  
his chair.

\* Whereby the  
said Q. Hater-  
us had like to  
have beene kill-  
ed by the  
guard.  
\* Or Lord.

23

\* Alway, and  
that was the  
\* Such a muti-  
bent one  
Cicero to  
speake of  
that was not a  
Prince of this  
substance

Kj

And



29  
\*A The Senate  
to the

And these things were so much the more remarkable in him, for that in speaking to them \* either one by one severally, or to all at once in generally, yet and in reverencing them, himselfe exceeded in a manner the measure of all humanity. When he differed one day in opinion from Q. HATERIVS in the Senate: *Pardon mee, I beseech you*, quoth hee, *if I as a Senator shall speake ought over-frankly against you*. and then directing his speech unto the whole house. *Butt no more*, quoth hee, *and many times else, my Lords, thus hath bene my saying, That a good and gracious Prince, whom ye have invested in so great and so absolute a power, ou. he to serve the Senate and all the Citizens generally: often times also, ye and for the most part, every of them particularly. Neither repent I that I have so said, for I have ever found you, and doe so still: to be my good, my gracious and favourable Lords.*

30

Furthermore, he brought in a certaine shew of the common Libertie, by preserving entier for the Senate and Magistrates, both their ancient maiestie and also their authority: neither was there any matter so small or so great, pertaining to publique or private affaires, but proposed it was at the Councell-table before the Senators: as namely, about Tributes, Customes and Revenues of the State: of Monopolies: of building and repairing any publique works: of enrolling or discharging Souldiours: of setting downe the number as well of Legions as of auxiliary forces: Finally, who should have their place of command and government continued by a new commission: or take the charge of extraordinary warres? as also what, in what forme they thought it good to write againe, & to answer letters sent by Kings: A certaine Capitaine over a \* cornet of horse-men, being accused for an outrage and for robberie, he compelled to make his answer before the \* Senate. Hee never entered the Curia but alone. And being one time brought in sicke within his litter, (a) he caused a l his traine and company to void.

\*Or wing  
\*Whereas by  
courte he shoul  
have had his  
small belt: he  
the Lord Gene  
ral, or prince  
himselfe.

\*Libertie: as  
the  
\*Or Trebian

That some Decrees were enacted against his minde and sentence, hee never once complained, nor found himselfe grieved. Notwithstanding hee opined, that Magistrates appointed to any charge, ought not to bee absent; to the end that by their presence they might the better intend their function and calling: yet one Pretour clef, obtained the favour of a free \* (a) embassage. Again, when he advised in the \* *Orticulans* behalfes grants, that they might bestowe the money in paying a cawtie or high-way, which was by legacie given to the building of a new Theater: hee could not prevail but that the will of the Tefator should stand and be fulfilled. When it fortuned upon a time that an Act of the Senate should passe by going to a side, and himselfe went over to the other part where the fewer in number were, there was not one that followed him. Other matters also were handled and debated by the Magistrates and the ordinarie course of lawe, and not other wise: Wherein the Consuls, bare to great sway and authority, that certaine Embassadors out of *Africa* repaired unto them for dispatch, as complaining that they were put-off and delayed by CÆSAR unto whom they had bene sent. And no mervaille: For evident it was, that himselfe also would arise up unto the side Consuls and give them the way.

31

Hee rebuked Generalls of Armies even such as had bene Consuls for not writing

writing unto the Senate of their warre exploits: also for consulting with him and asking his advice as touching the graunt of \* *militarie gifts*, as if it lay not in their owne power to give and dispose all. Hee commended a Pretour for bringing uppe againe the auncient custome, in the entrance of his government to make an honourable mention and rehearsal of his Ancestours before a frequent assembly of the people. The funerall obsequies of certaine Noble personages, he accompanied with the common multitude to the very (a) fire. The like moderation he shewed in meaner persons and matters both when hee had called forth unto him the Magistrates of the *Rhodians*, for delivering unto him publique letters from the State without the due (b) subscription, he gave them not so much as one hard worde but onely commanded them to subscribe and sent them away. DIOGENES the professed *Grammatician*, who was wont to \* dispute and discourse at *Rhodes* every \* Sabbath, had put him backe and would not admit him into his schoole coming of purpose extraordinarily to here him, but by his page posted him of untill the 7. day. Nowe when the same DIOGENES stood waiting before his gate at *Rome* to doe his dutie and to salute him, hee quit him no otherwise than thus, namely by warning him to repaire thither againe 7. yeares after: when the presidents and governours abroad gave him counsell to burden the provinces with heavey tributes and taxes he wrote backe unto them. *That it was the part of a good shepherd to sheare his sheepe and not to flay them:*

\*As collars,  
Chenices,  
pearces, chap-  
lets &c.

\*Or reade a  
discourse  
once a weeke  
or every 7. day

By little and little he put himselfe forth and shewed his princely maiestie; how ever for a long time, in some variety, yet for the most part, rather mild and gracious than otherwise, and more inclined to the good of the common wealth: and at the first, thus far forth onely interposed he his absolute power & inhibition, *That nothing should be done \* uniusly*. Therefore he both repealed certaine constitutions of the Senate, & also very often, when the Magistrates were sitting judicially upon the Bench, to decide matters, he would offer himselfe to joine as it were in counsell, and to be assistant with them, or else just over against them in the fore part (of the Tribunall.) And if the rumour went that any defendant were like by favour to escape cleere, as on a sodaine, he would be in place, and either on the (a) ground below, or else from the Tribunall seat of the L. chief Justice, put the other Iudges and Jurie in mind of the lawes, of their conscience and religion, and of the crime whereupon they sat. Also if any thing were amisse and faultie in the publique ordinances and manners of the Citie, forlet by occasion of idleness or taken up through evill custome, he undertooke to reforme the same.

\*Beside the  
rule of law.

He abridged and restrained the expenses of Stage plays and \* games exhibited unto the people, by cutting short the wages paid to Actors upon the stage, and reducing the couples of sword fencers to a certaine number. That *Corinthian* vessels & manufactures grew to an exceeding high rate, & that three barbins were sold for 30000. sesterces, he grievously complained, and gave his opinion, that there should be a gage set, and a mediocrity kept in household furniture: as also that the price of victuals in open market should be ordered yearly at the direction of the Senate, with a charge given unto the *Deciles* for to inhibit victuallling houses, tavernes, and thus saze forth, as they should not suffer any pastry-workes (a) to be set out to sale: And to the end, that by his owne ex-

34  
\*Of (a) or (b)  
fences

K4

ample

ample also, he might put forward the publike frugalitie, himselfe at his solemne and festivall suppers caused oftentimes to be served up to the bord, Viands dressed the day before and those halfe eaten already, saying, *That the side of a wild Boare had in it all the same that the whole.* He forbade expressly by an Edict, the usuall and daily kisses commonly given and taken: likewise the intercourse of new yeares gifts sent to and fro: Namely, that it should not continue after the Calends of Ianuarie. He had wont to bestow for his part a new yeares gift foure fold worth that which he received, and to give the same with his owne hand: but being offended that a whole moneth together hee was in his other affaires troubled with such as had not bene with him, nor felt his liberalitie uppon the verie feast, hee never gave any againe after the faide day.

Wives of leawd and dishonest life, if ther wanted accusers to call them publicly into question, his aduise and sentence was, that their next kinsfolke should, \* *more maiorum* agree together in common, for to chastise and punish. He dispensed with a gentleman of *Rome* for his oath (who had sworne before, *never to avowce his wife*) and gave him leave to put her away being taken in adulterie with her \* *femme in law*. Certaine women infamous for whoredome and filthinesse, began to professe before the *Adiles* bawderie: to the ende, that having by this base trade and occupation lost the right priviledge and dignitie of matrones, they might delude the \* *lawes* (a) and avoide the penalties thereof. Semblably out of the youth of both \* *degrees*, the leawdest spendthrifts of all other, because they would not be liable to an Act of the Senate in that behalfe, for performing their parts in acting upon the stage, or their devoit \* *within the lists*, wilfully underwent the ignominious note of \* *infamie*. But, as well them, as those light women aforesaid he banished all: that none ever after should by such delusion of the law seeke evasion. He tooke from a \* *Senator* his robe, after he knew once, that iust before the Calends of (b) *Iulie* hee remooved out of his dwelling house into certaine \* *Hortyardes* and gardenes, to the end that when the faid day was past, he might take his house againe within the Citie at a lower rent. Another he deprived of his Questureship for that having (as it were) by lotterie, chosen and married a wife the one day, he dismissed her on \* *another*.

36 All foraine ceremonies in Religion: the *Aegyptian* also and the *Jewish* rites he prohibited: compelling those who were given to that Superstition, for to burne all their religious vestiments: the instruments likewise & furniture what soever thereto belonging. The serviceable youth of the *Jewes*, under colour of a militarie oth he sent into sundrie prouinces which were in a pestilent (a) and unhol-some aire above others: the rest of that Nation or such as were addicted to the like religiō, he banished out of *Rome*, upon paine of perpetuall bondage if they obeyed not. He expelled also Astrologers: but upon their earnest intreatie and promise to give over the practise of that Art, he permitted them there to remaine.

37 A speciall care he had to keepe the peace, and to preserve the state fro outrages & robberies, as also from licentious mutinies & seditions. The fer guards and garisons of soldiers, hee disposed thicker than the wonted manner was, throughout all *Italic*. Hee ordained a standing \* *Campe* at *Rome*, wherein the

the *Prætorian* Cohorts wandering up and downe before that time & dispersed in diverse Innes and *Yustelries*, might be received. All Insurrections of the people he punished most sharply: hee tooke likewise much paines to prevent such commotions. There happened upon some discord and variance to be a murder committed in the *Theatre*: But the principal heads of the factiō, as also the actours themselves for whose sake the quarrel and fray began, he exiled: neither could he ever be brought for any prayer and intreatie of the people to revoke and restore them. When the Commons of *Pollentia* would not suffer the dead corps of a certaine principall *Centurian* to be carried with funeral obsequies out of their market place, before they had forcibly extorted out of his heires hands a peece of money to the setting out of a game of Fencers with unrebated swords, he tooke one Cohort from *Rome*, and another out of K. \* *COTIVS* Kingdome, dissimuling the cause of this journey, and sodainly discovering their armes and weapons which they closely carried, and giving alarum with found of trumpets, all at once he put them into the Towne with banner displayed at sundrie gates and so cast into perpetuall prison the greater part of the Commons and \* *Decurions*. The priviledge and custome of Sanctuaries, where ever they were, he abolished. The *Cyzicenes* who had committed some notorious out-rage & violence upon *Romaine* Citizens, he deprived generally of their freedome, which in the warre against *MITHRIDATES* they had by their good service gotten. The rebellions of enemies he repressed: not undertaking therefore, any expedition afterwards himselfe, but by his lieutenant onely: and not by them verily without lingering delays, and driven thereto of necessity. Kings that rebelliously tooke armes, or were suspected to breake out, hee kept downe with threats rather and complaints, than otherwise by force and open hostilitie. Some of them, whome hee had trained out of their owne Realmes unto him with faire words and large promises hee never sent home againe: as by name *MARABODUUS* the *Germane*, *THRASYPOLIS* a *Thracian*: and *ARCHELAUS* the *Cappadocian*, whose kingdome also he reduced into the forme of a province.

For two yeares together after he came unto the Empire, hee never set foote once out of *Rome* gates. And the time ensuing, hee absented not himselfe in no place unless it were in towne neere adjoyning, or as farre as *Anium* when he trauailed farthest: and that was verie seldome and for a few dayes: albeit he promised and pronounced openly oftentimes that hee would visite the provinces also and armies abroad: yea and everie yeare almost hee made preparation for a journey, taking up all the waynes and wagons that were to be gotten, and laying provision of Corne and victuals in all the good Burroughes & Colonies by the way, yea and at the last suffered vowes to be made for his going forth and returne home: in so much as commonly by way of a jest and byworde, hee was called (a) *CALLIPIDES*, who in a Greeke proverbe is noted to bee alwaies running, and yet never gaineth ground one cubit forward.

But being bereft of both his sonnes, of which \* *GERMANICVS* died in *Syria*, and \* *DAVVS* at *Rome*, he withdrew himselfe into *Campania*, as to a rettyring place: and all men well neere, were fully perswaded and spake it as constantly, that he would never returne but die soone after. Both which had like

35

\* According to the manner and custome of their ancestors.

\* That married her daughter.

\* *Iulie* &c. *Adversus*.  
\* As well Senators as gentlemen.

\* In sword-fight: the sharper.

\* By committing to leawd parts.  
\* Hee proved him from his Senators place.

\* Without the Citie.

\* The morrow: his levitie was notable as well to making choise of slightly as in choosing her of so quickely, making but a game of marriage.

\* *Romaine* Citizens.

\* Neere unto the place where hee was then.

\* A perie king about the Alpes.

\* Senators, or Aicemen.

38

39  
\* Adopted.  
\* Natural.  
\* A.V.C. 779.

like indeede to have come to passe. For, in truth he never came againe to *Rome*: and within some few dayes, neere unto *Tarracina*, in a certaine part of his manour house (built especially for his owne lodging) and called *Spelunca*, as hee sat there at supper, a number of huge stones from above chaunced to fall downe: whereby many of his guesstes at the Table and servitours there waitinge were crushed and squized to death; but hee himselfe beyonde all hope escaped,

40 Having made his progresse over *Campania*, when he had dedicated a Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of *AVGVSTVS* at *Nola*, which hee pretended to have beene the motive of his journey, he betooke himselfe to *Caprea*: delighted especially with that Iland because there was but one way of access unto it and the same by a small shore and landing place: as being otherwise enclosed round about, partly with craggy rockes & steepe cliffs of an exceeding height; and in part with the deepe sea. But soone after, when the people called him home, and incessantly besought him to returne, by occasion of an unhappie & heauy accident, wherby at *Fulvii* xx. thousand folke and more, at a solemne fight of sword players perished by fall of an Amphitheater, he passed over into the maine and firme land, permitting all men to come unto him: the rather, for that when he first set forth and went out of *Rome*, he had given streight commandement by an Edict that no man should trouble him, and all the way voided as many as were coming towards him.

\*Stranger that could viewd thither to see the shows.

41 Being retired againe into the said Ile, he cast aside all care verily of Common weale; so farre forth as never after he did so much as repaire and make up the broken decuries of horse men: Hee chaunged no militarie Tribunes nor Captaines: no nor any presidents and Governours of Provinces. He held *Spain* and *Syria* both, for certaine yeares, without Consulare Lieutenantes: hee neglected *Armenia* and suffered it to bee overrunne and possessed by the *Parthians*: *Mesia* to be waited and spoyle by the *Dakes* and *Sarmatians*, as also *Gaul* by the *Germanes*, to the great shame and no lesse danger of the whole Empire.

42 To proceede, having now gotten the libertie of this secret place, and being as one would say removed from the eyes of people: at length hee poured forth and shewed at once all those vices which with much ado for a long time he had cloked and diffimuled. Of which I will particularize and make relation from the very beginning. In the Campe when hee was but a newe and untrained souldier, for his excessiue greedinesse of wine bibbing, hee was for (4) *TIBERIVS* named *BIBERIVS*, for *CLAVDIVS*, *CALDIVS*: for *NERO*, *MERO*: After being Emperour, even at the very time when hee was busie in reforming the publike manners and misdemeanour (of the Cittie) he spent with *POMPONIUS FLACCVS* and *L. PISO* one whole night and two dayes in "gluttonie and drunkenesse, unto the former of these twaine he presently gave the government of the province *Syria*: upon the other hee conferred the Provostship of *Rome*, professing even in all his letters and writings; That they were most pleasant companions and friends at all affaires. To *SEX. CLAVDIVS* a *Senex* fornicatour and prodigal dingthrif, who had in times past been by *AVGVSTVS* put to ignominie and shame, yea and by himselfe some fewe dayes before rebuked before the Senate, he sent word, that hee would take a supper with

\*In eating and drinking.

\*Or *Sextius* *Galus*.

with him: upon this condition, that he altered nothing, nor left ought out of his ordinarie and customed manner: and namely, that whether all naked should serve at the Table. He preferred one to be a competitor for the Questorship, who was a most base and obscure person, before others that were right noble gentlemen: onely for carousing and drinking up at a banquet, a whole (b) *Amphor* of wine when he drank unto him. Vnto *ASELLIVS SARRINVS* he gave 200000. Sesterces for a dialogue of his making, in which he brought in a combate or disputation, betweene the *Masfermes*, the (c) *Ficedula* the Oyster and the (d) *Thrusb*. To conclude, he instituted a new office, forsooth, \* a voluptations, wherein he placed *PRIUSCUS* a gentleman of *Rome*, and one who had bene Censor.

\* Or rendered it unto him.

\* For the deriving of newe pleasures &c.

But during the time of his private abode in *Caprea*, he devised a room with seates and benches in it, even a place of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. To furnish it there were sought out and gathered from all parts, a number of young drabbes and stale Catamites, jorted together: such also as invented monstrous kinds of libidinous fithinesse, whom he termed *Spintrix*: who being in three ranks or rews linked together should abuse and pollute one anothers bodie before his face: that by the verie sight of them he might stirre up his owne cold courage and fainting lust. Hee had bed chambers besides, in many places, which he adorned with tables and petie puppets: representing in the one sort, most lascivious pictures, and in the other as wanton shapes and figures. He stored them likewise with the bookes of *Elephantis*: that none might be to seeke for a patterne of the semblable forme and fashion, in that beauly businesse performed in everie kind. He devised in the woods also and groves here and there, certaine places for lecherie and venerous Acts: where in he had within caves and holow rockes youthes of both sexes standing at recit readie prostitute, in habit of *Pamphers* and *Nymphes*; in so much as now men in open place, abusing the vulgar name of the Iland, termed him usually, \* *Capriensis*.

43

He incurred yet the infamie of greater and more shamefull filthinesse, such as may not well be named or heard, and much lesse beleaved: to wit, that hee should traine up and teach fine boyes the tenderest and daintiest that might be had (whom he called his little fishes) to converse and play betweene his thighs as he was swimming, and pretily with tongue and teeth seeme to make unto his secret parts, and there to nibble: VWhom likewise, as babes of good growth and strength; howbeit as yet not weaned, he should set unto his privie member as unto the nipple of a breast, to sucke. And verily, both by nature and for his yeares, more prone he was and given to lust in this kind. Therefore, where-as a certaine painted table of *PARRASIVS* making, (in which *ATALANTA* yeldeth her mouth unto *MELLAGER* in that beaflinesse) was given unto him as a legacie: upon condition, that if he were offended with the argument or matter represented therein, he might in lieu thereof receive a millian of Sesterces, hee not onely preferred the saide picture before such a summe of monie, but also dedicated it in his owne bed-chamber. It is reported besides, that being at sacrifice upon a time, he casting a fassie to the beautifull and well favoured face of a youth and servitour as he carried before him the \* Censer, could not containe, but immediatly and before the complements of sacrifice were well

\* Or *Capriensis* or *Capriensis*.

44

\* Irramatio.

\* Or incense Pan.

well and fully performed, even there and then, take him a side out of the place and so abuse his bodie: and together with him a brother of his, the minstrel-yea and soone after, for that they twitted and upbraided one another for this abominable act, he brake their legges both.

45 Moreover, in what sort he was wont to offer abuse unto the very heads of women, and those nobly borne and of good reputation, appeared most evidently by the wofull end of one dame named MALLONIA. For when shee was by force brought unto his bed, and most resolutely, to die for it, refused to suffer any more, than naturally a woman was to suffer: hee suborned certaine promoters falsly to accuse her: and evermore as she pleaded in her owne defence asked her still, *whether shee repented not yet of her Obstinacie*: which hee followed so long, untill at length shee left the Court, made hast home to her house, and there ranne her selfe through with a sword: after shee had openly and aloud reproched the shaghaired and rammish old churle with his filthy & beastly mouth. Whereupon in a by-enterlude called, *Atellanicum Exodium*, this infamous and shamefull Note, received with exceeding great accorde, was rife and currant abroad in everie mans mouth, *That the olde bucke goat was licking the nature of the doe (or females).*

\*Or dagg.

\*Or shape, as the kind of such beasts to do,

46

Being a very niggard of his purse, and one that would part with nothing, he never maintained those of his traine in all his journeyes and expeditions with any wages or set salaries, but found their meate and victuals onely: yet must I needs say, that once out of his father in lawes Indulgence and bounty, he bestowed upon them a peece of liberalitie: when having raunged them according to the worthinesse of everie one into three ranks, he dealt among those of the first 600000. sesterces: of the second 400000: of the third 200000: And the same called he the "company, not of his friends but \* Graterii, of his thankfull favourers.

\*In amonie.

\*Or ranke.  
\*Some reade Gracium of Greeks by way of contempt.

47

\*At Rome.

All the whiles he was Emperour, neither built he any stately workes: (For the verie temple of AVOVSIVS, and the reedification of POMPERIVS Theatre which onely and none else he had undertaken, after so many yeares he left unfinished) nor exhibited so much as one solemne shew unto the people: and at those which were by any other let out, he was very seldome present, and all for feare least some thing should be demanded at his hands: & namely after that he was compelled once to manumise the Comedian \* Aſſius. Having releevd the want and povertie of some Senatours, because he would not helpe more of them, he denied to succour any other than those, who alledged before the Senate good and just causes of their necessities. By which deede of his he frightened the most part upon a modestie and bashfulnesse in them: & among the rest, one ORTALVS, the nephew of Q. HORTENSIVS the professed Oratour, who being of a very meane estate had begotten foure children, by the meanes

\*An Actor in a Comedie.

\*He had married a young wife upon hope of maintenance by virtue of the lawes Papia Poppæ, and Iulia.

48 As touching his publike munificence, he never shewed it but twice: once, when he purposed and published a free lene for 3. yeares of an hundred millions of Sesterces: & againe, when unto certaine Land-lords of faire houses and tenements, which situate upon mount CALVVS, were consumed with fire, he restored the full price and worth of them. One of these Boones he was forced to grant, by reason that the people in great want of monie called earnestly for

for his helpe: what time as by vertue of an Act of Senate hee had ordained, That Vlturers should lay out two (third) parts of their \* Stock in lands, tenements and appurtenances immoveable: the Debtours likewise make present payment of two parts of their debts, and yet the thing \* was not done and dispatched accordingly: The other, for to mitigate the greivousnesse of those heavey times. Howbeit this (late) beneficence of his he so highly prized, that he commaunded the name of Mount CALVVS to be changed and called AUGUSTUS. The Legacies given by AUGUSTUS in his last will unto the Souldiours being once \* published, he never after bestowed any Largeesse upon them: saving that among those of the \* Prætorium hee dealt one thousand Deniers a peece: in & to the Legions in Syria certaine gifts for that they alone among all their Ensignes in the field honoured no \* image at all of SEIANUS. Moreover, he made very seldome any \* discharges of olde Souldiours: as expecting upon age their death, and by death gaping for some gaine and vantage. Neither succored he the very Provinces with his bountifull hand, except it were Asia, by occasion that certaine Cities therein were by earthquake overthrown.

49 Afterwards, and in proceesse of time he gave his mind wholly even to rapine and plaine pillage. It is for certaine knowne, That C. N. LENTULUS the *Augur*, a man of exceeding great wealth, for very feare & anguish of mind was by him driven to a loathing and wearinesse off his owne life; and at his death to make no other heire but himselfe: That dame LEPIDA likewise, a right noble Lady was condemned by him, to gratifie \* QUIRINUS, one that had beene Confull, but passing (a) rich and \* childlesse withall: who having before time put her away being his wedded wife, twenty yeeres after called her judicially into question, and laid to her charge, that long agoe shee had bought and provided poison for to take away his life. Besides, as well knowne it is, that certaine Princes and Potentates of *Gaulle, Spaine, Syria and Grece*, forfeited their estates upon so slight a slander and impudent imputation, that against some of them nought else was objected but this, That they had part of their substance and wealth \* lying in money: yea and that many Cities and private persons lost their auncient immunities and priviledges, as also their right in mines and mettals, Tolls and customes: and finally that VONONES a King of the Parthians who being driven out of his kingdom by his owne subiects, retired himselfe with an huge masse of Treasure into *Antiochia*, under the protection, as it were, of the people of *Rome*, was perfidiously stript out of all and killed.

\* Or patrimo-  
nie

\* That thereby  
the money  
might come  
abroad.

\* As hee has paid.

\* For then it  
was that ax  
the cutlers were  
killed at Fide-  
ney by the fall  
of a Theater.

\* Publicane.

\* Or Guard.

\* As of their  
Generall.

\* With slow-  
ance of lands,  
fess or yearly  
Pensions for  
their service.

\* In number a  
Pindib: & cap.

\* In number a  
Pindib: & cap.

\* Her husband  
And therefore  
he kept to be  
his heire

\* more than by  
law they might

The hatred that hee bare to his kinsfolke and neere Allies, hee bewraied, first in his brother DRAVUS by disclosing a letter of his: wherein hee dealt with him about compelling AUGUSTUS to restore the common Libertie: afterwarde, in others also. As for his wife LULIA, so farre was hee from shewing any courtlike or kindnesse unto her when the stooode confined (which had beene the least matter of a thousand) that whereas by an Ordinance of her fathers, shee was shut up within one Towne, hee gave straight order that shee should not steppe out of dores, and enjoy the Societie of people and worldie commerce: nay, hee proceeded so farre, as to bereave her of that little stocke and houtholde stuffe which her Father allowed her: yea, and defrauded her of the yeerely Pension and exhibition for her maintenance:

L

and



Caius; by DRUSUS one, to wit TIBERIUS, when he was left destitute and fatherlesse by the death of his children, the two eldest sonnes of GERMANICUS, namely NERO and DRUSUS, he recommended to the LL. of the Senate; and celebrated the day of both their Commencements with giving a \* Congiarie to the people: But no sooner understood he, that upō New-yeeres-day there had beene publique votes made by the Citie for their life also and preservation, but he gave the Senate to understand, *That such honours ought not to be conferred upon any persons, but those that were experienced and farre steps in yeeres*. Thereby, having discovered the inward character and canker of his hart, from that day forward hee exposed them to the slaunders and imputations of all men: When also, by sundry subtilie devises hee had wrought so, that they might bee both provoked to give railing taunts, and also becōg so provoked come to mischief and destruction; he accused them in his letters, heaped most bitterly upon them hainous reproaches, caused them to be iudged enemies to the State, and so hunger-starved them to death; NERO, within the Isle Pontia, and DRUSUS at the very foote and bottome of Palatium. Men think that NERO was driven to \* worke his owne death, what time as the \* Hangman, as sent by a warrant from the Senate, presented unto him halters \* and hookes. As for DRUSUS, kept he was from all foode and sustenance: in so much as hee gave the attempt to eate the very flockes that stuffed the \* mattresse whereupon hee lay: And the \* reliques of them both, were so dispersed and scattered abroad, that hardly they could be ever gathered together.

55

Over and above his olde friends and familiars, hee had demaunded twenty out of the number of the best and principall Citizens, as Counsaillours and Assistants unto him in publique affaires. Of all these, hee could hardly shewe twaine or three at the most alive: the rest, some for one cause and some for another he brought to confusion and killed: among whom (with the calamity and overthrow of many more) was ÆLIUS SEIANUS, whom hee had to the highest place of authoritie advanced, not so much for any good will, as to be his instrument and right hand, by whose ministerie and fraudulent practises he might circumvent the children of GERMANICUS, and so establish as heire apparent in succession of the Empire the Nephew he had by DRUSUS, as his natural sonne.

No milder was he one iote unto the Greeke Professours and Artists, living and conversing daily with him, and in whom hee tooke most contentment. One of them named ZENO, as hee reasoned and discoursed very \* exactly of a question he asked, *What harsh Dialect \* that was, wherein he spake?* and when hee answered, *It was the Dorick*; hee confined him for his labour into Cynaris, supposing that hee twitted and reproached him for his olde vacation and absence from Rome because the Rhodians spake Dorick. Semblably, whereas his manner was out of his owne daily readings, to propound certaine questions as hee fate at supper: having intelligence, That SILEUCUS the Grammarian enquired diligently of his Ministers and Servitors, what Authors at any time hee had in hand, and so came prepared to asiole the saide questions, first hee forbade him his house and ordinarie Societie, afterwards hee forced him even to death.

His

His cruell, close and unpliant nature was not hidden no not in his verie childhood: the which THEODORUS GADAREUS his teacher in Rhetorick, seemed both at first to fore-see most wisely, and also to expresse and resemble as fitly, when by way of chiding and rebuke hee called him ever and anon *Pelon Hlamiis Pephuramenon*; i. \* clay soaked \* in bloud. But the same brake out & appeared somewhat more, when he became Emperour, at the very beginning: what time as yet he lay for to win the love and favour of men, with a pretence of civill moderation. A certaine \* Eution there was, who as a Funerall passed by, had wiled the party whose body was carried forth, to report unto AUGUSTUS, *That his Legacies were not yet pared and delivered, which hee had left for the Commons of Rome*. Him, he caused to be haled and brought unto his presence, to receive also the debt which was due: and then commaunded him to be led to execution, and so to relate the truth unto his father (AUGUSTUS). Not long after as he threatened to send unto prison one POMPEIUS a Romaine Knight, for stoutly denying some thing, hee assured him, *That of a POMPEIUS he would make him a POMPEIANUS*, glaucing by this bitter and biting taunt, both at the mans name & also at the old infortuny of \* that side.

58 About the same time, when the Pretour came to know of him, whether his pleasure was to holde the iudiciall Affizes, as touching the case of \* Maestrie, or no? he made answer, *That the Lawes must leave their course and be put in execution*: and in very truth hee executed them with extreame rigour. There was one who from the Statue of AUGUSTUS had taken away the head, for to set the same upon the Statue of another. The matter was debated in the Senate: and because some doubt arose, Who did the deed? inquisition was made by torture. The party delinquent being condemned; this kind of Calumination by little and little proceeded so farre, that such points as these also were made capitall crimes: Namely, to have beaten a slave, about the \* image of AUGUSTUS. Item, if a man had shifted his (A)pparell & put on other clothes (about the said Image). Item to have brought into any privie or brothelhouse \* his image imprinted either in money or ring. Lastly, to have empaiied any word or deede of his, in the least credite and reputation that might bee. To conclude, it cost one his life, for suffering in his owne Colonie, honours to be decreed unto him, upon the same day, that they had in times past bene decreed for AUGUSTUS.

Many parts besides under the colour of gravity and reformation, but rather in deede following the course of his owne nature; hee used to play, so cruelly and with such rigour, that some there were, who in verses both upbraided by way of reproach the calamities present, and also gave warning of the future miseries, in this manner.

*Asper & immittis, Breviser vis omnia dicam?*

*Dispercam, si te mater amare potest.*

Harsh and unkind, (In brieve wilt thou I should say all:) thou art:

God me confound, if mother thine can love thee in her hart.

*Non es eques; quare? non sunt tibi milia centum;*

*Omnia siquaras: et Rhodes exilium est.*

No Knight thou art; and why? for hundred thousands none;

(Search all) thou hast in store: & now at Rhodes exil'd do'st wone.

L 3

Aurea

57

\* Or mire.  
\* Clay to temper  
becometh  
with  
stone, tough  
and stiff.  
\* A scolding  
jester.  
\* Eato mortue,  
or clare mortue,  
i. w. a loud  
voice cald  
upon the dead  
man, &c.  
\* The Pom-  
peian, that  
took part with  
Pompeius a-  
gainst Iulius  
Cæsar.  
\* High eua-  
tion.

\* Fied thither  
for refuge as  
unto a Sanctu-  
ary, or other-  
wise how to  
over.  
\* Either of Ti-  
berius or Au-  
gustus. Re.d.  
Seneca de bene-  
ficiis lib. 3. cap. 6

59

\* Or Largesse.

\* To furnish his  
owne selfe wil-  
fully.  
\* Or execution-  
er.  
\* To strangle  
him, and drag  
him to the Sea.  
\* Or bed.  
\* Bones and  
ashes which  
was done by  
him of spight.

56

\* Or crui-  
cify.

*Ance montasti Saturni sacula, CÆSAR;*

*Incolami nam te, ferrea semper erunt.*

Of Saturne King thou changed hast that age resembling gold,  
For while thou, CÆSAR, liv'st, the world of yron shall ever hold.

*Pallidus vinum quia iam fudit iste cruorem:*

*Tam bibis hunc cvide, quam bibis ante merum.*

Wine doth he loath, because that now of bloud he hath a thirst,  
He drinketh that as greedily, as wine he did at first.

(a) *Aspicere saltem sis non tibi, ROMULUS SULLAM;*

*Es MARIUM, si vis, aspicere; sed reducere,*

*Nec non ANTONIUS bella moruentis:*

*Nec semel infectas, aspicere cade manus.*

*Et dic, Roma perit. Regnabit sanguine multo,*

*Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.*

See SULLA, happy for himselfe, O ROMULUS not for thee:

And MARIUS, in case thou wilt, but new returned, see;

Likewise behold of ANTONIUS those hands in bloud embrew'd

Not once, I meane of ANTONIUS, who civill warres renew'd.

The say, Rome goes to wrack. And he with blud-shed much will raig  
Who to a Kingdome-state is come, from banishment againe.

Which verses at first, he would have had to be taken and construed as made  
by them who were impatient of any Lordly rule and absolute dominion at  
Rome: and as if they had bene framed and devised, not so much with any con-  
siderate judgement, as upon Stomach and Choler. And evermore his saying  
was. *Oderunt amprobeni*. Let them hate me, so long as they suffer my pro-  
ceedings to passe. But afterwards, even himselfe proved them to be very true  
and most certaine.

60

Within few dayes after hee came to *Caprea*, when a Fisher-man, suddainly  
and unlooked for presented unto him (as hee was in a secret place doing some-  
what by himselfe) a \* Barble of an extraordinary bigneſſe, he caused his face to  
be rubbed all over with the same fish: as put in a fright, no doubt, for that from  
the backe side of that Iland, he had made meanes thorough the rough thickets  
and by-waves, to creepe and get unto him where he was. And when the poore  
fellow amid this punishment seemed to reioyce yet, and said, *It was happy that*  
*he had not offered unto him a lopstar also* (which he had caught) of an huge great-  
neſſe, hee commaunded that his face should be grated and mangled likewise  
with the said Lopstar. A Souldiour, one of his owne guard, for filching and  
stealing a Peacock out of an \* Orchard hee put to death. In a certaine journey  
that he made, the Lifter wherein he was caried chanced to be entangled and  
somewhat stayed with briars and brambles: Whereupon a Centurion of the  
foresaid cohorts in the Vaward, that had in charge to try and cleere three waies,  
he caused to be laid along upon the ground, and there he all to beat him \* un-  
till he was well neere dead.

61 Soone after, hee brake out into all kindes of cruelty; as one who never  
wanted matter to worke upon: persecuting the familiar friendes and  
acquaintance of his owne Mother first, then, of his Nephewes and daugh-  
ter in lawe, and at the last of SEIANUS: after whose death hee grew to be

\* Being skaly  
and having a  
couple of  
barbers.

\* Orchard.

\* With cod-  
gels which pu-  
nishment was  
called *Fustio-  
rium*.

be most cruell. Whereby especially it appeared, that himselfe was not wont  
so much to be provoked and set on by SEIANUS: as \* SEIANUS to serve his  
turne and feede his humour, seeking as he did all occasions: howsoever in a cer-  
taine commentarie which he composed summarily and briefly of his owne  
life he durst write thus much, *That he executed SEIANUS*, because he had found  
that hee raged furiously against the children of GERMANICVS his sonne. Of  
whom to say a truth, the one himselfe murdered, after he had first suspected SE-  
IANUS, and the other, not before he had killed him. To prosecute in particular  
all his bloudie deedes would require a long time. It shall suffice therefore to  
reherſe in generall the patternes as it were and examples of his crueltie. There  
passed not a day over his head, no not so much as any festivall and (a) religious  
holidie, without execution and punishment of folke. Some suffred even  
uppon New yeares day. Accused and condemned there were many together,  
with their children, and very wives. Straight commaundement and warning  
was given, that the nere kinsfolke of such persons as stood condemned to die,  
should not mourne and lament for them. Especially rewardes were by decree  
appointed for their accusers: otherwhiles also for bare witnessers. No informer  
and promoter was discredited, but his present merit taken. And evrie crime and  
trespaſſe went for Capitall, and so was received: were it but the speaking of a  
few simple words. Objected it was against a Poet, that in a tragidie hee had  
reviled and railed uppon (b) \* AGAMEMNON; as also it was laide to an \* *Histo-*  
*rian* charge, for saying, (c) that \* BRYTUS and CASSIVS, were the last of all  
the *Romains*. Presently were the Authors and writers punished, and their  
writings called in and abolished: notwithstanding certaine yeares before they  
had bene recited even in the hearing of AVOGVSTVS, with his good liking  
and approbation. Some committed to ward, were deprived not onely of their  
Solace and comfort in studying, but also of the verie use of talking with o-  
thers. Of such as were cited peremptorily by writ and proceſſe to answer  
at the barre, some gave themselves (mortal) wounds at home in their houses  
(as sure to be condemned, onely to avoid torments and ignominy) others in the  
open face and midst of the Court dranke poison: and yet were they with  
their wounds bound up, and whiles they yet panted betweene alive and dead,  
haled away to prison. There was not one executed but hee was throwne also  
into the *lemonia*, and drawne with the drag. In one day were there (d) twentie  
so throwne and drawne: and among them boyes and women. As for young  
girlies and maidens of unripe yeares, because by auncient custome and tradi-  
tion, unlawfull it was to strangle Virgins. (e) First deslowed they were by the  
hang-man and afterwards strangled. Were any willing of themselves to die:  
such were forced violently to live. For he thought simple death so light a puni-  
shment, that when he hard, how one of the prisoners, \* CARNVLIVS by  
name, had taken his death voluntarily before, he cryed out in these wordes.  
*CARNVLIVS hath escaped my hands.* Also in overseeing and perusing the pri-  
soners in Gaole, when one of them besought to have his punishment with  
speed, he made him this answer: *Not merry, thou art not yet reconciled unto me,*  
*that I should show thee such favour.* A certaine \* Consular writer hath inserted  
this in his Annales: *That upon a time at a great feast (where himselfe also was pre-  
sent.) TIBERIVS being on a sodaine asked, and that openly with a loud voyce*  
by

\* *Quid Scelerum*  
querunt: occu-  
pant iniquum -  
fuisse.

\* The foreman  
Captaine and  
Generall of the  
Greeke at  
Troye.  
\* *A. A. Criminosus*  
Cordus read Se-  
nera C. Confilat.  
\* *Men am.*  
Cap. 12. Who  
saw a king  
Cæſar and  
were accomp-  
ted  
Tyrannical.

\* Or *Carnivus*

\* Who had  
here some-  
time consul,  
and therefore  
to be treated



by a dwarf standing at the Table among \* other Buffons and Iesters, *Wherefore*  
 P A C O N I V S *being attaint of treason lived so long?* For that instant verily chid the  
 partie for his faucie and malapert tongue: but after a few daies wrote vnto the  
 Senate, *to take order with all speede for the execution of P A C O N I V S.*

62

He increased and strained still more and more this cruelty, by occasion that  
 he was galled and fretted at the newes of his sonne D R Y V S his death: For,  
 having bene of opinion, that he died upon some sickenes & intemperate life,  
 so soone as he understood at length, that he was poysoned & so made away by  
 the villanous practise of his wife \* L I V I L L A and S E I A N V S together, he spar-  
 ed not to torment and execute any one whomsoever, so bene and addicted  
 whole daies together to the inquisition and tryall of this onely matter, as that  
 when word came unto him how an host of his inhabitant of *Rhodes* (whom  
 by familiar letters he had sent for to *Rome*) was come, he commanded him out  
 of hand to be put to \* torture, as if he had bene some neere freinde present at  
 the foresaid examination: but afterwards, when his errour was discovered, and  
 seeing how he had mistaken, he caused him also to be killed, because he should  
 not divulge and make knowne the \* former injury. The place is yet to bee  
 seene at *Caprea* of his butcherly cariage: From which he caused condemned  
 persons after long and exquisite tortments to be flung headlong before his face  
 into the sea: where were readie to receive them a number of mariners, who  
 with their sprits, poles, and oares should beate and batt their carkasses: to  
 the end that none of them might have any breath or wind remaining in the bo-  
 dy: He had devised moreover, among other kinds of torment, what time as  
 men by deceitfull meanes had their lode with large drinking of strong wine,  
 sodainly to knit fast and tie their privie members with (Lute) strings, that hee  
 might cause them to swell and be bent in most dolorous paines occasioned at  
 once as well by the freight strings, as the suppression and stoppage of vrine.  
 And had it not bene that both death prevented and \* T H R A S Y L L V S also en-  
 forced him of purpose, (as men say) to put of some desires in hope of longer  
 life, he would haue murdered a good many more (as it is fully beleevd) and  
 not spared those verie nephewes of his that remained yet alive; considering  
 he both had C A I V S in supliation, and also cast of T I B E R I V S, as conceived in  
 adulterie. And it soundeth to truth, that he was minded thus to do. For, ever  
 and anon, he called P A T A M V S happie in that he overlived all his sonnes and  
 daughters.

63

But, how amid these pranks he lived not onely odious and detested, but ex-  
 ceeding timorous also & exposted to the contumelious reproches of the world,  
 there be many evidences to shew. That any foorthsayers should be sought unto  
 and confuted with a part without witnesses by, he forbade: As for the Oracles  
 neere adjoining to the Citie of *Rome*, he attempted to subvert them all. But  
 being terrified with the maiestie of those \* answers which were delivered \* at  
 \* L A L I U S L A P R A E S T E, he gave over: namely, when as he could not finde them, (scaled up  
 though they were and brought downe to *Rome*) within the chift until the same  
 was carried backe againe unto the \* Temple. And not daring to send away &  
 dismishe from him one \* or two Consulare \* L L. deputies, after hee had offered  
 provinces unto them, he detained them so long, until after certaine yeares ex-  
 pired, he ordained others to succcede them: whiles the other remained present  
 with

\* Daughter of  
 Germanicus &  
 Agrippina, and  
 wife to the said  
 Drusus.

\* among other  
 examinations,  
 Donevinto  
 him.

\* The Astro-  
 loger.

\* Fortunes or  
 chances  
 \* In manner of  
 a Lotte y.  
 \* Of Fortune  
 at Presest.  
 \* L A L I U S L A  
 P R A E S T E  
 \* Or Presest  
 that had bene  
 Consule.

with him: whereas in the meane time, reserving still the title of the office: he  
 assigned unto them many commissions and matters of charge: and they con-  
 tinuently gave order for execution thereof, by the ministerie of their Legates,  
 Livetnants and Coadjutours.

His \* daughter in law, and Nephewes, after they were once condemned, he  
 never removed from place to place otherwise than chained and in a close co-  
 vered licker sowed up fast: setting his soldiery to prohibite all passengers that  
 met with them, and waifering persons travailing by, once to looke \* backe thi-  
 ther, or to stay their pace and stand still.

65 When S E I A N V S went about seditiously to worke alteration in the state:  
 albeit he saw now that both his birth day was publicly solemnized, and also  
 his Images of gold worshipped everie where, he overthrew him (I must needs  
 say) at length: but with much ado, by craftie sleights and guile, rather than by  
 his princely authoritie and Imperiall power. For first, to the end that he might  
 dismishe the man in shew of honour, he assumed him to be his Colleague in the  
 fifth Consulship, which in his \* long absence he had taken upon him for that  
 verie purpose. Afterwards when he had deceived him with hope of \* Affi-  
 nitie and the Tribunes authoritie, he complained of the man (looking for nee-  
 such matter) in a shamefull and pitious Oration: beseeching the L L. of the  
 Senate among other requests. *To send one of the Consuls to command him an aged and*  
*desolate man with some guards of soldiours into their sight.* And yet nevertheless  
 distrustful himselfe and fearing an \* uprore, he had given commandement  
 that his nephew D A V V S, whom still he kept in prison at *Rome*: should be set  
 at libertie (if need did so require, & ordained generall captaine. Yea & whiles  
 his ships were readie rigged and prepared to what Legions soever he ment for  
 to flie, hee stood looking ever and anon from the highest cliffe that was, to-  
 ward the markes and signes, which he had appointed (least messengers might  
 stay too long) for to be reared a great way off: thereby to have intelligence, as  
 any occurrent (good or bad) fell out. Nay, when the conspiracie of S E I A-  
 N V S was now suppressed, he was never the more secure and resolute but for  
 the space of 9. months next ensuing he stirred not out of the \* village called  
*Isolis.*

Beside all this, diverse and sundrie reprochfull taunts from all parts netled  
 and stung his troubled minde. For there was not a person condemned: that  
 reviled him not in all sorts openly to his face, yea and discharged upon him  
 opprobrious termes by libels laid for the nonce in the verie \* *Urchebra*, with  
 which contumelies verily, affected he was after a most divers and contrarie  
 manner: so that, one while he desired for verie shame of the world, that all  
 such abuses might be unknowne and concealed: otherwhiles, hee contemned  
 the same, and of his owne accorde broached and divulged them abroad. Fur-  
 thermore, rated he was & railed at in the letters also of A R T A S A N V S K. of the  
*Parthians*, who charged him with parricides, murders, cowardise and luxurious  
 riot: who gave him counsell likewise with all speede possible, to satisfie  
 with a voluntarie death the hatred of his Citizens, conceived against him in  
 the highest degree and most iustly. At the last, being even wearie of him-  
 selfe in the beginning of such an Epistle as this, hee declared and confessed  
 in manner the verie summe of all his miseries. *What shall I write? my L L. of the*  
*Senate.*

64

\* Agrippina, his  
 wife to Drusus  
 adopted sonne  
 Germanicus  
 \* To be mar-  
 ried in mari-  
 tage with one of  
 his nephews.  
 \* Or Epistle  
 rather written  
 unto the Senat,  
 \* in Rome, about  
 S E I A N V S who  
 was so highly  
 honored there.

\* Or forme  
 house: in the  
 title Capreae.

66

\* Where the  
 Senators sat  
 to behold the  
 plays.



*Senate, or how shall I write: Nay, what is it, at a word, that I shall not write at this time? The Gods and Goddessees all plague and confound me utterly at once, feeling as I do my selfe daily to perishe.*

67  
\*For he was  
wonderfully  
addicted to the  
study of Astro-  
logie and such  
curious Arts.

Some thinke, that he foreknew all this by the skill he had of \* future events: that he foresaw also long before how great a calamitie and infamie both, would one day beride him: And therefore it was, that he refused most obstinately to take up to him the Empire & the name of PATER PATRIÆ, as also stood against the oath, to maintaine his Acts: for seare least within a while after, to his greater disgrace and shame he might be found inferiour, and unworthie of such speciall honours, which verily may be gathered out of the speech hee made as touching both those points, when he saith but thus. *That hee would be alwaies like to himselfe, and never change his manners, so long as he continued in his sound wits. Howbeit, for example sake, provided it would be that the Senate binde not themselves to keepe and ratifie the Actions of any one, who by some chance might bee altered. And againe, Marie, if at any time, quoth hee, yee shall make doubt of my loyall behaviour and devoted mind unto you (which before it ever happen, I wish my dying day to take me from this minde and opinion of yours, once conceived of me and afterwards changed) the bare title of PATER PATRIÆ will adde no honour unto me, but upbraide you either with inconsiderate rashnesse, for imposing that Surname upon mee, or else with inconstancie, for your contrary iudgement of mee.*

68

Corpulent he was, big set and strong, of stature (a) above the ordinarie; broad betwene the shoulders and large breasted: in all other parts also of the bodie (from the crowne of his head) to the verie sole of his foote, of equall making and congruent proportion. His left hand was more nimble & stronger than the right: and his ioynts so firme, that with his finger he was able to bore through a greene and found Apple: with a fillop also to break the head of a boy, yea of a good stripling and big youth. Of colour and complexion he was cleere and white: wearing the haire of his head long behind, in so much as it covered his very necke: which was thought in him to be a fashion appropriate to his linage and familie. He had an ingenuous and well favoured face: wherein notwithstanding appeared many small (b) tumours or rissings: and a paire of verie great goggle eyes in his head, such as (whereat a man would marvaile) could see even by night and in the darke: but that was onely for a little while and when they opened first after sleepe: for in the end they waxed dum againe. His \* gare was with his (c) necke stiffe and shooting \* forward: with a countenance bent and composed lightly to severitie: for the most part he was silent: Seldome or never should you have him talke with those next about him: and if hee did, his speech was exceeding slowe, not without a certaine wanton gesticulation and fumbling with his fingers. All which properties being odious and full of arrogancie, AUGUSTVS both observed in him, & also went about to excuse & cloke for him before the Senate and people, assuring them, they were the defects and imperfections of nature, and not the vices of the mind: He lived most healthfull. And verily all the time well neere that he was Emperour not once in manner crasie: albeit from that he was thirtie yeares old he (d) governed his helth after his owne order and direction, without any helpe or counsell at all of Physicians.

As

As little respect as hee had of the Gods, or had sense of any religion, as one addicted to astrology and calculation of nativities, yea and fully persuaded, that all things were done and ruled by \* fatall destinie: yet feared he thunder exceedingly: and were the aire or whether any whit troubled, hee ever carried a chaplet or wreath of lawrell \* about his necke: because that kinde of greene \* branch is neuer, as they say blasted with lightning.

The liberall Sciences \* of both sorts he loved most affectionately, in the latine \* speech he followed CORVINVS MESSALLA, whom being an aged professor he had observed from his verie youth: but with overmuch affection and curiositie he marred all and darkened his stile: so as he was thought to do somewhat better \* ex tempore, than upon studie and premeditation. He composed also a poem in lyricke (a) verses, the title whereof is, a complaint of \* D. CÆSARS death. Hee made likewise Greeke poems in imitation of EUPHORIION, RHIANVS and PARTHENIVS: In which Poets being much delighted, their writings and Images he dedicated in the publicke Libraries among the auncient and principall authors. A number therefore of learned men strove a vie to put forth many pamphlets \* of them, and to present him therewith. But above all he studied for the knowledge of \* fabulous historie, even unto meere iooleries, & matters ridiculous. For, the verie Gramatians (which kind of professors as we have said, he affected especially) he would assay and appose commonly with these and such like questions: namely, *Who was Hercules mother? What name Achilles had among the Virgins? What it was that the Mer-maides were wont to sing?* The verie first day, (after the death of AUGUSTVS) that he entred into the Curia, as if he minded once for all to performe the dutie of pietie and religion: following the example of MINOS he sacrificed indeede, as the manner was with Frankin-cense and wine. but without a minstrell, as the saide MINOS: sometime did at the death of his sonne.

In the Greeke tongue, howsoever he otherwise was readie enough and spake it with facilitie, yet he used it not every where, but most of all forbore it in the Senate house: in so much verily, as when he came to name (a) MIONOPOLIMVS, he craved leave before hand, for that he was to use a strang and foraine worde; yea & in a certaine decree of the Senatours, when this word (b) EMBELMA was read, he gave his opinion, that the saide word should be changed, and insteede of that strang terme some latine vocable fought out: and if such an one could not be found, then to utter and declare the thing, though it were in more words and by circumlocution. A certaine Greeke souldier also, being required for to depose and deliver his testimonie, hee forbade to make answer, (c) unless it were in Latine.

All the time that he was retired and liued from the Cittie of Rome, twice and no more he assailed to returne thither: once he came by water embarked in a \* gallic, as farre as to the hort-yards and gardens adioyning to the (a) Nautachia: but he had set guardes along the banks of Tibre, for to void & put backe such as went forth to meete him. A second time, by the firecote or part way Appia, so farre as the (b) 7. miles end from Rome: but when he had onely seene the walles a farre off, without approching neerer unto the Cittie hee returned.

For

69  
\*The course  
of the flues.  
\*Orpheo his  
head in mæst  
of a Cotocet.  
\*As I have re-  
ported Job. 2.  
& 15.

70  
\*as welg ecke  
\*Lancie.  
\*Prole.  
\*Of a sodaine.

\*One of An-  
gustions.  
yet come ex-  
posed in il-  
lum Cæsar  
Dilect.  
\*dehly. haply  
of their coing  
\*Wherein ma-  
rtales or  
fabiles are as-  
ter  
\*The daugh-  
ters of King  
Lycomedes in  
the Iste Scyros  
where hee  
lained him  
selfe to bee a  
maiden.  
\*Androgena.

71

72

\*With three  
ranks of force.  
\*Ad septiman  
lapides.

\*when he came  
by the River.  
\*when he was  
nursed by land.

For what cause he did so \* at first, it was not certainly knowne: afterwarde,  
affrighted he was with this prodigious picture and straunge sight. Among o-  
ther delights he tooke great pleasure in a Serpent (or) Dragon, which, whe according  
to his usuall manner, he would haue fed with his owne hand and found  
eaten by pismires, he was warned thereupon to beware the violence of a mul-  
titude. In his returne therefore speedily into *Campania* he fell sicke at *Astura*:  
but being eased a little of that maladie he went forward as farre as to *Cureti*:  
and because he would give no suspition of sicknesse, he was not onely present  
himselfe at the games exhibited by the garison souldiers there, but also, when  
there was a wild bore put forth into the open shew-place for to be baited, he  
launched darts at him from above, where he was: And presently therewith, by  
occasion of a convulsion in his side: and for that hee had taken the cold aire  
upon an exceeding heat, he fell backe by (d) relapse into a more dangerous dis-  
ease: Howbeit, he bare it out a pretie while: notwithstanding that after he was  
come downe so farre as to *Misennum*, he pretermitted nothing of his ordinary  
and daily manner, no not so much as his feasting and other pleasures: partly  
upon an intemperate humour of his owne, and in part to dissimule and palliate  
his weakenesse. For, when *CHARICLES* his Physician, who by vertue of a  
passport was licensed to depart and be absent, went forth from the table and  
tooke hold of his hand to kisse it, he supposing that he had felt his pulse, de-  
sired him to stay & sit downe againe, and so drew out the supper longer. Neither,  
gave he over his usuall custome, but even then standing in the midst of the ban-  
queting roome with a licitor \* by him he spake to every one by name \* as they  
tooke their leave.

73

Meane while, when he had reade among the Acts passed in the Senate that  
certaine prisoners were enlarged and dismissed, but not so much as once heard:  
concerning whom he had written very breifely and no other wise than thus, *that*  
*nominatim they were by an appeacher*: chafing and frowning hereat, as if he had  
been held in contempt, he fully purposed to go againe into \* *Caprea*, as one  
who lightly would attempt nothing, but where he was sure enough and with-  
out all danger. But being kept backe, as well by tempest as the violence of  
his disease that grew still upon him hee died soone after in a \* village bearing  
the name \* (a) *Luculliana*, in the 78. yeare of his age: three & twentieth of his  
Empire, and the \* seventeenth day before the Calends of April: when *Cn.*  
*ACERRONIUS PROCVLVS* and *C. PORTIUS NIGER* were Consuls.  
Some thinke that \* *CALPURNIUS* had given him a poyson of slow operation: which  
should by little and little consume him. Others are of opinion, that when hee  
desired meat in the remission of an ague fit wherein he had swowned (\* it was  
denied him) and therewith a \* pillow throwne upon his face to smother him  
& stop his breath. Some againe, *that it was* when coming soone to himselfe, he  
called for his Ring which was plucked fro his finger while he fainted. *SENeca*  
a writeth that perceiving himselfe drawing on \* and readie to die, he tooke of  
his Ring, as if he minded to give it unto some one, and so held it a pretie while:  
then afterwarde did it upon his finger againe: and so keeping down and gri-  
ppling close his left \* hand, lay still a long time without once stirring: but so-  
dainly calling for his gromes and servitors, when none made aunswere, rose

\*Venus, for A-  
series by the  
trope Cat-ore  
for they one  
ly bear.

\*Who waited  
upon him.  
\*or up to whom  
he leaned.

\*Valerius decessit  
or as they fa-  
luted him, after  
the Greeke  
phrase *chairon*  
*Kairmattin*.  
Gaudere *ex bene*  
*rem gerere*. *His*  
1st. Alluallie  
and fare  
cherere you.

\*With full in-  
tent as it should  
seeme to bee  
revenge of  
the Senate.

\*Or maner  
house

\*O: *Lucullus*,  
who either  
built it or there  
dwelt.

\*16. of march,  
A. V. C. 790:  
*Calpurnia*, Em-  
perour after  
him.

\*Some leave  
out this clause,  
and read thus,  
as he desired  
meat &c., a  
pillow was &c.

\*Or *Lucullus*,  
some

\**Seneca* Some  
expound this  
of the sinking  
away of his  
familiar and  
holer at were  
about him.

\*Upon which  
he wore the  
120 g.

rose up, and not farre from his pallet, his strength failing him, fell downe  
dead.

Vpon the last Birth dayes-seaft of his that ever he saw, him thought as hee  
lay a sleepe, that *Apollus Iemenites* (an Idol of exceeding bignesse and most arti-  
ficially wrought) which was newly brought from *Saracoto* to be set up in the li-  
brarie of his new temple, assured him, *That he could not possibly by him be dedica-*  
*ted*. And some few daies before his death, the watch-tower that gave \* light at  
*Caprea* by an earthquake fell downe in the night: and at *Misennum*, the ashes re-  
maining of the embers and coales brought into heate his refectiō parlor,  
being quenched quite and continuing cold a long time, suddainly brake forth  
into a light fire, at the shutting in of the evening, and so shone out a great part  
of the night and gave not over.

The people ioied so much at his death, that running up and downe at the  
first tidings thereof, some cried out in this note, (Fling) \* *TIBERIUS* into the  
*beris*: others in their prayers be sought the Mother Earth & the infernall Gods  
*To vouchsafe him now dead no place, but among impious wretches*: And a fort there  
were, who threatened his lifelesse carcase the *Drag* and the *Gemonia*: as who,  
over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty in times past, were pro-  
voked to anger with a fresh outrage newly committed. For whereas by an Act  
of Senate it was provided, *That the execution of condemned persons should be put off*  
*unto the tenth day after (sentence given)*, it happened so, that the day on which  
some of them were to suffer, fell out to be the very same, wherein newes came  
of *TIBERIUS* death. These poore soules, notwithstanding they piteously  
called for mans help (because in the absence yet of *CALPURNIUS* no man was known,  
who might (in such a case) be repaired unto and spoken with) the Goalers, for  
that they would do nothing against the Constitution aforesaid strangled them  
and flung their bodies into the *Gemonia*. Heereupon, I say, the peoples hatred  
against him encreased, as if the Tyrants cruelty remained still after his death.  
His corpes, so soone as it began to bee removed from *Misennum*, notwithstan-  
ding the most part cried with one voice, To carie it rather to (a) *Atella*, & there  
to (b) half-burne it in the (c) Amphitheatre, yet was brought to *Rome* by the  
Soldiours and burnt in a publick funeral fire.

A two-fold \* will he made two yeeres before: the one written with his own  
hand: the other by his freed man: but both of them were of the same tenour: \* He meaneth  
& signed he had them with the scales of most base persons. By vertue of which  
will and testament, he left coheires and equall in portion *CALPURNIUS* his nephew  
by *GERMANICUS*, and *TIBERIUS* by *DRUSUS*. These he substituted &  
appointed to succede one another. He gave legacies also to manie more, and  
among the rest unto the uesall Virgins, and to the Souldiers of all sorts  
in general: as also to the commons of *Rome* by the poll: yea  
and to the Masters of everie Street by them-  
selues severally.

74

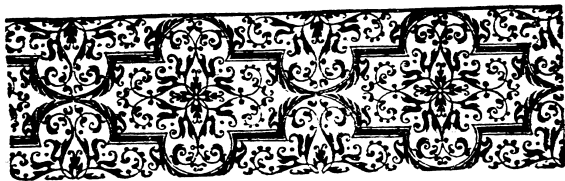
\*Vnto Sea me  
and passengers  
by night.

75

\**Tiberius* into the  
*beris*.  
Into *Tiberius*  
with *Tiberius*.

76

\* He meaneth  
I suppose a  
counterpaire  
indeed.



# THE HISTORIE OF Caius Cæsar Caligula, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



Chap. I

A.V.C. 717

765

\* Daughter of

Antonia the

Triumvir, by

Octavia. He

was sister.

\* Armenia.

77 years after.

A.V.C. 767

770

771

\* From the said  
armie, where  
with he was  
acquainted,

**G**ERMANICUS father of CAIUS CÆSAR, sonne of DRU-  
SUS and \* ANTONIA, no sooner was adopted by his Vn-  
kle TIBERIUS, but forthwith he bare the office of Que-  
stureship five yeeres before hee might by the \* Lawes (a),  
and after it, the \* Consulate. And being sent into *Germa-*  
*nie* to the Armie, when upon newes brought of AUGU-  
STUS death, the Legions all throughout floodde out most  
stidly & refused TIBERIUS for their Emperour, offering unto him the absolute  
government of the State (whether their constant resolution or kinde affection  
herein were greater it is as hard to say) he stikled & repressed the, yea & soon af-  
ter having subdued the enimie, triumphed. After this, being created Consul the  
second time, and (b) driven forth \* perforce, (before he entred into that ho-  
norable place) to compoe the troubles and to quiet the State in the East parts:

when

when hee had \* deposed the King of *Armenia*, and brought *Cappadocia* into the  
forme of a Province, in the 34 yeere of his age, he died of a long disease at *Antiochia*,  
*Antiochia*, not without suspicion of poison. For, besides the blackish and sweet  
spots which were to be seene all over his body, and the frothie slime that ranne  
forth at his mouth; his heart also (after he was burnt,) they found among the  
bones all found and not consumed: the nature whereof is thought to be such,  
that if it bee infected with poyson, it checkes all fire and cannot possibly bee  
burnt.

But, as the opinion of the world went, his death contrived by the wicked  
plot of TIBERIUS, was effected by the ministerie and helpe of Cn. PISO:  
who about the same time being President of *Syria*, and not dissimulating that hee  
was to offend either father or \* sonne (as if there were no other remedie but  
needes he must so doe) made no spare, but beyond all measure dealt with GER-  
MANICUS (sicke as hee was) most rigorously, both in word and deede. For  
which, so soone as he was returned to *Rome*, hee had like to have beene pulled  
in peeces by the people: and by the Senate condemned he was to die.

It is for certaine knowne and confessed, that there were in GERMANICUS  
all good parts and gifts as well of body as mind: and those in such measure, as  
never to any man befell the like: to wit, for shew full of passing beauty, favour  
and feature; with strength & valour answerable thereto: & for wit excellently  
well seene in eloquence and learning of \* both kinds: The very attractive ob-  
jects, he was of singular \* benevolence, endowed with a wonderfull grace and  
effectuall desire to win mens favour and deserve their love. The only defect  
that he had in his making and personage, were his slender shankes: and yet the  
same also by little and little became replenished with continuall tiding on \*  
horseback after (a) his meate. Many a time wounded hee his enimie in close  
fight hand to hand. He pleaded causes of great importance, even as touching  
the \* Decree of Triumph. And among other monuments of his studies he left  
behind him in Greeke, Comædies also. Both at home and abroad (b) civile he  
was, in so much as he would goe to free and confederate Cities without any  
\* Licitors. Where ever he knew any Sepulchers of brave and worthy men to be,  
there his use was to offer unto their ghosts. Being purposed to enterre in one  
tombe the olde reliques and bones dispersed of those that were slaine in that  
great overthrow with VARUS, he first gave the assaie with his owne hand to  
gather and carie them together into one place. Moreover, to his slanderers  
and backbiters (if he lighted upon them); of what quality so ever the persons  
were, or how great cause so ever they gave, so milde, so remisse and harme-  
lesse hee was: that notwithstanding PISO reversed and canceled his Decrees,  
plagued and persecuted a long time his Dependants, yet could he not finde in  
his heart to be angry with him, before he had for certaine knowne, that hee  
attempted his person with poysons and forcefull execrations: and even  
then verily, hee proceeded no farther against him, but, *more magnanimus* to  
renounce all friendshippe with him, and to give his domestick friendes in  
charge to bee revenged, if ought happened to himselfe otherwise than  
well.

Of these vermes hee reaped most plentifull fruites; so liked and loved of his  
kinsfolke and friendes, (for I let passe all other affinities and acquaintance

M 2

of

\* Driest of  
A.V.C. 772

\* Tiberius him-  
self, as Germa-  
nicus his adop-  
ted sonne.

\* Greeke and

Latin.

\* The good will

and affection

of men, coun-

ted among the

gists of fortune

\* For they used

the no intercept

and therefore

the blood and

humours would

descend to the

legges.

\* Triumphalls,

some trade

Triumphalls; as

if, he gave not

over pleading

what he had

triumphed, as

received triam-

phall Orna-

ments,

\* Sergeants or

officers.

of his) as that AUGUSTUS after hee had continued a long time in suspence, whether he should ordaine him for his Successor or no: recommended him at length unto TIBERIUS to be adopted: so highly favoured of the Common people, as that many doe report and write; whensoever hee came unto a place or departed from thence, divers times by reason of the multitude flocking to meete him and to beare him companie, he endangered his owne life in the preasse. As he returned out of *Germanie*, after the suppressing of seditious tumults and mutinies there, all the *Prætorian* cohorts every one went out to encounter him upon the way: albeit warning was given before hand by proclamation, *That no more than twaine of them should goe forth*. But as for the people of *Rome*, of all sexes, ages, and degrees, they ran out by heapes to meet him xx miles from *Rome*.

5

Howbeit, farre greater, and more assured testimonies of mens iudgement touching him appeared art, and after his death. The very day wherein he left this life, The \*temples (a) were pe'ted with stones: the altars of the Gods cast downe: the Domestickall (b) Lares, by some flung out of doores into the street; yea, and new-borne (c) babes of wedded parents throwne forth to be destroyed. And, that which more is, the report goeth, That the very Barbarians, notwithstanding they were at variance and civil warre among themselves, yea and had taken armes against us, yet, as it were in some \* domestickall and common sorrow, agreed all to make truce and a cessation of armes for a time. Some of their Princes also and Potentates, to declare their extraordinarie mourning and regret, did cut off their owne beards and shaved their wives heads: Yea, the very King (d) of Kings himselfe, gave over his exercise of hunting: and dissolved the Societie of his great Peeres and Princes at his table: which among the Parthians is as much as a (e) \* Law-steed.

6

At *Rome* verily, when as the Citie upon the first rumour of his sicknesse, in amazement and heave chere expected the messengers that came after; and all of a suddaine in the evening the voice went current, (although the Authors were unknowne,) that now at length he was recovered: running there was every where from all parts with \* lights and sacrifices into the Capitoll: yea the very doores of the temple were like to have been burst open, that nothing might stand in their way & hinder them, so desirous and earnestly bent with joy to pay their vows. In so much as TIBERIUS was awakened out of his sleepe with the shoutes and voices of the people reioicing, and from every side with one accord resounding this Note,

*Salva Roma, salva Patria, saluus est Germanicus.*

*Safe is Rome, safe is our Country, safe is GERMANICUS.*

Also, when now at the last it was knowne abroad that he was departed this life, the publick sorrow by no comfortable words nor edicts & proclamations could be repressed, but continued still even all the festiual daies of (a) the month December. His glory and the misse of him thus deceased, was much augmented also by the outrages of the times ensuing: whiles all men were of opinion (and not without good reason) That the fiercenesse of TIBERIUS which soone after brake forth, was held in and kept downe by the reverent respect & feare that he had of him.

7

He wedded AGRIPPINA, daughter to M. AGRIPPA and IULIA: by whom he

\* Or, the images of the Gods within the temples.

\* Touching them all and every one privately.  
\* At Rome... stay of all Courts and Pleas, in token of a publick sorrow.

\* Torchcs, Tapers, &c.  
\* Which they had made, pro salute Germanici, for the health and welfare of Germanicus.

he had nine children: of which faire issue twaine being yet Infants were taken away by untimely Death: one died when he was now waxen a iolly boy, passing full of lovely mirth and pretty talke; whose counterfait in the habite of CUPID, \* LIVIA dedicated in the Chappell of *Venus Capitolina*: and the same AUGUSTUS was wont to kisse while it stood in his bed-chamber, so often as he entered into it. The rest furviued their father: three of the female sex AGRIPPINA, DRUSILLA and LIVIA, borne all one after another in the space of three yeeres: likewise as many male children, NERO, DRUSUS and CAIVS CÆSAR: As for NERO and DRUSUS, the Senate upon imputations laid by TIBERIUS, iudged them to be enemies unto the State.

CAIVS CÆSAR was borne the day next\* preceding the Calends of September, when his Father and C. PONTEIUS CAPITO were Consuls. The place of his Nativitie, by the disagreement of writers, is left uncertaine. C. N. LENTULUS GATULICUS writeth, that hee was borne at *Tibur*: PLINIUS SECUNDUS, within the Country of the *Treturi*, in a towne called \* *Ambiatinum*, upon the very \* Confluents. For evidence and prooffe whereof hee farther saith, That certaine Altars are there to be seene carrying this Inscription, \* *For the child-birth and deliverie of AGRIPPINA*. But these verses following, divulged soone after that he came to be Emperour, do plainly shew, that borne he was in the very Camp, where the Legions wintered.

*In castris natus patris matris in armis,  
Iam designati principis, omen erat.*

Borne in the Camp, in Fathers warres with souldiours rear'd was he;

A signe, that then ordain'd he was an Emperour for to be.

I my selfe do find among the Records, that *Antium* was the place of his birth, PLINIE refelleth GETULICUS, as if he made a lie by way of flattery, because to the praise of a young and glorious Prince; hee would fetch some argument & matter even out of a Citie consecrated to HERCULES: and was the bolder, as he saith to abuse the said Lie, for that, indeede, a yeere a most before, GERMANICUS had a sonne borne at *Tibur*, named likewise CAIVS CÆSAR: of whose amiable childhood and untimely death we have spoken before. And as to PLINIE himselfe, confuted he is by the Calculation of the times. For they who have recorded the Acts of AUGUSTUS doe all agree, That GERMANICUS was sent into *Germanie* after the time of his Consulship expired, when as CAIVS was already borne. Neither can the Inscription of the Altar one iote make good his opinion: considering that AGRIPPINA was delivered of daughters twice in that Country. And what child-birth so ever it was, without respect & difference of sex, called it is *Puerperium*: For that in old time folk used to name little girles also PUERE, like as little boyes PUBERTI. There is besides, an Epistle of AUGUSTUS writen, not many moneths before he died unto AGRIPPINA his Niece as touching this CAIVS, (for there was not now living any other Infant of the like name) in these wordes. *I have no longer agoe than yesterday taken order with TALARIUS and ASPELLIUS, that with the leave of God they bring the boy CAIVS upon the 15\* day before the Calends of Iune*. I send besides with him of mine owne servants a Physician whom GERMANICUS (as I have writen unto him) may if he will retaine & keepe with him still. Farewell my AGRIPPINA and endeavour to come well & in health to thy GERMANICUS. It appeareth I suppose sufficiently that CAIVS could not in that place be

M 3

borne

8  
\* The last of August.  
A.V.C. 765  
\* Or Ambiatinum.  
\* The meeting of two riviers.  
\* Ob AGRIPPINA puerperium.

\* 19 of May

borne, unto which he was conveyed from *Rome* not before he was well-neere two yeares old. And as for those verses, these selfe same evidences likewise discredited them: and the rather, because they have no Author. We are to follow therefore the onely authority that remaineth, of the Records & publick Instrument: seeing especially that *Caius* evermore preferred *Antium* before all other retiring places, and loved it no otherwise than his native soile: yea, and by report, was fully minded once (upon a tedious wearinesse that he had of *Rome* City), to transerre thither even the very seat and habitation of the Empire.

9 He gat his surname *CALIGULA* by occasion of a merry word taken up in the Camp, because he was brought up there in the habit of an ordinarie (a) and common souldiour among the rest. With whom, how much besides he was able to doe in love and favour by meanes of his education & daily feeding with them, was most of all knowne; when after the death of *AUGUSTUS*, he onely (no doubt) with \* his very sight & presence quieted them; what time they were in an uprore & at the very point of furious outrage. For they ceased not to mutinie, untill they perceived that he was about to be sent out of the way for danger of the sedition, and appointed to the next City adioyning\*. Then and not before, turning to repentance, they staid and held back his coach, and so by prayer averted the displeasure that was toward them.

10 He accompanied his Father also in the Expedition into *Syria*: From whence being returned, first hee abode in house with his Mother: and after that shee was banished and sent away, hee remained with his great Grandmother *LIVIA AUGUSTA*: whom deceased hee praised in a funerall Oration at the *Rosstra*, when hee was as yet but a very youth in his *Prætoria*: and then removed he to his Grandmother *ANTONIA*. From her in the twentieth yeere of his age hee was sent for to *Caprea* by *TIBERIUS*, and upon one and the selfe same day, he did on his virile (a) gowne and withall cut the first downe of his beard, without any honourable solemnitie, such as his brethren before him had at their Commencements. Heere, notwithstanding hee was tempted by all the deceitfull traines that they could devise, who would have drawne and forced him to quarrels, yet gave hee never any occasion, having raised out and quite forgotten the fall and calamity of his mother, brethren and neere friends, as if nothing had befallen to any of them: passing over all those abuses which himselfe had endured with incredible dissimulation: so obsequious and double diligent besides, to his Grandfather and those about him, that of him it was said and not without good cause, \* *A better servant and a worse sonne, there never was.*

Howbeit, the cruell disposition and villainous nature of his own, hee could not even then bridle and hold in: but both at all castigations and punishments of such as were delivered over to execution, most willing he was to be present: and also would haunt Tavernes and Brothel-houses, mens wives also suspected for adulterie, going about from place to place disguised under a (a) peruke of false haire, and in a fide (womans) garment: yea, and most studiously gave his minde to learne the artificall feate of dauncing and singing upon the Stage. And verily *TIBERIUS* was well content to winke heereat and suffer all, if haply thereby his fierce and savage nature might have been mollified and become tractable. Which the old man (as he was a Prince right prudent and one most quick of sense) had foreseene well enough long before: in so much as divers times he gave out & said openly, *That Caius loved to the destruction of him and them*

them all: likewise, *That he cherished and brought up a verie \* Natrix, which is a kind of Serpent, for the people of Rome, and another (b) Phæstion to the whole world.*

Not long after, he took to wife *LIVIA \* CLAUDILLA*, the daughter of *M. SILANVS* a right noble gentleman. And then, being nominated to succede *AUGUR* in the roume of his brother *DRVSVS*, before his inuelture & installation therein, he was advanced to the sacerdotall dignitie of a *Pontifex*: a notable testimonie of his pietie, and towardnesse, when as *The royal line and imperial Court being desolate and destitute of all other \* helper*, *SILANVS* also suspected and some after overthrowne, he should thus by small degrees arise to the hope of succession in the Empire. Which hope, the rather to confirme, after his wife aforesaid *LIVIA* was dead in childbirth, he solicited unto filthie wantonnesse dame *ENNTIA* the wife of *NÆVIUS MACRO*, then captaine of the guard and *Prætorian* cohorts: having promised her marriage also, in case he ever attained to the Empire: and for assurance hereof he bound it with an oath and a bill of his owne hand. By her meanes being insinuated once into the inward acquaintance of \* *MACRO*, hee attempted, as some thinke, *TIBERIUS* with poison: and whiles hee was yet living, but labouring for life, commanded his \* ring to be plucked from his finger: but perceiving, that he gave some suspition of holding it fast, hee caused a pillow to be forced upon his mouth, and so with his owne hands stifled and strangled him: yea, and when \* his freed-man made an outcrie at this cruell and horrible act, he gaue order immediately to crucifie him. And verily this foundeth to truth, considering there be some Authors who write, That himselfe afterwards professed, if not the murder done, yet at least his intencion, one day to doe it. For, hee made his boast continually, in reporting his owne pietie, *That to revenge the death of his Mother and brethren, hee entred with a dagger into TIBERIUS bed-chamber whiles he lay asleepes, and yet upon mere pittie and commiseration be thought himselfe, flung away the weapon, and so went backe againe.* Neither durst *TIBERIUS* although hee had an inkling and intelligence of his disguise, make anie inquisition at all of the matter or proceede to revenge.

Thus having obtained the Empire he procured unto the people of *Rome*, or (as I may so say) to all mankind their hearts desire: being a prince of all that ever were, most wished for of the greatest part of provincially Nations & of the souldiours, because most of them had known him an infant: and generally of the whole cominality of *Rome*, in remembrance of his father *GERMANICVS*, & upon compassion they took of that house in manner ruinate & extinct. As he removed therefore from *Antium*, albeit he was clad in mourning weed & reverently did attend the corps of *TIBERIUS*, yet went he among the altars, (a) sacrifices and burning torches in a most thick throng & ioifull traine of such as met him on the way: who beside other luckie & fortunate names called him *SILVUS*, i. their flarr: *Papulus*, i. their chick, *Papanni*, i. their babe, and *Alimnum*, i. their nurceling. No sooner was he entred into the cite of *Rome*, but incontinently with consent of the senate & the multitude rushing into the *Curia*, after they had annulled the wil of *TIBERIUS*, who in his testament had adioyned coheire unto him another of his *Nephews*\* under age, & as yet in his *prætoria*, permitted he was alone, to have the full & absolute power of all, & that with such an universal joy, that in three monthes space next ensuing & those not fully expired, there were by report above 160000. Beastes slaine for sacrifice. After this, when as within some fewe dayes

\* He was then but a child, about 4 years old.

\* *Papulus* was the Author of this Apoc. thegm.

\* Commonly taken for a wastetake.

\* For *Claudius*: as *Livilla* for *Livia*, after his ordinary manner, to name women *Phæstion*, by their *Domus*: i. houses.

\* A Bishop, \* *Livilla* Male, except himself, and *Tiberius* a very child the son of *Drusus*, \* *Ennius*, \* *Aug* *Macron*, who wrought the fall of *Sextus*.

\* *Tiberius* freed-man.

\* *Rapier* or sword.

\* *Tiberius* the son of *Drusus*.

he passed over by the water but to the next Ilands of *Campania*, vowes were made for his safe returne: and no man there was who did let slip the least occasion offered, to testifie what penfive care he tooke, as touching his health and safetie. But so soone as he was once fallen sicke, they all kept watch by night about the Pallace: neither wanted some, who vowed to fight armed to the very outrance for his life thus lying sicke, yea and devoted\* their (a) verie lives for him if hee recovered, professing no lesse in written bills set uppe in publicke places. To this surpassing love of his owne Citizens and Countrey men, was adjoynd the notable favour also of foraine states. For, *Artabanns* King of the *Parthians*, professing alwaies his hatred and contempt of *Tiberivs*, sought of his owne accord to him for amitie: yea he came in person to a conference with one of his legates (or Lieutenants) that had bene Consul, and passing over *Euphrates*, adored the \* *Aegles* and other militarie ensignes of the *Romaines*, as also the Images of the *Cæsars*.

Himselfe also enkindled and set more on fire the affections of men by all manner of popularitie. When he had with many a teare praised *Tiberivs* in a funerall Oration before the bodie of the people, and performed the complement of his obsequies most honorably, forthwith he hastened, to *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, for to translate from thence the ashes of his mother & brother, and that in foule & tempestuous wether, to the end that his pietie & kindnes might the more be seene. And being come to their reliques, very devoutly himselfe with his owne hands bestowed them in severall pitchers with no lesse shewe in pagent wise, having wasted them first to *Ostia* with a flag (or streamer) pitched in the poupe or sterne of a galley, guided by two ranks of Oares and so soorth to *Rome* up the *Tiber*, by the ministerie of the most worshipfull gentlemen of *Rome*: he conveyed them within two *Fercules* (or frames) devised for the purpose into the *Mausoleum* even at noone day whē people were assembled there in great frequencie. In memorie all likewise of thē he ordained yeerely dirges & sacrifices to be performed with religious devotion to their ghosts by the whole Citie. And more thē that, he instituted for his mother solemn games within the Cirque, and a sacred Chariot wihal wherein her Image to the full proportion of her bodie should be carried in the pompe. But in remembrance of his father he called the moneth September, *GERMANICVS*. These ceremoniall duties done, by vertue of one sole Act of the Senate, he heaped upon his grand-mother *ANTONIA* whatsoever honours *LIVIA AVGVSTA* had received in her whole time. His Vnkle *CLAVDIVS*, a knight of *Rome* untill that time and no better, he assumed unto him for his Colleague in the Consulship. His brother \* *TIBERIVS* be adopted the verie day that he put on his Virile growne, and stiled him *Prince of the youth*: As touching his sisters, hee caused in all Oaths this clause to be annexed, \* *Neither shall I prize my selfe and children more deere, than I do CAIVS and his sisters*. Item, he ordained that in mooving and propounding of matters by the Consuls unto the Senatours, they should begin in this forme, *Quod bonum, &c. i. That which may be to the good and happie estate of CAIVS CÆSAR and his sisters &c.* In the semblable vein of popularitie, he restored all those that had bene condemned, confined and exiled, yea hee freely dispensed with them, pardoning whatsoever crimes or imputations remained still behinde\* from before time. All the bookes and registers

pertaining

\* Offered to lay down their owne lives.

\* The maine standards.  
15

\* His coffin permaine torches recalled brethren.  
\* The forme of oath, that any man tooke.

\* As we say, frō the beginning of the world to this day.

pertaining to the causes of his mother and brethren, because no informer or witness should afterwarde neede to feare, he \* brought together into the *Forum*: where protesting before hand, and calling the Gods to record with a lowd voice, that he had neither red ought nor medled once therewith, he burnt them. A certaine pamphlet presented unto him concerning his life and safety, he received not, but stood upon this point. *That he had done nothing wherefore he should be odious to any person: saying withall, That he had no eares open for informers and Tale-bearers.*

16

The *Spintrie*, inventers of monstrous formes in perpetrating filthie lust, he expelled forth of *Rome*, being hardly & with much ado intreated not to drown them in the deepe sea. The writings of *TITVS LABIENVS*, *CORDVS CREMUTIVS* and *CASSIVS SEVERVS*, which had bene called in and abolished by divers Acts of the Senate, he suffered to be sought out againe, to be in mens hands extant, and usually to be red: seeing that it concerned him principally and stood him upon most, to have all actions and deedes delivered unto posteritie. The Breviarie of the Empire, that by *AVGVSTVS* had bene wroite to bee proposed openly, but was by *TIBERIVS* intermitted, he published: Vnto the Magistrats he granted free Iurisdiction, and that there might be no appealing to himselfe. The Gentrie and knighthood of *Rome* he reviewed with severity and great precisensse: yet not without some moderation of his hand. Hee openly tooke from them their \* horses, in whome was found any foule reproch or ignominie: as for those, who were culpable in smaller matters, hee onely passed over their names in reading the Roll. To the ende, that the Iudges might bee eased of their labour, unto the foure former decuries hee added a fift. Hee gave the attempt likewise to bring up againe the ancient manner of Elections, and to restore unto the people their free voices. The legacies due by the last will and testament of *AVGVSTVS* (although the same was abolished): as also of *LIVIA AVGVSTA*, which *TIBERIVS* had suppressed, he caused faithfully and without fraud to be tendered and fully paid. The exaction called (a) *Ducentsima* of all bargaines and sales, he remitted throughout *Italie*. The losses that many a man had sustained by fire he supplied: & if to any prices he restored their kingdomes, hee adjoynd withall the fruite and profits also of their rents, customes and imposts growing to the Crowne in the middle time between: as namely, unto *ANTIOCHVS COMAGENVS* who had bene confiscated and fined in an hundred millions of Sesterces. And that he might the rather be reputed a fauourer of all good examples, hee gave unto a woman, (by condition a libertine) 300000 Sesterces, for that she being under most grievous and dolorous torments, concealed yer & would not to die for it, utter a wicked fact committed by her Patron. For which things, among other honours done unto him there was decreed for him a (b) shield of golde, which upon a certaine day everie yeare, the colledges of the Priestes shoulde bring into the Capitoll, with the Senate accompanying them, and Noble mens children as well boyes as girles, singing the praises of his vertues in muscalle verse tuned sweetly in meeter. Moreover, there passed a decree, that the day one which hee beganne his Empire, should be called (c) *Publicus*, imploying thereby, as it were a second foundation of the Citie.

\* Convicted.

\* Publick house of service.

\* Some read Centuriam

\* *Officium* of service. Some read *officium*: i. 8000, and this cometh neerer to the truth.

He

17 He bare foure Consulships: the first, from the Calends of Iulie for ij. months: the second from the Calends of Ianuarie, for 30 dayes: the third unto the Ides of Ianuarie: and the fourth unto the seventh\* day before the said Ides. Of all these, the ij. last he held joyntly together. The third, he alone entred upon at \* *Lions*: not, as some deeme, upon pride or negligence; but because, being absent, he could not have knowledge that his Colleague died just against the very day of the Calends. He gave a \* largesse to the people twice, to wit, 300 sesterces to them a peece, and a most plenteous dinner he made as oft unto the Senate and degree of gentlemen, as also to the wives and children of them both. In the latter dinner of the twaine, he dealt over and above, among the men garments to be worn abroad: unto the women and children, \* gards welts, or laces, of purple and violet colour. And to the ende, he might augment the publike ioy of the Citie with perpetuities also; hee annexed unto the feast *Saturnalia* one daye more, and named the same *Iuvenalis*.

\* *Fascia*: Some expound these to be ribbands garters and gorges.

18

He set fourth games of Sword-fencers, partly in the Amphitheater of *TAVRVS*, and partly within the *Septa in Mars' field*, into the which he inserted and brought in, certaine troupes of *African* and *Campane Champions* to skirmish by companies. even the very best, selected out of both Countries. Neither was he alwaies himselfe president at these solemnities and publike shewes, but otherwhiles enjoined the Magistrates or else his freinds to take the charge of presidency. As for stage plaies, he exhibited them continually in diverse places and in sundrie sorts: once also in the night season, burning lights throughout the Citie. He scattered likewise and flung (among the common people) musks, of many and sundry kinds to skamble for: and dealt man by man, panners with viandes therein. At which feasting, to a certaine gentleman of *Rome* who over against him plyed his chawes full merily, and fedde right hartly with a greedie stomacke, he sent his owne part: as also to a Senatour for the same cause, his letters patents, wherein he declared him extraordinarily, Praetour. He represented besides, many Cirq-games, which held from morne to euen: interposing one while, the baiting of \* *Panthers*; another while the Troie-juggling and Tournament. But some especiall sports there were above the rest, and then the Cirq-place was laide all over with \* *vermillion* and \* *Borax Minerall*: Where none but of Senatours degree ruled and drave the Chariots. Some also he put forth upon a sodaine, namely when as he beheld from out of the house *GELOTIANA*, the preparation and furniture of the Cirque, some few from the (a)next\* open galleries jettying out, called unto him for the same.

\* *Aspilia* (small gills).

\* *On Leopards*.

\* *Red & green*.

\* *Manicini*.

19  
\* *An arm of the sea*.

Furthermore, he devised a new kind of fight. and such as never was heard of before: For, ouer the middle \* *Space* betweene Baize and the huge piles or dammes at *Puteoli* containing three miles and 600 paces well nere, hee made a bridge: having gotten together from all parts ships of burden, and placed them in a duple course at *Anchor*, with a banke of earth cast thereupon, direct and straight after the fashion of the high way *Appia*. Vpon this bridge he passed to and fro for two dayes together: the first day mounted one a courser richly trapped, himselfe most brave and goodly to be seene with a chaplet of Oke-brances: armed with a battaile axe, a light fargnet and a sword, clad

clad also in a cloke of gold: the morrow after he appeared in the habit of a Chariotier, syding in a chariot drawne with two goodly steedes of an excellent race: carrying before him *DARIVS* a boy, one of the *Partian* hostages with a traine of the *Pratorian* souldiers marching after in battaile raie: and accompanied with the Cohort of his minions in \* *British* wagons. Most men I wote well, are of opinion that *CATVS* inuented such a kind of bridge, in emulation of *XARXES*, who not without the wonder of the world, made a bridge, of planks ouer Helleponte an arme of the Sea, somewhat narrower than this: others, that by a brute blazed abroad of some huge and monstrous peece of worke, hee might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, upon which countries hee meant to make warre. But I remember well that beeing a boy, I heard my Grandfather report and tell the cause of this worke, as it was deliuered by his owne Courteours, who were more inward with him than the rest: namely, That *THRASYLLUS* the great *Astrologer* assured *TIBERIUS* when hee was troubled in minde about his successe, and more inclined to his natural and lawful \* *nephew* indecided by lineall descent, That *CATVS* should no more become Emperor than able to turne a course to and fro on horse-backe, through the gulfes of *Baie*.

\* *Effedus*, Bel-  
tick or French.

He set forth shewes also euen in forraigne parts, to wit in *Sicilie* at *Saracose*, the games called \* *Asiati*: Likewise at *Lions* in *France*, playes of a mixt nature and argument: as also a solemne contention for the prize in Eloquence both *Greeke* and *Latine*. In which tryall of maiesties, the report goeth, that those who were foiled and overcome, conferred rewards upon the winners, yea and were forced to make compositions in their praise. But looke who did worst, they were commanded to wipe out their owne writings, either with a sponge or els with their tongues, unless they would chuse rather to be chastized with ferulars or els to be ducked ouer head and eares in the next riuer.

\* *Asterion*, the  
fame of *Dre-*  
ne *Tiberius* the  
Emperors son,

20  
\* *Some reade*  
*Hefi-cus* run-  
ning at tilt.

\* *Rhodanus*  
= *Rhodon*.

21

The buildings left halfe vndone by *TIBERIUS*, namely, the Temple of *AUGUSTUS*, and the Theatre of *POMPEIUS*, he finished. He began moreover a conduct in the Tiburtine territorie: and an Amphitheatre nere unto the Enclosure called *Septa*: Of the two works, the \* *one* was ended by his successor *CLAUDIUS*, the other was forelet and given over quite. The wals at *Saracose* by the injurie of time decayed and fallen downe were by him reedified: and the temples of the gods there, repaired. Hee had fully purposed also to build a new the palace of *Polyrates* at *Samos*: to finish *APOLLO*s temple called *Diaconum* at *Miletum*: as also to found and build a Citie upon the top of the *Alpes*: but before all to dig through the Isthmus in *Achaia*: and thither had he sent already one of purpose, who had bene a principall Captaine of a Cohort in the Vaward, to take measure of the worke.

Thus farre forth as of a Prince: now forward, relate we must as of a Monster. Hauing assumed into his stile many furnames, For called he was *PIVS*. i. kind. *CASTRORUM FILIVS*. i. the sonne of the camp. *PATER EXERCITIVM*. i. Father of hosts, and *OPTIMVS MAXIMVS CÆSAR*. i. the most gracious and mightie *CÆSAR*, when he hapned to heare certaine \* *Kings* (who were come unto the Citie for to do their duties and to salute him) contend as they fate with him at supper, about the Nobilitie of their birth and parentage, hee cryed forth

\* *Visping* the  
Attributes of  
Iupiter.  
\* *Agrippa* and  
Antiochus



His whole life was, as I have said:

One Sovereign Lord, one King let there be.

\* Under Caligula, the Roman Emperors were called Princes

\* The portrait and proportion of his own Palace in that Mount, that stood in Rome. \* To his Palace, \* Sacrifices,

and there lacked not much but that presently he had taken the *Diademe* upon him and converted wholly the shew of \* Empire, into the (b) forme of a *Kingdome*. But being told that he was mounted already above the height and state both of \* Emperors and also of *Kings*, thereupon from that time forward he began to challenge unto himselfe a divine Maiestie: and having given order and commission, that the images of the gods, which either for devout worship done unto them, or for curious workmanship scene upon them, excelled the rest, (among which was that of IUPITER OLIMPICUS) should be brought out of *Greece* unto *Rome*, that when their heads were taken off, he might set his \* owne in the place: he enlarged the \* *Palatium* and set out one part thereof as far as to the *forum*. Transfiguring likewise and turning the *Temple* of \* *Castor* and *Pollux* into a \* porch or entrie, he stood manie times in the middle between the said two gods, brethren, and so exhibited himselfe to be adored of all comers. And somewhere were who saluted him by the name of IUPITER LATIALIS. Moreover he ordained a *Temple* peculiarly appropriate to his owne godhead as also priests and most exquisite \* *Ofts*. In his said *Temple* stood his owne image all of gold, lively portraited and expressing his full proportion: the which was daily clad with the like vesture as himselfe wore. The masterships of the priest-hood by him instituted, the richest men that were, every time of vacation purchased: such as made greatest suite and offered most therefore. The *Ofts* or sacrifices aforesaid were these foules: (b) *Phenicopteri*, *Peacocks*, (d) *Tetraones*, (e) *Nymphice*, (f) *Meleagrides* and (g) *Phasants*, and those to be offered by their kinds; and so every day killed. And verily, his usuall manner was in the night to call unto the *Moone* when she was at full and shining bright out for to come and ly with him in his armes: but in the day time, he talked secretly and apart with IUPITER CAPITOLINUS: one while by whispering and rounding one another in the eare, otherwhiles speaking more lowde and not without chiding: For he was heard in threatening wise to utter these words *His pater deus est, I will remove and translate thee into the lande of the Greeks*: untill such time as being intreated (according as he tolde the tale himselfe) and inuited first by him for to cohabite, he made a bridge over the temple of AUGUSTUS of sacred memorie and so ioyned the *Palatium* \* and *Capitol* together. And soone after, to the end that he might be nearer unto him he clayed the foundation of a newe house in the voide base court of the *Capitol*.

From the Palace to the Capitol.

23

\* Agrippa, \* Agrippina (supposed to be the daughter of M. Agrippa and Julia, \* Strabo's note: Singuifys

Hee could in no wise abide to be either reputed or named the nephew of AGRIPIA by reason of his base and obscure parentage: yea and angrie hee would be, in case any man either in *Oration* or *Verse* inserted \* him among the images of the CÆSARS. But he gave it out openly, that his \* owne mother was begotten by incest which AUGUSTUS committed with his owne daughter IULIA. And not content with this infamous imputation of AUGUSTUS, the *Attick* and \* *Sicilian* victories by him achieved, hee streightly forbade to be celebrated ycerely with solemne holidays, as being vnluckie and hurtfull to the people of *Rome*. As for LIVIA AUGUSTA his great Grand-mother, he called her ever and anon VLISSAS in a womans habite: yea and in a certaine

Epistle

Epistle unto the Senate he was so bold as to lay unto her, \* Ignobility as descended from a *Decurian* \* off FUNDI who was her Grandfire by the mothers side, whereas it is evident and certaine by publick records that AUFIDIUS \* LIN \* G O bare honourable Offices in *Rome*. When his Grandame \* ANTONIA requested secret conference with him, he denied her, unlesse MACRO CAPITaine of the Guard might come in betwene to heare their talke. And so, by such indignities and discontentments as these, hee was the cause of her death and yet, as some thinke, he gave her poison withall. Neither when these were dead daigned hee her any honour, but out of his dining chamber beheld her funeral fire as it was burning. His brother TIBERIUS he surprised suddainly at unwaies, sending a Tribune (a) of *Souldiours*, who rushed in upon him and so slew him. Likewise \* SILANUS his Father in law hee forced to death, even to cut his owne throat with a Razour, picking quarrels to them both and finding these causes: to wit, that the \* one followed him not when hee tooke sea being very rough and much troubled, but staid behind in hope to seize the Cite of *Rome* into his owne hands, if ought hapned but well unto him by occasion of tempests: \* the other smelled strongly of a Preservative or Antidote, as if hee had taken the same to prevent his poisons. Whereas, in very truth SILANUS avoided thereby the unsufferable paine of being Sea-sick and the grievous trouble of sayling: and TIBERIUS for a continuall cough that grew still upon him used a medicine. For, his Vnkle \* CLAUDIUS he reserved for nothing else but to make him his laughing-stock.

\* J. Balcan of birth. \* Anselm Labe. \* Or Loren. \* By the father's side, to wit, the mother of Germanicus.

\* VVhole daughter hee had married. \* Silanus.

\* Tiberius.

\* His Successor in the Empire.

24

With all his sisters, hee used ordinarily to be naught: and at any great feast hee placed evermore one or other of them by turnes beneath himselfe, while his wife lay above. Of these sisters (as it is verily thought) he deflowered DRUSILLA being a virgin, when himselfe also was yet under age and a very boy: Yea, and one time above the rest hee was found in bed with her and taken in the manner by his Grandmother ANTONIA: in whose house they were brought up both together. Afterwards also when shee was bestowed in marriage upon LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, a man of Consular degree, hee tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if shee had beene his owne lawfull wife. Also when he lay sicke, hee ordained her to be both heire of all his goods and Successeur also in the Empire. For the same sister deceased, hee proclaimed a generall cessation \* of Law in all Courts. During which time, a capitall crime it was for any man to have laughed, bathed, or supped together with his parents, wife or children. And being impatient of this sorrow, when hee was fled suddainly and by night out of the Cite, and had passed all over *Campania*, to *Saracoe* hee went; and so from thence returned speedily againe with his beard and haire of head overgrowne. Neither at any time ever after, in making a speech before the people or to his *Souldiours* concerning any matters were they never so weighty would hee swear otherwise than by the \* name of \* *Per romem*, *Drusilla*. The rest of his sisters (LIVIA and AGRIPIA) hee loved neither with so tender affection nor so good respect: as who he oftentimes prostituted & offered to be abused by his own false catamites. So much the more easily there

\* To signify a crime with solemn mourning.

\* Per romem, some reade *Per romem*, the goddess or diuine power. For hee equalled her with *France*, and was compelled to swear by her, as by *Jane*.

N

and commanded that she should be worshipped as a Goddess: and as *Dion* writeth, named she was *Pamela*, and was



fore condemned he them in the case of **ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS**, as adulteresses and privie to his treasons and waile-layings addressed against his person . And he not only divulged the hand-writings which were fought out by guile and adulteries, but also consecrated unto **MARS RAVENGER** those three daggers prepared \* for his death, with a title over them , containing the cause of his so doing.

35

As for his mariages, a man may hardly discern, whether hee contracted, dissolved, or held them fill with more dishonesty. LIVIA ORSTELLA, what time hee was wedded unto C. PISO, himselfe, (being one who came in person to the Solemnization of the marriage), commaunded to be brough home unto him as his owne wife: and having within few daies cast her off, two yeeres after he banished and sent her away: because in the middle time betweene, shee was thought to have \* had the company againe of her former husband. Some report, that being an invited guest at the Nuptial supper, hee charged PISO with fitting over against him, in these termes, *Sura, Ite yus sit no tuo cloe unto my wife*: and so, presently had her away with him from the table: and the next day published by Proclamation, *That hee had met with a marriage after the example of (a) ROMULUS and AUGUSTUS*. Astouching LOLLIA PAULINA married already to C. MEMMIUS, a man of Consular degree and ruler of Armies: upon mention made of her Grandmother as the most beautifull Lady in her time, he all of a suddaine sent and called her home out of \* the Province: and taking her perforce from her husband, wedded her and shortly turned her away: forbidding her straightly for ever the use of any mans body whatsoever. CÆSARIA, for no speciall beauty and favour of her owne above others, nor yet because she was in the flower of her youth, (considering shee had beene the mother already of three daughters by another man): but only for that shee was a most lascivious woman and of unsatiable lust he loved with more ardent affection and constancie: in so much as many a time he would shew her to his Souldiours in her haire, clad in a Souldiours \* Caske with a light Target and an helmet riding cloe unto him: but to his friends, \* starke naked also. When she brought him a \* childe, hee vouchsafed her then, the name of his wife and not before; professing and making it knowne, that in one and the selfe same day, he was become both her husband and also father of the Infant of her body borne. This babe he named IUNTA DRUSILLA: whom hee carried about with him through the temples of all the Goddesse; and bestowd at length in the lap of \* MINERVA, recommending itto her for to be nourished, brought up and taught. Neither had hee any surer signe and evidence to believe it was his owne and of his naturall seede conceived, than her curtnesse and shrewdnesse: and that qualitie had shee even then at the first, in such measure, as that with her perillous fingers shee would not sticke to lay at the face and eyes of other small Children playing together with her.

26

Vanitie it were and meere folly, to adioine hereunto, how he served his kin-  
folke and friends, to wit P<sup>R</sup>O<sup>T</sup>E<sup>M</sup>E<sup>U</sup>S K<sup>L</sup>I<sup>B</sup>A<sup>E</sup>S son & his owne cousin \* ger-  
man

By them, to wit Lepidus and his two sisters: or by him, for their death.

\* Or sought a  
gain for the  
company &c.  
reper, &c.

\* Where she was with her husband aforesaid.

\*Short cloake  
or horseman's  
coats  
chlamyde.

\*Like as Can-  
dales King of  
Lydia, did to his  
friend Gyges.

\*A daughter.  
\*Goddess of  
good arts and  
sciences,  
*Vergil, operum  
band ignora mi-  
stra.*

~~Removed.~~

man (for hee also was the Nephew of M. ANTONIUS by his daughter SULLA (a): but especially MACRO him selfe yea and ENNIA likewise, who were his chief helpers & advanced him to the Empire. All of the, in right of their neere affinity, and in consideration of their good deserts were highly rewarded, even with bloody death. No more respectiue was hee one whit of the Senate, nor dealt in gentler wise with them: Some, after they had borne the highest honours, hee suffred to runne by his \* Vagon side in their gownes for certaine miles together: and as he sat at supper, to stand waiting one while at the head, another while at the foote of the table, girt with a white linnen towell about them. Others, whom hee had secretly murdered, he continued neuer the lesse calling for, as if they were alive: giving it out most untruly some few daies after, that they had wilfully made themselves away. The Consuls had forgot by chance to publish by proclamation his Birth-day: For which, hee deprived them of their magistracie: and so for three daies space the Common-wealth was without the soveraine (b) authoritie. His owne Questour, who hapned to be nominated in a conspiracie against him, hee caused to be scourged: and the cloathes out of which hee was stripped to be put under the Souldiours feete, that they might stand more steddy whiles they were whipping him. In semblable pride and violence hee handled other States and degrees of Citizens. Being disquieted with the stirre and noise that they kept, who by midnight tooke up their standings in the \* Cirque, which cost them nothing: hee drave them all away with cudgels: in which tumult and hurlyburly, there were twenty Knights of Rome and above, crowded and crushed to death: as many matrones and wives also; besides an infinite number of the common multitude. At the Stage Plaies, being minded to sow discord, and minister occasion of quarrell between the Commons and Gentlemen of Rome: he gave his (c) Talies their sooner than ordinarie: to the end that the \* Equestris might be possessed afore-hand even by the basest Commoners that came. At the sword-fight, hee other whiles commanded the Curtaines to be folded up and drawne together: during the most parching heate of the sunne: and forbad that any person should be let \* forth: and then, removing and sending quire away the ordinarie furniture of shewes provided to make pastime, hee put forth unto the people for to behold, poore wild-beasts and carian-leane, to bee baited: the basest sword-fencers also and worne with age, to combat: yea, and appointed \* householders such as were of quality and well knowne, but yet noted for some speciall feeblenesse and imperfection of body to goe under the (d) \* Pygmies and carie them. And divers times hee \* brought a dearth and famine among the people, by shutting up the garners and Store-houses from them.

27

The cruelty of his nature he shewed by these examples most of all. When  
 Cattell which were to feede wilde beasts prepared for baiting, grew to be fold  
 very deere, he appointed malefactors found guilty to be slaughtered for that  
 purpose. And in taking the review of Goales and prisoners therein, as they  
 were forced according to their offences: he, without once looking upon the title  
 & cause of their imprisonment, standing only within a gallerie, commaunded  
 al in the mids, *a cubo ad cubum* (4), from one bald-pate to another, to be led forth  
 to execution. He exacted of him the performance of a vow, who had promised  
 to be hanged.

line \* Effedams, di  
ad, carrocho

ce \* Or show  
place.

is \* Or Tickets.  
be \* Rooms and  
d- seats in the  
ne Theater ap-  
ny pointed for the  
Gentlemen.

\* *Emitti, some*  
 read *emitter, do*  
 to be covered  
 with Har, veil,  
 be net or Bon-  
 grace against  
 the sunne.

\* *Citizens.*  
 \* *Pragmatic*, in  
 the dative case.  
 or frames for  
 Pageants.  
 \* *Inducere*.

2

\* Medios, a calve  
ad calve.

to doe his devoir in publick sword-fight for the recoverie of his health: and him he beheld fighting at sharpe: neither dismissed he him before he was victor, and after many prayers. Another there was, who for the same cause had vowed to die. This man being not very forward to pay his vow, hee caused to be dight with sacred hearbs, and adorned with \* Infules, like a sacrifice; and so delivered him into the hands of boyes: who calling hard upon him for the discharge of his vow, should course and drive him through the streets of the City, untill he were throwne headlong downe the steepe \* Rampier. Many honest Citizens of good calling and estate, after he had first disfigured with markes of branding yrons, he condemned to dig in mines, and to make high-waies, or to encounter with beasts: or kept them creeping with all foure like brute beasts within a cage for the nonce: or else flit them through the mids with a sawe. And those whom hee thus served, were not all of them guilty of any grievous offences: but sufficient it was, if they had a base conceit and spake but meanly of some of them that he exhibited: or because they had never sworn stoutly by his \* *Genius*. Parents he forced to be present at the execution of their owne children. And when one Father excused himselfe by reason of sicknesse, hee sent a Lifter for him: another of them immediately after the heavey spectacle of his sonne put to death, he invited to his own (e) board; made him great cheere, and by all manner of courtesie provoked him to iocundnesse and mirth. The Master of his sword fights and beast baitings, he caused for certaine daies together to be beaten with (d) chaines in his owne fight: but killed him not quite, before himselfe could no longer abide the stench of his braine by this time purified. A Poet, the Author of *Atellane Enterludes*, for a verse that he made implying a jest, which might be doubly taken, he burnt at a stake in the very middle shew-place of the *Amphitheatre*. A Gentleman of *Rome*, whom he had cast before wild beasts, when he cried out, *That he was innocent*, he commaunded to be brought back: and after hee had cut out his tongue, sent him among them againe, (to fight for his life or to be devoured).

Having recalled one from exile which had been long banished, hee demanded of him, *what he was wont to do there?* who made answer thus by way of flatterie, *I praised quoth he, to the Gods all waies that TIBERIUS\* (as now it is come to passe) might perish, and you become Emperour.* Hereupon CALIGVLA weening that those whom he had banished praised likewise for his death, sent about into the \* Islands, to kill them every one. Being desirous to have a Senator torne & mangled peecemeale, hee forbore certaine of purpose, who all on a suddaine as he entered into the *Curia*, should call him enemy to the State, & so lay violent hands upon him: and when they had with their (s) writing yrons all to prickd and stabbed him, deliver him over to the rest, for to be dismembred and cut in peeces accordingly. Neither was hee satisfied, untill he saw the mans limmes, joints and inwards drawne along the streetes, and piled all on an heape together before him.

His deeds most horrible as they were, hee augmented with as cruell words. His saying was, That he commended and approved in his owne nature nothing more, than (to use his owne terme) *adistrepjian*. i. unmoveable rigour. Vñ he his Grandmother ANTONIA seemed to give him some admonition, he (as though it were not enough to disobey her), *Goto dame*, quoth he, *remembre I may do what I wil against all persons whosoever.* Being minded to kill his owne brother, whom

\* Ribbands.

\* Of *Targuini* as, as some think.

\* These *Genii* are of a middle effence, between men & Gods, called therefore, *Medicini*. Little mischief here, the *Demon*, *Tutel* angel or spirit of the Prince. For the maect of the *Romaine* was in flatter- ing wiles, bus to sweare, as al- so by the belth the life, the hon- our of their Emperours.

28

\* Who had ban- nished him

\* Where they were wont to live banished.

29

for feare of poison he imagined to be fortified afore-hand with \* *Preservatives*: *What* quoth he, *is there any Antidote against CÆSAR?* Vñ when he had banished his sisters, he threatened them in these termes, saying, *That hee had not (a) Islands* *only as command* but *sworas also*. A certaine Citizen of Pretours degree, desired oftentimes fro the retiring place where he was at *Anticyra*, (b) (into which Ile he went for his health sake) to have his licence \* continued. But hee gave order he should be killed outright: adding these words therewith, that *Blond- letting was necessary for him. who in so long time had found no good* by \* *HELLEBOR*. Once every ten daies, his manner was to subscribe and write downe a certaine number out of the Goale to be executed, and said withall, *That hee cast up his reckonings, and cleared the booke of accompts.* When hee had at one time condemned a sort of French-men and Greekes together, hee made his boalt

*That he had subdued* \* *GALLOGRECIA.*

He would not lightly permit any to suffer death, but after many strokes given and those very softly: with this rule and precept evermore, which now became rife and well knowne, \* *Strike se, as they may feele that they are dring.* Hee executed on a time one whom he had not appointed to die, by error only and mistaking his name: *But it makes no matter*, quoth he, *for even he also hath deserved death.* This speech of the \* Tyrant out of a Tragicdie, hee often repeated *Ocyris dummeswant s. Let them hate me so they feare me.* Many a time he inveighed bitterly against all the Senatours at once, as the Dependants and adherents of *SEIANUS*, or the Informers against his mother and brethren; bringing forth those evidences which hee had made semblance before were burnt. And therewith excused & iustified the cruelty of *TIBERIUS* as necessary: seeing he could not otherwise chuse but beleve so many that made presentments unto him. The degree of Gentlemen he railed at continually, as devoted wholly to the Stage and shew-place. Being highly displeased upon a time with the multitude favouring as they did the contrary \* faction to \* his, *How! God*, quoth he, *that the people of Rome had but one neck.* And when *TETRINIUS* (d) *LATRO* was by them called for to fight at sharpe, he said, *That they also w<sup>d</sup> called for him were* \* *TETRINI* every one. It fortuned that five of these \* *RETIARI*, fighting in their single coates, and \* together by companies, had without any combat yeelded themselves as overcome to as many other Champions or Fencers called \* *Secutores*. Now when commaundement was given (by the people) *That they should be killed*, one takes me up his Trout-speare againe into his hand and flew all the other five who were thought the Conquerours. This slaughter he both bewailed in an Edict as most cruell, and also cursed them that endured to see the fight.

31 Hee was wont moreover to complaine openly of the condition of his time wherein he lived, as not renowned by any publick calamities: Whereas the raigne of *AUGUSTUS* was memorable for the overthrow of *VARUS*: that of *TIBERIUS* ennobled by the fall of scaffolds in the Theater at *Fidenz*. As for himselfe, like hee was to be forgotten, (such was the prosperity in his daies). And evermore he wished the carnage and execution of his armies. Famine, Pestilence, and Skarfires, or some opening chinks of the ground.

32 Even whilst he was at his recreations and disports, whilst he set his mind upon gaming and feasting, the same cruelty practised he both in word & deed.

N 3

Often- wing them.

\* Or Courser- posture.

\* By letters or friends that he made.

\* Renewed.

\* By purg- ing

\* A Nation mixt, of French and Greekes.

30

\* *Laifoi* &c.\* *Arriv*.

\* Of *Char* *eniers* For hee favoured the greene Liverie.

\* A worthy ad- vantage to be put to sword-fight.

\* So named of a net that they used in fight to catch their ad- versarie with: they handled also a weapon

with three times or pikes like a Trout-speare.

They were called *Tetrini*.

\* *Græcism* *di- micantes*, for destruction of these that were

called *Stenoma- chi*, & imploied in single fight.

\* Otherwise, *Mermiones*.

These were ar- med, whereas the *Retiari*, were lightly appointed, and

*Tunicati*, tra- versing their proud nimblly, and leaping

otherwiles to sic whereupon the others took

their name, *Sec- utores*, as follo-

wing them.

Offentimes as hee fate at dinner or banquetted, were serious matters examined in his very sight by way of torture: and the Souldiour that had the skill and dexterity to behead folke, then and there used to cut off the heads of any prisoners indifferently without respect. At *Patculi*, when he dedicated the bridge, which as we noted before, was his owne invention: after hee had invited many unto him from the shore and strand, suddenly hee turned them all headlong over the bridge into the water. And seeing some of them taking hold of the helmes for to save themselves, hee shooved and thrust them off, with poles and oares into the sea. At a publick feast in *Rome*, there chanced a servant to pluck off a thin plate of silver from the table: and for this, immediately hee delivered him to the hang-man for to be executed; namely to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck iust before his brest with a written Title caried before him declaring the cause of this his punishment; and so to be led round about all the companies as they sat at meate. One of these Fencers called *MIRILLONIS*, coming out of the Fence-schoole plaid at wooden wasters with him; and there tooke a fall for the nonce, and lay along at his feet: him he stabbed for his labour, with a short yron skeine that hee had: and withall, after the folsome manner of Victors, ranne up and downe with his garland of Date tree branches. There was a beast brought to the Alrar ready to be killed for Sacrifice: he comes girt in habite of these *Beast slayers*, and with the axe head that he lifted up on high, knocked downe the Minister himselfe, who was addrest to cut the said beasts throat, and so dashed his braines out. At a plentiful feast where there was great cheere, he set up all at once an unmeasurable laughter: And when the Consuls who fate iust by him asked gently and with faire language, *Whereat hee laughed so? At what else*, quoth hee, *but this, That with one nod of my head, I can leave both your throats cut immediately.*

33

Among divers and fundry iests and merie conceites of his, as he stood once hard by the image of *IUPITER*, he demaunded of *APULES* an actour of Tragedies, whether of the twaine he thought to be the greater and more lately, *IUPITER* or himselfe: And whiles he made some stay ere he answered, he all to rare and mangled him with whipping cheere, praising ever and anone his voice crying unto him for mercy, as passing sweet and pleasant, even when he groned also under his laines. So often as he kissed the neck of wife or concubine, he would say withall, *As faire and lovely a neck as this is, off it shall goe if I doe but speake the word.* Moreover, he gave it forth many a time, *That he would himselfe fetch out of his wife CÆSONIA, though it were with Lute strings, what (a) was the reason that he loved her so entirely?*

34

Neither raged he with lesse envie and spitefull malice, than pride and cruelty, against persons, in manner, of all times and ages. The Statues of brave and worthy men brought by *AUGUSTUS* out of the Capitoll Courtyard for the straightnesse of the place, into *Mars*-field, he overthrew and cast here and there in such sort, as they could not be set up againe with the Titles and Inscriptions whole: forbidding that ever after there should be any where Statue or Image erected unto any person living, without his advice asked and graunt passed. He was of minde also to abolish *HOMERS* verses: *For why may not I*, quoth he, *doe that,*

\* For this bridge was made of barks.  
\* A great dinner.

\* Waiting at the board.  
\* Or least.  
\* For tables in those dayes were laid & covered over with silver plates. *Plin. lib. 33.*

\* Or fencers, as before said.

\* As sacrifice.

\* Or Pantomime.

\* By cramping and torturing her therewith

that which *PLATO* lawfully did? who banished him out of the *Cittie* that he framed and ordered. The writings likewise and images of *VIRGIL* and *T. LIVIUS*, he went within a litle of remooving out of all libraries. The \* one of these he carped, as a man of no witte and usurie meane learning: the \* other, as touching Lawiers, (as if he meant to take away all use of their skill and knowledge) he cast out these words many times, *That he would surely bring it to passe, They should be able to give none other answer nor counsel then according to reason and equitie.*

He took from the noblest personages that were, the olde armes and badges of their houses: *FRONTINUS* the collar: *FRONTINUS* the curled lock of haire: & from *CN. POMPEIUS*, of an ancient stocke descended, the surname of *MAGNUS* belonging to that Image. As for King *PROTEUS*, (of whom I made report before) who he had both lent for him out of his realme and also honorably intertained him he lew a cail of a fodaine, for no other cause in the World but for that as he entred into the Theatre to see the shewes and games there exhibited, hee perceived him to haue turned the eyes of all the people upon him, with the replendent brightnesse of his purple cassocke. All such as were faire, and caried a thick bush of haire growne long, so often as they came in his way, he disfigured by shaving their heads all behind. There was one *ESTIUS PROCULUS* (whose father had beene a principall captaine of the foremost cohort) for his exceeding tall personage and lucely fauour withall named (a) *COLOSSEROS*, Him hee caused sodainly to be pulled downe from the scaffold where hee sat, and to be brought into the plaine within the liks: where hee matched him in fight with a sword-fencer of that sort which hee called *Threces*, and afterwards with another, all armed. Now when hee had given the foile twice, & gotten the upper hand, he commanded him forthwith to be pinniond & bound fast, & being put into foule and overworne clothes to be led round about the streets to be shewed unto womē, & so to have his throat cut in the end. To conclude there was none of so base & abject condition, nor of so mean estate, whose commodities & good parts hee deprived not. Against the great Prelat stiled by the name *K. NEMORENSIS*, because hee had many yeares already enioyed his sacerdotall dignitie hee suborned under hand a comment and aduersarie mightier than himselfe. When as vpon a certaine day of publike games, there was greater applaude & more clapping of hands than ordinarie at *POPULUS* the fencer, manumising his slave for ioy of the fortunate cōbate which hee had made, hee flung out of the Theatre in such hast, that treading vpo his owne gown skirt hee came tumbling down the staires with his head forward: chafing and fuming yea and crying out *That the people of Rome, Lord of all nations, yielded more honour, and that out of a most vaine and frivolous occasion unto a sword-fencer, than to consecrated Princes, or to himselfe there in personall presence.*

No regard had he of chastitie and cleanness, eyther in himselfe or in others. *M. LEPIDUS MNESTER* the Pantomime yea & certain hollages hee kept and loved as the speech went, by way of reciprocal comerce in mutual impunity, Doing & suffering against kind, *VALERIUS CATULLUS*, a yong gentleman descended from a familie of Consuls degree, coplained & openly cried out, that

\* Being a Poet.

\* Virgil.  
\* Livy.

35  
\* Or Ensigne.  
\* Or Cheere.  
\* Who afterwards, married the daughter of *Cleander* the Imperour.

\* *Thracians*, with sheld and helmet.  
\* To the Thracians.  
\* *Ensignes*.

\* To wit, sword fight.  
\* *Epicharmus* or *Champion* that vie to fight and play his prizes cut off his head or Feet: *Chariot* called *Epicharmus*.

36  
\* A player counterfeiting all parties, and kinds of games.

hee was unnaturally by him abused; and that his uerie sides were wried, and tyred out with his filthie companie. Over and above the incests committed with his owne sisters, and his love so notorious of PIRALLIS that common and prostitute strumpet, there was not lightly a dame or wife of anie worship and reputation, that hee forbore. And those for the most part would he invite together with their husbands to supper: and as they passed by at his feete, peruse and consider curiously; taking pleasure thereto after the manner of those that cheapeen and buy wares in ouvert market: yea and with his hand chocke them under the chin and make them to looke up, if happily any of them in modesty and for bashfulness held downe their faces. And then so often as he lifted, out he goes from the refection roome, and when he had called her unto him apart that liked him best, hee would within a little after: (even whiles the tokens were yet fresh testifying their wanton worke) returne: and openly before all the companie, eyther praise or dispraise her: reckoning up euerie good or bad part of bodie and action in that brutish businesse. To some of them, himselfe sent bills of diuorcement in the name of their husbands absent and commanded the same to be set upon the file and stand in publicke record.

37

\*Or Oiles

In riotous and wastfull (a) expence, he outwent the wits and inuentions of all the prodigal spendthrifts that ever were; as having devised a new found manner and use of baines, together with most strange and monstrous kinds of meats and meales: namely, to bath with hote and cold ointments: to drinke off and quaffe most pretious and costly pearles dissolved in vinegar: to set upon the board at feastes loaves of bread and other viands to them before his guests, all of golde, saying commonly withall, That a man must either be frugall or els CÆSAR. Moreover for certaine dayes together, he sung and scattered among the common people from the Louer of the stately Hall IULIA, mony in peeces of no meane ualue. He built moreover tall galiaces of cedar (b) timber, with poupes and sternes beset with precious stones, carying sailes of sundrie colours containing in them barmes large galleries, walking places, and dining chambers of great receipt: with vines also and trees bearing apples and other fruit in as much varietie: wherein he would sit feasting in the very day time among quires of musicians and melodious fingers, and so saile along the coasts of Campania. In building of stately Pallaces and mannor houses in the countrey he cast aside all rules and orders as one desirous to do nothing so much as that which was thought impossible to be done. And therefore he laid foundations of piles where the sea was most raging and deep withal, and hewed rocks of most hard flint & rag: plains also he raised even with mountaines & by digging down hill tops levelled them equally with the plaines: all with incredible celeritie: as punishing those who wrought but slowly even with death. In summe, (and not to reckon vpeuerie thing in particular) That infinite wealth and masse of Treasure which TIBERIUS CÆSAR left behind him valued at \* 2700. millions of Sesterces, hee consumed to nothing, before one whole yeare was gone about.

\*Prices at Septim  
en milles

38

Being exhaust therefore and grown exceeding bare, he turned his mind to rapine and polling by sundrie and most nice points: of forged calumniation, of sales, of imposts and taxes. He affirmed plainly, that those held not by lawe and rightfully the freedome of Rome Cittie, whose Auncellours had obtained the

the grant thereof in these tearmes, to them and their posteritie: unlesse they were sonnes: For, by *Posteriti* i. *Posterity* quoth he, ought to be understood none beyond this degree of descent. And when the Letters-patens and graunts of IULIUS and AUGUSTUS, (late Emperours of sacred memorie) were brought forth as evidences, he bewailed the same as olde, past date and of no validitie. Hee charged those also with false valuation and \* wrong certificate of their estates, unto whom there had accrued afterward (upon what cause soever) any encrease of substance. The last willes and testaments of such as had bene principall Centurions of the formost Cohorts, as many I say, as from the beginning of TIBERIUS Empire, had left neither the layd TIBERIUS, nor himselfe Heire, he cancelled for their unthankfulness: of all the rest likewise, he held the wils as void, and of none effect: in case any person would come forth and say, that they purposed and intended, at their death to make CÆSAR their Heire. Vpon which feare that hee put men in, being now both by unknown persons unto him, nominated Heire among their familiar friends, and also by parents among their children, he tearmed them all mockers and counsellers, for that after such nuncupative wils they continued still alive: and to manie of them he sent certaine \* dainties empoisoned. Now such causes as these above-saide he heard judicially debated: having before hand set downe a certaine rate and summe of money, for the raising whereof he sat iudicially in Court: and when that summe was fully made vp, then and not before hee would arise. And (as he was one who in no wise could abide any little delay) he condemned vpon a time by vertue of one definitive sentence above fortie persons, liable to judgement for diuers and sundry crimes: making his boast withall unto his wife CÆSONIA newly wakened out of her sleepe *What a deale he had done, while shee tooke her nunnies repose*. Having published an open port sale of the residue remaining of furniture provided to set out all shews and games, he caused the said parcels to be brought forth and sold: setting the prices thereof himselfe and enhauning the same to such a prick, that some men enforced to buye certaine things at an extreame and exceeding rate (whereby they were empoverished and stript of all their goods) cut their owne veines and so bled to death. Well knowen it is that whiles APONIUS SATURNINUS tooke a nap and slept among the seats and stauls where these sales were held; CAIVS put the *Beall* in mind not to let slip and overpasse such an honorable person of Pretours degree as he was: considering quoth he, that with his head he had so often nodded and made \* signes unto him, and thus taking that occasion, he neuer rested raising the price whiles he sat and nodded still, untill there were fastened upon the man, (ignorant God wote, altogether of any such matter) thirtene sword-senlers, at nine millions of Sesterces.

In Galle likewise, when he had sold the jewels, ornaments, and household stuffe of his \* sisters by him condemned: their seruants also and uerie children at excessive high prices: finding sweetness in the gaine growing thereupon and thereby drawn on to proceede in that course, looke what furniture belonged to the old imperiall Court, hee sent for it all from the Cittie of Rome. For the carriage whereof, hee tooke vp even the passengers wagons that usually were hired, yea the very jades which serued \* mils and backe-houses: In so much, as manie times there wanted bread in Rome; and a number of Termers, such

\*Defences or  
defences, he  
retracted and  
despised.  
\*Perpetuum  
in Coniun\*Mistress or  
Mistress, such  
as Macchabees

\*Or Crier

\*As it were, to  
buy with a  
share

39

\*Livia and  
\*Grappia.\*In grinding  
Corte, and  
carying bread  
such

such as had matters depending in law, for that they could not make their appearance in Court at their dayes appointed, by absence lost their suits. For the selling of which furniture, there was no fraude, no guile, no deceitful-ment to be devised that he used not: one while checking each one for their avarice, and rating them because they were not ashamed to be richer than he: otherwhiles making semblance of repentance, in that he permitted persons to have the buying of such things as belonged to the Empire: Intelligence was given unto him, that a certaine wealthy and substantiall man in that province, had paid 200000. sesterces unto his officers (who had the bidding of guests unto his owne table) that by some subtle snit, himselfe might be foisted in among other guests: neither was he discōtented that the honor of supping with him was prized so high. The morrow after therefore, as this provinciall man was sitting at a publike portsale, hee sent one of purpose to tender and deliver unto him some frivolous trifle (I wot not what) at the price of 200000 sesterces: and withall to say unto him, *That take a supper be should with CÆSAR, as a guest innited by his owne selfe.*

40

He levied and gathered new tributes and imposts, such as never were heard of before: at the first by the hands of Publicanes; and afterward (by reason of the excessive gaines that came in) by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts. For he omitted no kind of thing, no manner of person, but he imposed forme tribute upon them. For all cates that were to be sold through-out the Citie, there was exacted a certaine taxation & set payment. For actions for suits, for judgements whosoever comended or drawn in writing, the fortieth part of the whole summe in suite went to his share in the name of a tribute: not without a penaltie, in case any one were conuicted, to have eyther growen to composition or given the thing in question. The eighth part of the poore porters and Carriers daies-wages: out of the gets also and takings of common strumpets, as much as they earned by once lying with a man, was payed *nominis tributi*. Moreover to the chapter of the law, this branch was annexed, that there should bee liable to this tribute, not onely the parties themselves that by trade of hallotry gat their living, but even they likewise who kept houses of bawderie: As also that \*wedded persons should paye for their vse of marriage.

\*Nec non et  
maritonia ob  
mora essent.  
Some interpret  
this of wedded  
folke playing  
false & commit-  
ting adulterie.

41

After these and such like taxes were denounced by proclamation, but not yet published abroad in writing, when as through ignorance of the written lawe (a) many trespasses and transgressions were committed: at length, upon instant demand of the people, he proposed indeede the act, but written in very small letter and within a narrow place, so that no man might exemplifie the same or copie it out. And to the end that there might bee no kinde of spoile and pilage which he attempted not, hee setup a stews and brothelhouse in the verie Palace, with many roomes and chambers therein distinguished asunder, and furnished according to the dignity and worth of that place. In it there stood to prostitute themselves, married wives, youths and springalls free borne. Then sent he all about to the frequented places as well markets as Halls of resort, certaine *Nomenclatores*, to invite and call thither by name, young men and olde, for to fulfill and satisfy their lust. All comers at their entrance payde money (as it were) for usurie and interest. Certaine persons also were appoin-

ted

ted to take note in open sight, of their names, as of such as were good friends increasing the revenewes of CÆSAR. And not disdeining so much as the lucre and vantage arising out of hazard and dice play, hee gained the more by cogg- ing, lying, yea and forswearing (of gamesters). And upon a time, having put over to his next fellow gamester his owne course, to cast the dice for him in his turne: out he goes into the court-yard and foregate of the house: where, having espied two wealthy gentlemen of Rome passing by, he commanded them to be apprehended incontinently, and condemned in the confiscation of their goods: which done he returned in againe, leaping for joy & making his vaunt, *That he never had a luckier hand at dice.*

42

But when he had once a daughter borne, complaining then of his povertie and the heave charges that lay upon him not onely as Emperour, but also as a father, he gently tooke the volutarie contributions and benevolence of men toward the finding of the girle her food, as also for her Dowry another day. He declared also by an edict, that he would receive new yeares gifts: and so he stood the first day of Januarie, in the porch or entrie of his house PALATINA, ready to take what pecces sever of money came, which the multitude of all sorts and degrees, with full hands and \*bosomes poured out before him. Finally, so farre was he incensed with the desire of handling money, that oftentimes he would both walke bare-footed up & down, yea & wallow also a good while with his whole body upō huge heapes of coyned gold pecces, spred here and there in a most large and open place.

\*Or a Kalendis  
i. the first day,  
&c.  
\*Or laps of  
their clothes

43

In militarie matters and warlike affaires he never dealt but once: and that was not vpon any intended purpose: but what time as he had made a progresse to *Mevana*, for to see the sacred grove & river of *Clunnum*, being put in mind to supply & make up the number of the *Batavians* whom he had about him for his guard, it tooke him in the head to make an expedition into *Germanie*. Neither deferred he this disignement, but having levied from all parts a power consisting of legions and auxiliarie forces; and taken musters most rigorously in every quarter, as also raised & gathered together victuals & provision of all sorts in that quantity, as never any other before him the like, he put himselfe on his journey. Wherein he marched, one while in such hurrie and haste, as that the *Pretorian* cohorts were forced (against the manner and custome) to bestowe their ensignes vpon the sumpter beasts backs & so to follow after: otherwhiles, after such a slow and delicate manner, as that he would be carried in a litter vpon eight mens shoulders, and exact of the common people inhabiting the neyghbour cities adioyning, that the high waies might be swept & watered for the dust, against his comming.

After that he was arrived once at the campe, to the end that he might shew himselfe a sharpe and severe Capitaine. Those Lieutenants who had brought aid with the latest, out of divers and diffittate parts, hee discharged with igno- minie and shame. But in the review of his armie the most part of the Centu- rions who had already served out their complete time, yea and some whose terme within very few dayes would have beene fully expired, hee deprived of their places: to wit, the leading of the formost bands, finding fault forsooth with the olde age and feebleness of every one. As for the rest, after hee had given them a rebuke for their avarice, hee abridged the fees and availes due for their

44

their seruice performed; and brought that same downe to the valew of 6000. festerres. And having achieved no greater exploit, than taken to his mercie, A D M I N I U S the sonne of C I N O B E L L I N U S King of the \* Britains, who being by his father banished, was fled over sea with a small power and traine about him, he sent magnificent and glorious letters to Rome, as if the whole Isle had beene yielded into his hands: warning and willing the carriers euer and anon, to ride forward in their wagon directly into the market place and the Curia, and in no wise to deliver the sayd messives but in the Temple of M A R S vnto the Consuls, and that in a frequent assembly of the Senate.

Soone after, when there failed matter of warre, he commanded a few Germanes of the \* Corps de guard, to be transported & hidden on the other side of Rhene, and that news should be reported unto him after dinner in most tumultuous manner, *That the enemy was come:* which done, he made what haste hee could, and together with some of his friends and part of the Pretorian horsemen he entred the next wood: where after he had cut off the heads of trees and adorned their bodies in manner of *Tropæes*, hee returned into the Campe by torch-light. As for those uerily who followed him not in this seruice; he re-proved and checked them for their timorousnesse and cowardise: But his companions and partners in this doury uictorie, he rewarded with a new kind and as strange a name of *Coronets*: which being garnished and set out with the expresse forme of *Sunne, Moone, and Stars* he called (*a*) *Exploratorius*. Againe, when as certaine hostages were had \* away perforce out of the *Grammer* schoole, and privily sent before, he suddenly left his supper, and with his men of armes pursued them as runawaies, and beeing overtaken and caught againe he brought them backe as prisoners bound in chaines: shewing himselfe even in this enterlude also, beyond all measure insolent and intemperate. Now after he was come backe to supper, those who brought him word that the battailes were rallied and come forward in safetie, hee exhorted to sit downe to meate armed as they were in their Corselets: yea and aduertised them out of that most vulgar Verse of V I R G I L. *Durarent, Secunduque rebus se feruarent.* .i.

*Still to endure in all assays  
And keepe themselves for better dayes.*

Moreover, amid these affaires, he rebuked most sharply in a proclamation, the Senate and people both, in their absence: For that whiles CÆSAR sought battailes and was exposed to so many perils, they could so unseasonably celebrate feastes, haunt also the Cirque, The Theatres, and their resyring places of solace and pleasure.

Last of all, as if he meant now to make a finall dispatch for ever of the warr having embattailed his armie upon the Ocean shore, planted his balists and other engins of Artillerie in their severall places, (and no man wist the while or could imagine what he went about) all at once he commanded them to gather fith-shells, and therewith to fill their headpeeces and laps, rearming them the spoiles of the Ocean, due to the Capitol, and the Palatium. In token also and memoriall of this brave uictorie, he raised an exceeding high turret, out of which as from a warch-towre, there might shine all night long lights and fires for the better direction of ships at sea in their course. And after hee had pronounced

\* Betwixt  
i. the Barba-  
rians.

45  
\* De Cællidia,  
or that were  
prisoners and  
inward

\* By his means,

nounced publicly a donative to his Souldiours, even an hundred good Deniers a peece; as if thereby hee had surmounted all former precedents of liberality, *Now goe your waies, quoth hee, with joy, Goe your waies I say, enriched and wealthy.*

Turning his minde after this to the care of his Triumph, hee selected and set apart for the pompe (over and above the Captives and runnagate Barbarians) the tallest men of Stature also that were to be found in Gaule: and eue one that (as hee saide himselfe) was *axiothriambentus*, that is, worthy to be seene in a Triumph, yea and some of the Nobles and principall persons of that Nation: Whom hee compelled not onely to colour the haire of their heads yellow like burnished gold, and to weare the same long: but also to learne the Germanes language, and to beare barbarous names. He gave commandement also; that the Gallies with three ranks of Oares, wherein hee had embarked and entred the Ocean, should be conveyed to Rome, a great part of the way by land. Hee wrote likewise unto his procurators and Officers, *To provide the furniture of his triumph, with as little cost as may be: but yet the same in as ample manner as never before was the like, seeing they had both might and right to seize all mens goods into their hands.*

Before his departure out of that Province, hee intended the execution of an horrible and abhominable designement: even to put to sword those Legions, which long agoe upon the decease of A U G U S T U S, had made a commotion: because, forsooth, they had beleeved both his father GERMANICUS their Captaine, and himselfe also, then an Infant. And being hardly and with much ado reclaimed from such a rash and inconsiderate proiect, yet could hee by no means be stayed: but stilly persisted in a full minde and will to \* tith them. When hee had summoned them therefore to a publike assembly, unarmed, and without their swords which they had put off and bestowed heere and there, he environed them with his Cavallerie all armed. But seeing once, that many of them suspecting where about he went, slipped away in sundry places for to resume their weapons if any violence were offered, himselfe abandoned the assembly and fled, taking his direct way immediately to the Citie of Rome; diverting all his bitternesse and crueltie upon the Senate: Whom, (to avert from himselfe the odious rumours of so great and shamefull villanies) hee openly threatened; complaining among other matters that he was by them defrauded and put by his iust and due triumph: whereas, himselfe but a little before, had intimated and denounced upon paine of death, that they should not make nor meddle in any matter about his honours.

Being encountered therefore and met upon the way by Embassadors from that most honourable \* Order, entreating him to make speed: with a most loud voice, *Come I will,* quoth he, *I will come, I say and this with me heere,* beating off upon the swords \* hilt which he ware by his side. He made it knowne also by an Edict, *That he returned in deede, but it was to them alone who wished it, namely, The degree of Gentlemen and the common people. For himselfe would be no longer a Citizen or Prince to the Senate.* He commanded moreover, *That not one of the Senators should*

\* As if with  
3 L. 5 s. 6 pence,  
they had beene  
made for ever.

\* To kill e-  
very tenth man  
of them:

\* Of Senators  
Or halfy

*should weete him*. And thus, either omitting quite or putting of his triumph, hee entred the Citie riding ouant, upon his very birth-day: and within foure moneths after came to his end, having attempted and done notable outrages and very great villanies, but plotting still and practising much greater. For hee had purposed to remove his imperiall Court to *Antium*, and afterwards to *Alexandria*: but having massacred first the most choise and chiefe persons of both \* degrees. And that no man may seeme to doubt heereof, there were in his secret Cabinet found two bookes bearing diuers titles. The one had for the Inscription *Gladius s. the sword*: the other, *Pugio*, that is to say, *the dagger*. They contained both of them the markes and names of such as were appointed to death. There was found besides, a bigge chest full of diuers and sundry poisons, which soone after being by *CLAUDIUS* drowned in the Seas, infected and poisoned the same, not without the deadly bane of fishes killed therewith, which the tide cast up to the next shores.

50

Of Stature hee was very tall, pale and wan-coloured: of body grosse and without all good making: his necke and shanks exceeding slender: his eyes funke in his head, and his temples hollow, his forehead broad, and the same furrowed and frowning: the haire of his head growing thinne, and none at all about his crowne: in all parts else hairie he was and shagged. It was therefore taken for an hainous and capital offence, either to looke upon him as hee passed by from an higher place, or once but to name a Goate upon any occasion whatsoever. His face and visage being naturally sterne and grim, hee made of purpose more crabbed and hideous: composing and dressing it at a looking-glasse, all manner of waies to seeme more terrible and to strike greater feare. He was neither healthfull in body nor stooode found in minde; Being a child, much troubled with the falling sicknesse. In his youth, patient of labour and travail: yet so, as that ever and anon upon a suddaine fainting that came upon him, he was scarce able to goe, to stand, to arise, to recover himselfe and to beare up his head. The infirmities of his minde, both himselfe perceived, and oftentimes also was minded to goe aside unto \* *Anticyra*, there to purge his braine throughly. It is for certaine thought, that poysoned hee was with a Potion given unto him by his wife *CÆSARIA*: Which in deede was a love \* medicine, but such an one, as crackt his wits and enraged him. He was troubled most of all with \* want of sleepe; For, he slept not above three houres in a night: and in those verily hee tooke no quiet repose, but fearefull; and skared with strange illusions and fantasticall imaginations: as who among the rest, dreamed upon a time that hee saw the very forme and resemblance of the sea talking with him. And heereupon for a great part of the night, what with tedious wakefulness and wearinesse of lying, one while sitting up in his bed, another while roaming and wandering too and fro in his Galleries (which were of an exceeding length) hee was wont to call upon and looke still for the day-light.

51

I should not doe amisse, if unto this mindes sicknesse of his I attributed the vices which in one and the same \* subiect were of a most different nature: to wit, excessive confidence, and contrariwise, overmuch fearefulness.

For,

\* Or *Alexandria* is *Antiochia*, in old *Mesopotamia*.  
\* Senators & gentlemen.

\* An Isle where grew the best *Ellebor*, a purgative meete for lunaticke & distracted persons.  
\* Or drinke.  
\* *Ischyria*.

\* Or person

For, hee that set so light by the Gods and despised them as hee did, yet at the least (a) thunder and lightning, used to winke close with both eyes; to enwrap also and cover his whole head: but if the same were greater and somewhat extraordinary, to start out of his bed, to creepe and hide himselfe under the bed-steede. During his peregrination verily and travaile through *Scythia*, after hee had made but a scorne and mockerie at the miracles and strange fights in manie parts there, he fled suddainly by night from *Messana*, as affrighted with the smoake and rumbling noise of the top of *Aetna*. And hee that against the Barbarians was so full of threats and menaces, when as beyond the river *Rhene* he rode in a Germanes Chariot betwene the Streights, and the Armie marched in thicke squadrons together: by occasion onely that one saide, *There would be no small trouble and hurlyburly*, in case the enemye from any place appeared in sight: forth-with hee mounted on horsebacke and turned hastily to the bridges: but finding them full of Camp-slaves and carriages wherewith they were \* choaked as one impatient of any delay, he was from hand to hand and over mens heads conveyed to the other side of the water. Soone after likewise, hearing of the revolt and rebellion of Germanie, hee provided to flee: and for the better meanes of flight, prepared and rigged shippes: resting and staying himselfe upon this onely comfort; That hee should yet have Provinces beyond sea remaining for him, in case the Conquerours following the traine of their victorie, either seized the Hill tops of the Alpes (as sometimes the *Cimbrians*), or possessed themselves of the very Citie of *Rome*, as the *Senones* in times past did. Heereupon I verily beleve that the murderers of him afterwards devised this shift, namely to hold up his Souldiours with a loude lie when they were in an uprore, and to beare them in hand that hee laide violent hands on himselfe, affrighted at the fearefull newes of the field lost.

\* Or guarded

52

As for his apparrell, his shoes and other habite, hee wore them neither after his owne Country-guise, nor in a civile fashion, no nor so much as in manlike manner, nor yet alwaies, I may tell you, sorting with the state and condition of a mortall wight. Being clad oftentimes in cloakes of needleworke and embroidered with diuers colours, and the same set out with pretious stones: in a coate also with long sleeves: and wearing bracelets withall, hee would come abroad into the Citie. Sometime you should see him in his filkes, and veiled all over in a loose mantle of fine \* *Sendall* with a traine: one while going in Greekeish \* slippers, or else in buskins: otherwhiles in a simple paire of broges or high shoes, such as common Souldiours employed in especiall used. Now and then also was hee seene shod with womens \* pumps. But for the most part he shewed himselfe abroad with a golden (a) beard carying in his hand either a (b) thunderbolt or a three-tined (c) mace, or else a warder or rod called (d) *Caduceus* (the ensignes all and ornaments of the Gods) yea and in the attire and array of *Venus*. Now, for his triumphall robes and ensignes hee used verily to weare and beare them continually, even before any warlike expedition: and sometime the cuirace withall of *K. ALEXANDER* the great, fetcht out of his Sepulcher and monument.

\* Lawne or Tuffine.

\* Or Pantofles

\* Or pinfones

\* With three graines like an elepeare:

Of all the liberall Sciences, hee gave his minde least to deepe literature and

O 2

sound

53



\* *Quand' un homme  
facundo: Or  
being very  
faire spcke. &c.*

found learning: but most, to eloquence: \* albeit he was (by nature) faire-spoken and of a ready tongue. Certes if it had bene to pleade and declame against one, were he angered once, he had both words and sentences at will. His action, gesture and voice also served him well: in so much as for very heate and earnestnesse of speech, uneth was he able to stand his ground and keepe still in one place, yet might hee be heard nothlesse of them that stood a farre off. When he was about to make an Oration, his manner was to threaten in these termes, Namely, *That he would draw forth and let drive at his adversarie the keene weapon and dart of his night-studie by candle light*; condemning the milder and more piked kinde of writing so farre forth, as that hee said of *SENeca*, a writer in those daies most accepted, *That his compositions which he made were plaine exercises to bee shewd onely: and was no better himselfe, than sand without lime*. His wont was also, to answer by writing the Orations of those Oratours who had pleaded well and with applause: to meditate and devise as well accusations and defences of great persons and waigthy matters in the Senate; and according as his stile framed, either to over-charge and depreesse, or to ease and relieve every man with his sentence: having called thither by vertue of his Edicts, the degree also of Gentlemen to heare him speake.

The Arts moreover and maieltries of other kinds hee practised right studiously, even those of most different nature. A professed \* Sword-fencer he was and a good Chariotier: A finger withall and a dauncer. Fight hee would even in earnest with weapons at sharpe: and runne a race with chariots in the open Cirque, which hee built in many places. As for chaunting and dauncing, he was so hotly set thereupon, that hee could not forbear so much as in the publick Theaters and Shew-places, but that hee would both fall a singing \* with the Tragædian as he pronounced, and also counterfaite and openly imitate the gesture of the \* player, as it were by way of praise or correction. And verily, for no other cause proclaimed hee (as it is thought) a wake or *Vigile* all night long, that very day on which hee was murdered, but that by taking the opportunity of the nights licentiousnesse, he might therewith begin to enter upon the Stage. And divers times daunced he by night: But once above the rest, having raised out of their beds three honourable persons that had bene Consuls, and sent for them at the reliefe of the second watch into the Palace; whiles they were much afraid and doubted some extremity he caused them to be placed aloft upon a scaffold, and then suddainly with a great noise of hant-bors and sound of shawmes or Cimbals, out commeth he leaping forth with a pallie and cassocke reaching downe to his ankles; and after hee had daunced out the measures to a long, vanished & went his way againe. Now this man so apt a schollar as hee was to learne all other feates, had no skill at all in \* swimming.

55 Looke, whom he tooke a love and liking unto, he favoured them all exceedingly and beyond all reason. *MNESTER* the famous \* *PANTOMIME* he affected so much, as that he bashed not to kisse him even in the open Theater; and if any man whiles \* he was dauncing or acting a part, made never so little noise and interrupted him, hee commanded the party to be pulled out of his place, and with his owne hand scourged him. A Gentleman of *Rome* chaunced to keepe some sturte whiles the said *MNESTER* was upon the Stage: unto him

54  
\* *Thaw.*

\* *Or, 12*

\* *Or, Adour.*

\* A faineable  
exercise in  
Rome, as may  
appeare before  
in *Augustus*.  
\* A Gesticur  
or dauncer that  
counteracted  
all parts.  
\* The laid  
*MNESTER*.

him hee sent word peremptorily by a Centurion to depart without delay, and goe downe to *Ostia* (there to take Sea) and so to carie unto King *PTOLOMEUS* as farre as into *Mauritania* his letters in writing tables, The tenour whereof was this, *To this bearer, whom I have sent hither to you, see you doe neither good nor harme*. Certaine Fencers called \* *THRACES* hee made Capitaines over those \* *Germanes* that were of his Guard and Squires to his body. As for the \* *Mur-* Others take it to be a general name of all Sword-fencers. \* A fiction or view of offenders opposit to the Thraçer Remedy, whom in respect of the Thraçer, he favoured not. \* *Præfata* faction. \* Or lodging; \* *Or that green livery.* \* *The toto, cuius equi causa, some siter preti: o- cerwise thus.* To *Medatus*, for whose horse like taking *Incres* to be the name of the Maister, & not of the horse, because in the Poet *Marshall*, there is mention on made of *Incres*. \* *Incres* a famous Chariot-er & a famous Antiquarian, excised an I- trage of gold: fer on horse that hee had named *Palace* whiles hee lived: and a sepulcher wher he was dead. And why might not this braut e-ficke Prince be as absurd? \* *Caligula*.

56 As hee rioted thus and fared outrageously, many there were who wanted no hart & good will to assault his person. But after one or two conspiracies detected, when others for default of opportunitie held-of and made slay, two at length comploted and imparted one unto the other their designment, yea and performed it; not without the privitie of the mightiest freed-men about him, and the Capitaines of his Guard. The reason was, for that they also, being nominated (although untruly) as accessarie to a certaine conspiracie, perceived themselves suspected and odious unto him therefore. For, even immediately, by sequestering them a part into a secret place he brought upon them great hatred, professing with his sword drawne, *That hee would upon his owne hand, if they also thought him worthy of death*. Neither ceased hee from that time forward to accule one unto the other, and to set them all together by the eares. Now when these Conspiratours were resolved and agreed to assaile him during the *Palatine* (a) games, as he departed thence out of the Theater at noontide, *CASSIUS CHERA* a Tribune of the *Pretorian* Cohort tooke upon him to play the first part in this Action: even hee, whom being now farre step in yeeres \* *CAIVS* was wont to frump and flout in most opprobrious termes as a wanton and effeminate person: and one while, when he came unto him for a watch-word, to give him *PRIAPUS* or *VENUS*; another while, if upon any occasion he rendred thanks, to reach out unto him his hand, not onely fashioned but wagging also after an obscene and filthy manner.

Many prodigious signes were seene, prefiging his future death and murder. The image of *IUPITER* at *Olympia*, which his pleasure was to bee disoigned and translated to *Rome*, did set up all on a suddaine such a mighty laughter that



the workmen about it, let their Engines and Vices slip and so ranne all away. And straight waies came there one in place whose name also was CASSIUS, that avouched, *he had warning and commandement in a dreame to sacrifice a Bull unto IUPITER.* The (4) Capitol in Capua upon the Ides of March was smitten with lightning. Likewise at Rome the Porters lodge belonging to the Princes Palace. And there wanted not some who gave their coniecture, that by the one Prodigie was portended danger to the Master of the house from his Guard and the Squires of his person: by the other some notable murder againe, such as in times past had bene committed upon (b) the same day. Also, SULLA the Astrologer, when CAIUS asked his counsell and opinion, as touching the Horoscope of his Nativitie, told him plaine, *That most certaine and inevitable death approached neere at hand.* Semblably the Oracle at Antium, gave him a caveat, to beware of CASSIUS. For which very cause, hee had taken order and given expresse commandement, That CASSIUS LONGINUS Proconfull then in Asia, should bee killed: not remembering that the fore-saide CARRA had to name CASSIUS. The day before he lost his life, he dreamt that he stood in heaven close unto the throne of IUPITER: and that IUPITER spurned him with the great toe of his right foote, and therewith threw him downe headlong to the earth. There went also for currant procigies and fore-tokens of his fall; even those occurrences that hapned unto him that very day, a little before he was murdered. As himselfe sacrificed, before he was slain, with the blood of the foule Phœnicæpterus. And MENERSTER the skillfull Actour above named, represented that very Tragicke which whilome NEPTOLEMUS the Tragedian acted at the solemnities of those games, wherein PHILIP King of the Macedonians was killed. And when as in the shew or Enterlude entituled (6) LAURBOLUS, wherein the chiefe plaier making hast to get away out of the ruine, vomited blood, many more of the Actours in a second degree strived a vie to give some triall and experiment of the like cunning: the whole stage by that meanes flowed with blood. Prepared there was likewise against night another shew, wherein the darke fables reported of Hell and the Infernall Spirits there, were to be exhibited and unfolded by Egyptians and Ethiopians.

58 Upon the \* ninth day before the Kalends of Februarie, about one of the clocke after noone: Doubting with himselfe, whether he should rise to dinner or no: (for that his stomacke was yet rawe and weake upon a surfeit of meate taken the day before), at last by the perswasion of his friends hee went forth. Now, when as in the very \* cloisture through which hee was to passe certaine boyes of noble birth sent for out of Asia (to sing Hymnes, and to skirmish martially upon the Stage) were preparing themselves, he stood still and staid there to view and encourage them. And but that the leader and chiefeitaine of that crew, said, *He was very cold,* hee would have returned and presently exhibited that shew. But what befell after this, is reported two manner of waies. Some say, that as he spake unto the said boyes, CARRA came behind his back, and with a drawing blow grievously wounded his neck with the edge of his sword, giving him these words before, *Flowe as I. Attend this:* Whereupon, CORNELIUS SABINUS, another of the Conspiratours, encountered him a-front, and ranne him through in the brest. Others write, that SABINUS, after the multitude about him was voided by the Centurions (who were privie to the Conspiracie) called

called for a watch-word, as the manner is of fouldiers, and when CAIUS gave him the word, IUPITER, CARRA cried out alowde, *Acciperaturn.* Here take it sure: and with that, as he looked behind him, with one slash cut his chaw quite thorough: Also as he lay on the ground and drawing up his limmes together cried still, *That he was yet alive,* the rest of their complices with thirtie wounds dispatched and made an end of him. For, this mot, *Repete .i. Strike againe,* was the signal of them all. Some of them also thrust their swords through his privie members. At the very first noise and outcrie, his liſter-bearers came running to helpe, with their liſter slaves: Soone after, the Germans that were the Squires of his bodie came in: & as they slew some of the murderers, so they killed certaine Senatours also that were meere innocent.

He lived 29. yeares, and ruled the Empire three yeares 10. moneths and 8. dayes. His dead corps was conveyed secretly into the Lamian hortyard, where being scorched onely, or halfe burnt in a tumultuary and hasty funeral fire, covered it was with a few turfs of earth lightly cast over it: but afterwards, by his sisters now returned out of exile, taken up, burnt to ashes and entered. It is for certain known and reputed; that before this Complement was performed, the keepers of those hortyards were troubled with the walking of spirits and ghosts: and in that very house wherein he was murdered there passed not a night without some terror or fearefull object, until the very house it selfe was consumed with fire. There dyed together with him, both his Wife CÆSONIA, stabbed with a sword by a Centurion, and also a daughter of his, whose braines were dashed out against a wall.

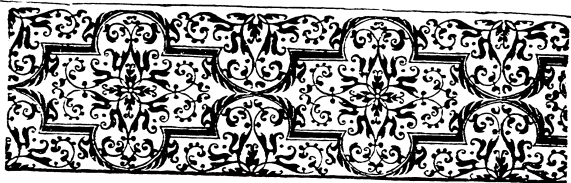
What the condition and state was of those dayes, any man may gather, even by these particulars. For neither, when this massacre was divulged and made known abroad, men gave credite by and by thereto; but there went a suspicion, that CAIUS himselfe had feigned and given out a rumour of this murder, by that meanes to sound mens minds, and find, how they stood affected unto him: \* yet had those conspiratours destined the Empire to anie one. And the Senators in recovering their ancient freedome againe accorded so, as that the consuls assembled them not at the first into the Curia, because it bare the name \* IULIA, but into the Capitol: yea and some of them, when their turnes came to speake, *opined, That the memorie of the CÆSARS should be utterly abolished and razed out,* giving aduise to pull downe their temples. Moreover, this hath bene observed and noted especially, *That the CÆSARS, who had to their forername CAIUS, beginning at him first who was slaine in the troublesome dayes of CINNA, dyed all of them a violent death.*

59

\* Which hee called a watch-doyltye, be-fore.

60

\* A new Senat house in iew of Curia Hostilia. \* For now the same of the Cæsar and his race became odious, as opposers of the common weale. \* And yet we read much of Caligula, as of Augustus, brother of Caligula.



# THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæ-

far, written by *Caius Suetonius  
Tranquillus.*



I  
A.V.C. 714.



*Augustus* : and  
not by *Tiberius*  
Nero his mon-  
rars sonne.

Stouching DRUSUS father to this CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, which DRUSUS was in times past forenamed DECIMUS and afterwards NERO; dame LIVIA wedded unto AUGUSTUS even whē she was great with child, brought him into the world within three moneths after the said marriage & folke suspected, that begotten he was in adulterie by his (supposed) father in law himself. Certes presely after his birth, this verse wēt rise in every mans mouth, *τὸς βυτχῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμειος*,  
*On persons great this fortune doth attend,*  
*That children they may have at three moneths end.*

This DRUSUS in the honorable place of questure and pretureship, being L. Generall of the *Rhetian*, and so fourth of the *German* warre, was the first Romane Captaine that sayled in the North Ocean : and on the farther side of *Rhene* caite those trenches of a straung and infinite worke which yet at this

this day be called \*DRUSINÆ. Many a time he put the enemy to sword, and when he had driven him as farre as to the inmost deserts, gave not over chasing and pursuing, untill there appeared unto him the likenesse of a \*Barbarian woman, more portly than a mortall wight, which in the latine tongue forbade him to follow the traine of victorie anie farther. For which acts atchieved, he enioyed the honour of a \*pety Triumph, and had the Triumphall ornaments graunted unto him. After his pretureship, he entred immediatly upon the Con-  
sulate: and having enterprised a second expedition thither, fell sicke and dyed in his summer campe, which therupon tooke the name of \*CASTRA (s) SCA-  
LERATA. His corps by the principall Citizens and Burgeses of the free bur-  
rowes and colonies, by the decuries also and orders of the \*Scribes (who met  
them in the way and received it at their hands) was conuied to Rome and bur-  
ied in Mar-fielde. Howbeit the armie reared in honour of him an honorarie  
\*tombe (or stately herse) about the which every yeare afterwards upō a certain  
fest day, the fouldiers should runne at tilt, keepe jousting and turnament : the  
Cities likewise and States of *Gaulle*, sacrifice and make publike supplications  
to the gods. Moreover the Senate among many other honors, decreed for him  
a Triumphant arch of marble, with Tropæes thereto in the \*street *Appia* : as  
also the surname of GERMANICUS to him and his posterity for ever.  
Furthermore he is thought to have caried a mind no lesse glorious than civil &  
popular. For over and above the conquests gained of his enemies, he was also  
from the Royall spoiles : & oftentimes to the uttermost hazard of his life cour-  
sed and chased the General of the *Germans* all over the field: neither dissembled  
he, but gave it out, *that one day he would restore unto the Common-wealth their an-  
cient state and libertie againe.* Whereupon, I suppose, some presume to write,  
that AUGUSTUS had him in jelousie and suspicion: called him home out of his  
Province : and because he lingred and delayed his returne, made him awāy by  
poyson. Which verily put downe I have, because I would not seeme to pre-  
termitt such a matter, rather, than for that I thinke it either true or pro-  
bable : considering that AUGUSTUS both loved him whiles hee was alive  
so entirely, as that he alwayes ordained him fellow-heire with his sonnes, (like  
as he openly professed upon a time in the Senate house) and also commended  
him after his death so highly, that in a solemne oration before the bodie of the  
people he prayed unto the gods. *To nought safe his owne CÆSARS to be like un-  
to him : and to grant himselfe one day such an end as they had given him.* And not  
contented with this that he had engraven upon his tombe an Epitaph in verse  
which he himselfe composed, he wrot also the historie of his life in prose. By  
ANTONIA the yonger, he became father verily of many children, but three  
only hee left behind him at his death, namely, GERMANICUS, LIVILLA,  
and CLAUDIUS.

This CLAUDIUS was borne at Lyons, in the yeare when IULIUS ANTONIUS and FABIVS AFRICANUS were Consuls, upon the Calends A.V.C. 744:  
of August, that very day on which the altar was first dedicated there unto  
AUGUSTUS: and named he was TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS: and a  
while after, when his elder brother was adopted into the family IULIA, hee  
assumed into his file the surname of GERMANICUS. Being left an infant by  
his father, all the time in manner of his child-hood and \*youth, pitcously  
handled

\* Or *Drusina*  
Latin.  
\* Representing  
Germanie.

\* Called Ora-  
tion

\* The wicked  
and mischie-  
vous camp.  
\* Or Chance-  
lots.

\* Which the  
Greeks call  
*Conerathum* i.  
an empty tomb

\* Or fort way.

\* Which he  
tooke frō their  
chiefe generals

\* Or growing  
age.



Consuls required to have the carriage of AUGUSTUS his corps upō their own shoulders to *Rome*: a 2. time when they were to cōgratulate with the same Consuls for the suppressing of *Scianni*. Moreover, they were wont in shewes: and in the Theatre, when he came in place, to arise up and lay off their mantels in respectiue honour of him. The Senate also ordained, that to the ordinarie number of the Priests or Guild-brethren called AUGUSTALES, who were by lot chosen, he should be admitted extraordinarily: and soone after, *That his house, which by misfortune of a skare-fire he had lost*, should at the Cities charges be reedified; as also the privilege to deliver his minde and opinion in the Senate, among those who had beene Consuls; which decree of theirs was reversed & annulled: whiles \*TIBERIUS alleadged by way of excuse his imbecillity, and promised to repaire the foresaid losse out of his owne private purse and liberality. Yet when hee laye upon his death-bed, he both named him among his heires in a third rounge, and in a third part of his estate, and also bequeathed him a legacie of two millions of Sesterces: yea recommended him besides by name unto the armies, to the Senate likewise & people of *Rome* in the ranke of other his especiall friends and kinsfolke.

\*As wee vñro  
vñle bonnet  
do of our hats.

\*The Empe  
rou.

\*Caligula.

\*All haile or  
hug melle.  
\*Caligula

At length under \*CAIUS his brothers sonne, who at his first coming to the Empire sought by all manner of enticing allurements to gaine the good opinion of a bountifull and gracious prince, he began first to beare office of state, and continued Consul together with him for the space of two moneths: and it fortun'd at his first entrance into the *Forum* with his knitches of rods, that an Eagle soaring thereby, seited upon his right shoulder. He was picked also and allotted unto a second Consulship, against the 4. th yeare following. Divers times he sat as president of the solemne shewes in CAIUS his tūme: what time, the people with great applause \*cried *Felicitur*, partly to the \*Emperours Vñcle, and in part to GERMANICUS his brother.

8

Yet lived hee nevertheless subiect to the contumelious reproches of the World: For if at anie time, hee came somewhat with the latest and after the houre appointed to a supper, hardly & with much ado, was there any roome made for to receive him, and not before hee had gone round about the tables where guests were set, for to finde a place: Likewise, whensoever he tooke a nap, and fel a sleepe after meate (which was an ordinarie thing with him) the \*buffons and jesters about him, made good sport, pelling him with olive and date stones: other whiles also they would by way of merriment awake him with the clappe of a ferula or lash of some whip. They were wont likewise to glove his hands (as he lay snoring a sleepe) with \*his shoes, that as he suddenly awaked hee might rub his face and eyes therewith.

9

Neither verily could hee avoide divers dangerous troubles: First in his very Consulship: for, beeing behind hand and over slacke in taking order with the workmen for the making and erecting of NERO and DRIVS Statues, who were \*CESARS brethren, hee had like to have beene remooved and put out of that honorable office: afterwards, as eyther anie stranger, or one of his own house informed ought against him, he was continually and fūndry manner of wayes

\*A Capreus:  
See Tiberius  
Nero Caesar.  
61. yel a Treas  
such as would  
play Base game  
and hide them-  
selves when  
they had done  
some unhappi-  
nells.

\*For whiles  
they sat or lean-  
ed upon pal-  
lets at their  
meat they put  
on their shoes.  
\*Caligula  
la.

waies molested. But when as the Conspiracie of LEPIDUS & GRATULIUS came to light, being sent among other Embassadors to cōgratulate CAIUS in the name of the City, hee was in iopardy of his very life: whiles CAIUS chafed and fumed with great indignation, that his Vñkle chiefly of all others was sent unto him, as it were to governe a child: In so much, as some have not stuck to report on writing, that hee was turned also headlong into the river in his clothes and all as he came appaialed. From which time forward, never spake hee to any matter propoed in the Senate, but last of all those, that had beene Consuls, as being in reproachfull wife and to his disgrace asked his opinion after them all. There was received likewise against him the examination of a forged will, wherein himselfe also had bene a witnesse and put to his scale. Last of all, hee was forced to disburse eight millions of Sesterces for a fine or Income at his entrance into a new Priesthood: by occasion whereof, his estate being so much decayed, driven he was to those streights, that for his disability to keepe credit and satisfie the debt due unto the Chamber of the City by an (a) Edict of the Citie Treasurers according to the law *Predatoria* hee \*hung up to be sold in *vacuum*.

\*His lands and  
gonds were  
rented  
and so were  
published in  
table as void  
and vacant.

TO

Having passed the greatest part of his time in running thorough these and such like troubles, at length in the fiftieth yeere of age, hee attained to the Empire, and that by a strange and wonderfull hap. Being among others excluded by the Conspiratours that layed waite for CAIUS life, what time they voided all the Companie about his person, under a colour as if he desired to be a part himselfe alone in some by-place, this CLAUDIVS had stept aside and retired into a lodging or parlour called *Hermum*: And not long after, being affrighted at the rumour of that murder slyly crept forth and conveyed himselfe up into a Solar next adioyning, and there hid himselfe betwene the hangings that hung before the dore. Whiles hee lurked close there, a common Souldiour chauncing to runne too and fro that way, espied his feete, and by earnest enquire and asking who he was: hapned to take knowledge of him: who having drawne him forth of the place (when as for feare hee fell downe humbly at his feete and tooke hold of his knees) saluted him by the name of Emperour. From thence he brought him immediately to his other fellow Souldiours, who as yet stooode wavering and wist not what to doe but fare and fume. By them was he bestowed in a Lister: and for that his owne servants were fled scattering heere and there they also by turnes one after another supported the said Lister upon their shoulders: and so was he brought into the (*Pratorian*) Camp, all sad and amazed for feare: pitied also by the multitude that met him on the way; as if some innocent had beene haled to execution. Being received within the trench & rampire, lodged he was alnight among the souldiours watch with lesse hope of his a good deale than confidence. For the Consul together with the Senate and the cohorts of the citie-souldiours, seized the *Forū* & the Capitol with a purpose to claime & recover the cōmon libertie: and when himselfe was sent for, by a tribune of the commons into the *Curia* to sit in consultation & give his advice about those matters that were thought good to be propounded he made answer; *That detened he was perforce and by constraint*. But the next morrow, when as the Senate grewe more colde and slacke in following and

\*A gerres;

A.V.C. 754

P

executing

executing their foresaid proiects, (by reason of their tedious trouble and discord who dissented in opinion) whiles the multitude also standing round about, demanded by this time one Ruler & \*him by name, he called the Souldiours in \*armour to an assembly, and suffered them to take their oath of allegiance, and sweare to maintaine his imperiall dignity: therewith promised unto them \*1500 Sesterces a peece: the first of all the CÆSARS, that obliged unto him the Souldiours fealty by a fee and reward.

Having once established his Empire, hee thought nothing more deere and behovefull than to abolish the remembrance of those two daies, wherein there was some doubtfull question about the change and alteration of the State. Of all deedes and words therefore, which had passed during that time he made an Act there should be a generall pardon and perpetuall oblivion: which also hee made good and performed accordingly. Onely some few Colonels and Centurions, out of that crew which conspired against CÆTUS, he put to the sword: as well for example sake, as for that he had certain intelligence, they required to have him also murdered. Then presently turning and bending his minde to the duties of pietie and kindnesse, hee tooke up no forme of oath, either with more devout religion or oftener, than by the name of AUGUSTUS. He gave order, that for his Grandmother LIVIA, there should by Decree be graunted Divine honours; as also in the statly pompe of the Cirque Solemnities, a Chariot drawne with Elephants, like unto that of AUGUSTUS: Semblably, for the soules of his owne parents departed, publick Drges and Funerall feasts: and more than so, particularly in the honour of his father Cirque-Plaies and games every yeere upon his birth day: and in memoriall of his mother, a coach to be led and drawne along through the Cirque: and the surname of AUGUSTUS, which by his Grandmother was refused. In remembrance of his \*brother (to celebrate whose memoriall hee omitted no occasion) hee exhibited a Greeke Comædie at the solemne Games held in Naples: Where by sentence of the Vmpiers and Iudges he received a coronet therefore. Hee suffered not so much as M. ANTONIUS to passe unhonoured, nor without a thankfull mention and remembrance: protesting one time, and that by an Edict, *That so much the more earnest he was, to have men celebrate the Birth day of his father DRUSUS, because upon the same day, his Grandfather ANTONIUS also was borne.* The Marble Arch, decreed verily in times past by the Senate to be erected for TIBERIVS \*neere unto the Theater of POMPEIUS, but forlet, hee finished. And albeit hee abrogated and repealed all the Acts of CÆTUS, yet the day of his death, although it were the beginning of his Empire, he forbade to be registered among feasts in the Kalender.

But in honouring himselfe he was sparie, and caried a civile modestie. The fore name of Emperour he forbore: excessive honours hee refused: the \*E-spoitals of his owne daughter, the birth-day also of his Nephew her sonne, hee passed over in silence, onely celebrating it with some private ceremonie and religious complements within house. He restored no banished person, but by the authority and warrant of the Senate. That hee might bring with him into the Curia, the Capitaine of the Guard and \*Tribunes of the Souldiours: Item, that those Actes might bee ratified and stand in force, which his Procuratours had let downe in iudging of causes, hee obtained by intreatie.

He

He made suite unto the Consuls for a licence, to hold Faires and Markets, for his owne private Manors and Lands. In Commissions and Examinations of causes held by the Magistrates, he would oftentimes be personally present and sit as one of the Commissioners. To the same Magistrates, when they exhibited any Plaies or Games, himselfe also with the rest of the multitude would arise up, and both with \*hand and \*voice doe them honour. When the Tribunes of the Commons repaired unto him before the Front of his Tribunall, he excused himselfe unto them, for that by reason of straight roome hee could not give audience unto them otherwise than standing upon their feete. Therefore, within a small time hee purchased so much love and favour, as that when newes came (to Rome) that forsaied and slaine hee was in his journey to *Offia*, the people in a great tumult and upore, fell to banning and cursing both the Souldiours as Traitors, and the Senate also as Paricides: neither ceased they thus to force against them, untill first one messenger, and then another, yea and soone after many more were produced by the Magistrates to the publick ROSTRA, who assured them that hee was alive and approached homeward.

Yet continued hee not for all this secured every way from the danger of secret practises and waile laying: but assailed hee was as well by private persons, as by whole factions and conspiracies, yea and sore troubled in the end with civill beirres. For there was a man, one of the Commons, taken about midnight and carried unto his bed-chamber with a dagger. Found there were likewise twaine of the Gentlemens degree, in the open streete with a flasse having \*a blade in it, and a Hunters wood-knife waiting for him: the one to assault his person when he was gone forth of the Theater: the other as hee sacrificed at the temple of *Mars*. Now there had conspired to make an insurrection and to alter the State, GALLUS ASIIVS and STATILIUS CORVINUS, the Nephewes of POLLIO and MESSALLA the Oratours, taking unto them for their Complices many of his owne freed-men and servants. As for civile warre, kindled it was and begun by FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS, Lieutenant generall of *Dalmatia*: but within five daies quenched cleane and suppressed; by reason that the Legions, which had chaunged their oath of allegiance, in remorce of conscience and touch of religion repented; after that upon signification given of a journey to their new Generall, neither the \*Eagles could beedight and trimmed, nor the militarie ensignes plucked up and removed.

To his first Consulship he bare foure more: of which, the two former jointe and immediately one after another: the rest ensuing, with some time betweene, to wit, each one in the fourth yeere: and as for the third, hee had no precedent for it in any other Prince, as being substituted in the void place of a Consul deceased. A precise Iusticer he was, ministering Iustice, both when hee was Consul, and also being out of that Office, most painfully; even upon the solemne daies instituted for him and his: yea, and otherwhiles upon the ancient festiual daies and such as were religious. He followed not alwaies the prescript rule of lawes, moderating either the rigour or the lenity of penalties, by equity & reason, according as he stood affected to a cause: for, both unto those he restored their actions & gave leave to comenle the new, who in the Court

P 2

before

\*Clandius.  
\*Armatus, or  
armatus, him-  
selfe armed.  
\*Quædam de  
Sextina, See  
Iosephus.

II

\*Germanicus.

\*His Vagle

12

\*Or solemnity  
of nuptiall con-  
tract.

\*Cohorts.

\*By applaus  
and acclama-  
tion.

\*Some call this  
a Jacobs staffe.

\*Ominous &  
unlucky figure.

A.V.C. 794  
795  
800  
804

\* Of private  
masters, as  
Prisoners and  
Captivites.

before private \* Iudges had once lost their suites, by claiming more than was due: and also, such as were convict of some greater deceit and coumage, he condemned to be cast unto wilde beasts: exceeding therein the ordinarie punishment by law appointed.

15

Moreover, in the examination, trial, and deciding of controversies, he was wonderous variable: one while circumspect, wary, and of great insight: other-whiles as rash and inconsiderate: now and then also foolish, vaine, and like to one without all reason. When he reviewed upon a time the Decuries of Iudges, and put whom hee thought good from their Iurisdiction: one of them, who had answered to his name, and concealed the immunity and privilege that he had by the benefit of children, he discharged quite, as a man desirous \* to be a Iudge. Another of them being molested and called into question by his adversaries before him, as touching a matter betweene him and them, and pleading withall for himselfe, That it was a case to be tried not extraordinarily (by CÆSAR) but by the common course of Law, and in an ordinary Court of deputed Iudges: he compelled immediately to handle & decide his owne cause before him: as who in his proper businesse should give prooffe how indifferent a Iudge he would be hereafter in the matter of another. There was a woman that would not acknowledge her owne sonne. Now, when by evidencund arguments alledged *pro et contra* on both sides: the question rested in eyes, a

\* And therefore,  
ambitious.

\* The plaintiffe  
himselfe.

balance doubtfull; he awarded, *that she should be wedded to the young \* man*: and so forced her to confesse the truth and to take him for her child. Most ready he was to give iudgement on their side, who made appearance in Court when their adversaries were absent: without any respect and consideration, whether a man slackt and staid by his owne default, or upon some necessitie: One cried out upon a forger of writings, and required, *That both his hands might be cut off*. Hee made no more a doe, but forthwith called instantly, to have the hangman sent for, with his chopping knife and butchers block, to do the deed. There hapned one to be called iudicially to the barre, *For that being a forainer he bare himselfe as a Romaine Citizen*: and when the advocates of both sides grew to some little variance about this circumstance, namely, *Whether the party De-*

\* As a Citizen  
of Rome,

\* As a forainer

*pendant ought to make his answer and plead his owne cause in a gowne \* or a cloak?* he then, as if hee would make exceeding shew of pure and uncorrupt equitie, commaunded him to shift and change his habite often in the place, according as he was either accused or defended. Moreover, sitting in iudgement to decide a certaine controversie, When he had heard what could be said, hee pronounced sentence out of a written table, as it is verily thought; to this effect, *That hee iudged on their side, who had alledged the truth*. For which pranks hee became base and contemptible, in so much as every where, and openly he was despised. One, to excuse a \* witnesse, whom CÆSAR \* had called for out of a Province, alledged in his behalfe, and said, *Hee could not possibly come in time and be present, dissembling the cause thereof a great while*: at length, after manie long demands, *what the reason might be?* Why, quoth hee, *the man is dead at PYTHEOLI*. Another when hee gave him thanks, for suffering a person accused to have the benefite of a triall and to be defended, added more-over these wordes, *And yet this is an usuall and ordinarie thing.*

\* Or deponent  
\* Claudius.

Further-

Furthermore, I my selfe have heard olde folke say, That these Lawyers and Barristers were wont to abuse his patience so much, that as hee was going downe from the \* Tribunail, they would not only call upon him to come backe againe, but also take hold of his gowne lappet and skirt, yea and other-while catch him fast by the foote, and so hold him still with them. And that no man need to mervail heereat, there was one of these Greeke Lawyers, who pleading before him, hapned in earnest altercation to let fall these wordes, *Kai ou ypeov ei xai puoθy, i. Thou art both old, and asfoole besides*. And verily it is for certain knowne, that a Gentleman of Rome, accused before him for his obscene filthinesse and unnaturall abuse of women, (although untruly) as having an entiment framed against him by his enemies that were mighty: when he saw common strumpets cited and their depositions heard against him, flung his writing Steele and the bookes which he had in his hand, with great upbraiding of him also for his foolishnesse and cruelty, even at his very face, so as he rippled and hurt therewith his cheekes not a little.

\* Or iudges  
ment seat.

He bare also the Censureship: an office that a long time had beene discontinued, after PAULUS and PLANCUS the Censours: but even this very place he held with an uneven hand and as variable a minde, as the event and successe ensuing. In the review taken of Romaine Gentlemen, hee dismissed without shame and disgrace, a young man charged with many infamous villanies, howbeit one whom his owne father testified upon his knowledge and triall to bee right honest: saying withall, *That he had a Censor of his owne*. To another youth, who was in a very bad name for spoiling of maidens, and adulteries committed with wives, hee did no more but give warning, *Either more sparingly to pena him*

16

A.V.C. 800  
8<sup>th</sup> Oct.

*sette in these young and tender yeeres of his, or else more warily at least-wise, to goe to worke*: adding thus much beside. *For why know I*, quoth hee, *what wench thou keepest?* And when upon the intreaty of his familiar friends hee had taken of the infamous note which was set upon the name of one, Well, quoth he, *let the blot yet remaine still to be scene*. An honourable man and a principall personage of the Province Greece, howbeit ignorant in the Latine tongue, hee not only raised out of the ranke & roll of Iudges, but also deprived of his freedom in Rome, and made him a meere alien. Neither suffred hee any man to render an account of his life, otherwise than with his owne mouth, as well as every one was able, and without a patrone to speake for him. Hee noted many with disgrace, and some of them without their knowledge, as mistrusting no such thing: yea, and for a matter that had no precedent, namely, because without his privy and a passport obtained they went forth of Italy: one also among the rest, for that in the Province hee accompanied a king in his traine: alledging for example, That in his Ancestours daies RABIRIVS POSTUMUS for following of K. P. ROMEOUS into Alexandria to save & recover the monie which hee had lent him, was accused before the Iudges, of Treason to the State. Having assaied to put many more to rebuke with great imputation of the Inquisitors negligence, but with greater shame of his owne: looke whomsoever hee charged with single \* life, with childlesse estate or poverty, those lightly hee found guiltlesse; as who were able to prove themselves husbands, fathers, and wealthy. Certes, one there was, who being accused to have laied violent hands upon himselfe, and wounded his owne body with a sword, tript himselfe naked, and shewed

\* For these  
matters would  
beare action

the same whole and sound, without any harme in the world. Many other Acts he did of speciall note whiles he was Censour as namely these; He commaunded a silver Chariot sumptuously wrought and set out to sale in the streete *Sigillaria*, for to be bought and broken all to peeces openly. Item, in one day he published 20 Edicts or Proclamations: and iij among the rest: In the one whereof hee gave the people warning, *That when their Vineyards bare Grapes plentifully, they should pick their vssels very well within: in the other, he did them to understand, That there was nothing so good against the sting of a Viper, as the juice of the Fig tree.*

\* Or enuile:

17

One expedition and no more hee undertooke, and that was very small. When the Senate had by Decree allowed him Triumphall ornaments, hee supposing that a bare title of honour was inferior to the maiestie of a Prince and Emperour, willing also to enterprife some exploit, whereby he might win the due glorie of a completer triumph, made choise before all other Provinces of *Britaine*; attempted by none since *Iulius Cæsar* of famous memorie, and at that time in a tumultuous uprore, for that certaine revolts and rebels fled from thence, were not rendered. As he failed from *Ostia* thitherward, twice had he like to have bene cast away and drowned, by reason of the strong blustering Southerne winde *Circius*, neere unto *Liguria*, hard by the Ilands (*a*) *Storchades*. Having therefore travailed by land, From *Masiles* as farre as to the *Cape \* Gesseriaceum*, he crossed the seas fro thence into *Britaine*: and in very few daies, without battaile or bloushed, part of the land yielded to his devotion. So, in the sixth moneth after his first setting forth hee returned to *Rome*, and triumphed with most sumptuous pompe therefore prepared. To the sight of which Solemnitie, hee suffred not onely the Presidents and Governours of Provinces to have recourse into the Citie, but also certaine banished persons. And among the enemies Spoiles, hee set up a navall Coronet, and fastened it to the Finial of his house Palatine, hard by another civick guirland, in token and memoriall of the Ocean by him failed over and subdued. After his triumphant Chariot rode *Messallina* his wife in a Coach: then followed those gallants also \*, who in the same warre had attained to triumphall ornaments: the rest went on foote and in their rich robes garded with purple: onely *Crassus Frugi* mounted upon a brave Courler trimly trapped, and arraigned himselfe in a triumphant mande of estate, for that now twice hee had achieved that honour.

18

Hee was at all times most carefull and provident for the \* Citie, especially that the market might bee well served with victuals: what time, the *Æmilian Edifices* (or Tenements) were on fire and continued still burning, hee remained two nights together in the place called *Dribitorium*: and when the multitude of Souldiours and houtholde servants failed, hee called together by means of the Magistrates, the Commons of the Citie out of all the streetes and Parishes to come in and helpe, setting before him his chests full of money: exhorting them to doe their best for the quenching of the fire: and readie for to pay presently every one a good reward according to the paines hee tooke. Now, when come and victuals were growne very scarce, (such was the continuall unseasonable weather that brought barrainnesse) hee was upon

\* Where Calais standeth, or Bellen, as Iom thinke.

\* 16 Accord. dine. to Dio. A.V.C. 797

\* Mounted likewise.

\* Whensoever you read in Swimmer (Civ.) absolutely, undisturbed the by Rome: K. etc. others: as one would say, The City or all Cities: A. ordinarie phrase in other Roman writers: according as Virgil hath fully expressed in this verse. *Elog. 1. Frenum quem dicunt, Romanos, etc.*

pon a time in the middes of the \* market place detained by the multitude and so assayed and pelled what with reviling taunts & what with peeces of broken bread, that hardly & with much adoe he was able to escape, and no otherwise than by a posterne gate, unto the Pallace. Whereupon he devised all the means he possibly could to bring into the Citie provision of come & victuals, even in the winter season. For, he not onely propoed certaine set gaines to all come-masters, that would venture for graine, undertaking himselfe to beare all the losse that should happen unto any of them by tempest: but ordained also great fees and avails for those that would build ships for such traffique and merchandise, according to the condition and quality of each one. Namely for everie Romane Citizen exemption from the lawe *Papia Poppæa*: For enfranchised latines, the freedom of Romane Citizens: and for womē, the priviledge and benefit of those that had 4. children, which constitutions stand in force and be observed at this day.

\* Or Person.

20

Many works he finished, and those rather for greatnesse, huge; then for use, needfull. But the chiefe and principall were these: The conduit of water begun by *Catius*. Item a \* cluse to let out and draine the lake *Fucinus*; and the \* haven at *Ostia*: although he knew well enough, that the one (of the twaine) *Augustus* had denied unto the *Martians* who continually entreated him about it: and the \* other intended oftentimes in the designment of *Iulius Cæsar* of sacred memorie, was for the difficultie thereof layde aside. The two colde & plentiful \* fountaines of the water *Claudia*, of which the one beareth the name of *Cæculus*, the other of *Curtius* or *Albucinus*, as also the \* new river of *Anio* he conveyed and brought to *Rome* all the way, within stone-work: and then derived and devided the same into many and those right beautifull pooles. He went in hand with the mere *Ficinus* in hope of gaine as well as of glorie: when some there were, who would have bound themselves in covenant and promise, to draine the sayd marsh at their owne private charges, in case the grounds being once made drie might be granted unto them in free-hold. Now, for the length of three miles, partly by digging through the hill, and partly by hewing out the rocke before him, hee finished the channell at last with much adoe and after eleven yeares labour: albeit thirty thousand men were at worke continually about it and neuer rested between. The *Pere* at *Ostia* before sayd he made, by drawing an arme of the sea about, on the left and right hand both: and with all, at the mouth and entrance thereof, where now the ground lay deepe, raising an huge dam or pile against it. For the surer foundation of which pile, hee drowned before hand that ship, wherein the great Obelisk had bene transported out of *Egypt*: and when hee had supported it with buttresses of many stones, hee planted aloft upon the same an exceeding high watch-towre to the patterne of that *Pharus* at *Alexandria*, to the end that by the fires burning there, in the night season, vessels at sea might direct their course.

\* Or Cott, \* Or Pore, \* The drawing of the lake Fucinus

\* Altemani, the Port at Ostia, But because there is no mention made in *Iulius Cæsar* of this *Pere* or haven, some read for *Alerius* in this place *Ceterum* and then the word *Alerius* is exact to the second works of this *Pere*, denied unto the *Martians* &c. *Ceterum* is, but intended oftentimes in the designment of *Lucius*, &c.\* Or heads: \* *Nomi animi*, some read *non opere* i. within new stone-work \* Or Citizenes

Hee dealt often among the people great doles and Congiaries. Manie shewes and games likewise hee exhibited, and those magnificent: not such onely as were usuall and in accustomed places: but those that

P 4

were



were, both newly devised and also brought into use againe, whereas they had of auncient time bene discontinued: yea and where no man else before him had ever set forth anie. The games for the dedication of POMPEIUS Theatre, which \*being halfe burnt hee had redified. he gave a signall to begin from out of his \*Tribunall erected in the Orchestra: seeing that before time, when hee had sacrificed and done his devotions in the houses above and came downe from thence through the mids of the Theatre and assembly, not one would once arise and give applause, but sat still and kept silence. He set out also the \*Secular games and plays, as if they had bene exhibited by AUGUSTUS over soone, and not referred unto their full and due time: and yet himselfe in his owne histories writeth, *That whereas the sayd solemnities had bene interrupted, AUGUSTUS long after by a most exact calculation of the yeeres reduced them into order againe.* By occasion whereof, *The voice of the cryer was then ridiculous and laughed at,* when after the soleinne manner he called the people, *To behold those games and plays, which no man had once scene aerie, or should ever see againe:* Whereas there survived yet many who had seene them before: yea and some of the adours, who in times past had bene produced, were then likewise brought forth upon the stage. \* Oftentimes also he represented the Circenian games in the vaticane, and otherwhiles after every 5. \* courses hee brought in the baiting of wild beastes. But in the greatest Cirque of all which was beautified with barr-gates of marble stone and goales all guilded (whereas before time they had bene made of soft sand-stone and wood,) hee appointed proper and peculiar places for the Senators, who had wont before time to behold the same sports here and there. Beside the races for the prize of Chariots drawn with foure steeds. He represented also the warlike *Troie* pastime, & the baiting of Leopards: which the troupe of the Pretorian horse men slew, having for their leaders the Tribunes and the Captaine himselfe. Moreover, hee brought into the shewplace Thessalian men of armes, whose manner is to chafe about the cirque, wild buls; until they be tyred: then to mount them, and by the hornes to force them downe to the ground. As for shewes of sword-fencers, hee exhibited them in many places, and after divers and sundrie forts. One, that was kept every yeare within the *Prætorian* camp, without anie baiting and sumptuous provision of furniture. As for that, which was ordred set out and formally with baiting and other preparations in Mars field at *Septis*: in the same place likewise, another extraordinary one and of short continuance, which he began to call *Sportula*, because he proclaimed at first when he exhibited it, *That he invited the people thereto, as it were to a sodaine supper and short pittance, such as men use to buy themselves unto.* And in no kind of sport or gaming represented unto them, was he more civile, familiar and better disposed to passe the time away: in so much as putting forth his left hand, he together with the commou fort, would both by word of mouth tell, and with his fingers also number the peeces of gold as he tendred them unto the winners; and many a time by way of exhortation and entreaty provoke the people to mirth; ever and anon calling them Sirs: yea, and betwene whites intermingling bald, and far fetcht jests. As for example, when the people called for one (a) \* P. A. L. U. M. U. S. to play his prizes, *hee promised to let them have him, if he were once caught.* This also was but a simple plaine jest although to good purpose and in season

\*For, the stage therot was consumed wth fire  
\*Or least of Rate,

\*Which were solemnities d. once in three yeares  
\*Of Chariot running,

\*Of Chariot running,

\*Or, my maister's Damocles  
\*The same of atenter,

season delivered: when he had by a special indulgence, granted unto a Champion who fought out of a British chariot, (for whom his foure children made earnest suite and entreaty) *That he should be freed from that profession of sword-fights; and that with the great favour and liking of all men, he sent presently an admonition in writing: wherein he advertised the people, How much they should endeavour to get children, seeing as they did, in what good stead they served, and how they procured grace even unto a very sword-fencer.* He represented also in Mars field a warlike shew of the winning and lacking of a towne: Likewise the yielding of the Princes of Brittaines where hee had himselfe as president in his rich Coat-armour. When he was about to let out the water of the \* mere: *Ficimus*, he exhibited in it a navall fight before: And as they who were to fight this battaile, cried out unto him, *Ave Imperator, &c. i. All hail O Emperour; They salute thee and wish thy life who are ready to dye:* and he againe made answer, *Ave te vos.* After which word given, as if he had pardoned them this skirmish, there was not one of them would fight: he, sitting a good while in doubt and suspence with himselfe, whether he should destroy them all with fire and sword at length leapt forth of his throne, and running to and fro about the circuit of the sayd lake (not without feble faltering of his legs under him) partly with threats, and in part by way of exhortation constrained them to skirmish. At this brave shew, the Sicilian and Rhodian fleets encountered cyther of them consisting of twelve gallies ruled with three ranks of oares a peece. To give the signal of battaile, there was a \* Triton of Syluer arising out of the mids of the lake by a fabrick artificially devised, to sound the trumpet and set them together.

\*Or Lake  
\*This Verbe (Ave) signifies hithere, here, well or adieu.  
\*But the four directions continued sense for theyr owne sutes, as they had used it before in saluting him) All hail eye a fo  
\*Dare exortum, I me read uns devicants iag, and out of Dab, 1.50  
\*Refrenbling  
\*Spurres  
\*Trumpettes

## 22

Certaine pointes about religious Ceremonies, touching the st. like-wile of civill and militarie affaires, as also concerning all degrees of persons both at home and abroad. he cyther reformed, or after long disuse forgotten, brought into practise againe, or els instituted and ordained new. In the election and admission of Priests throughout their severall Colledges, hee nominated not one but he tooke his oath first. He observed also precisely that so often as there was an Earthquake in the Citie, the Pretour for the time being should call a publike assembly, of the people and proclaim certain holydaies: Semblably, that upon the prodigious sight of an unlucky \* foule in the Capitol, there should be held a soleinne procession and supplication: wherein himselfe personally in the right of *High priest* after warning given unto the people from the *Refra*, did read & pronounce a forme of prayers: & they lay after him. But from this congregation hee sequestred & removed the base multitude of mechanicall labourers and slaves.

\*Whether it were an Owle, or the bird named Incedit. See Dion, lib. 10. cap. 13. & 14.

## 23

The handling of causes and iudiciall pleading in Courts, devised before time into certaine moneths for winter and summer, he conioyned altogether. The iurisdiction as touching feoffments upon trust which was wont yeere by yeere, and onely within the Citie to bee committed unto the magistrates, hee ordained to hold by patent for ever: and betooke the charge thereof unto the rulers and governours also of state in every province. That \* branch annexed to the lawe *Papia* (a) *Poppæa*, which emplyeth thus much, That men

\*That a Woman under 10. yeares of age, should not be wedded to a man that was three score



\*Edictis abrogatis.

\*Gratias: that men threecore yeeres olde, might many women under five.

\*Ward: under age.

\*Licet: to be abient a time from Rome.

threecore yeeres of age are disabled for generation, he\* altered by an\* edict. He ordeined that unto \*Pupils, the Consuls should extraordinarily appoint Tutors and Guardians. That they also who by the head-Magistrates were forbidden to make abode within any provinces, should bee debarred likewise from the Citie of Rome and Italia. Himselfe confined some after a strange fashion and without any precedent, inhibiting them to depart above three miles from the City. When he was to treat of any great affaire in the Curia, his manner was to sit in the Tribunes pue just in the midst betweene the Consuls chaires. As for \*passports which the Consuls were wont to be sued unto for, he would have the Citizens to bee beholden unto himselfe onely therefore, and to crave the same at his hands.

24

The badges and ornaments belonging unto the Consuls he granted unto the \*Ducenarie Procuratours and Seneschals of Provinces. From as manie as refused the honorable dignitie of Senators; he tooke away also the worship of the gentlemen degree. The right to weare the \*Laticlave, (although hee promised at first not to chuse anie one Senator who could not reckon 4. lineall descents from a Citizen of Rome,) he allowed also to a libertines sonne: but with this condition, if he were adopted before by a Gentleman of Rome. And fearing for all that, lest he should be blamed, he proved and shewed, That evē APPIUS CÆCUS the cheife cunctour and Author of his owne race, being Cenfor, elected and admitted into the Senate the sonnes of Libertines: ignorant as hee was, that in the dayes of the sayde APPIVS, and in the times long after ensuing, those were called Libertines, not onely who themselves were manumised and enfranchised, but such also, as were free borne of their progeny. The Colledge of Questours, in steede of pausing the streets and high wayes he enioyned to exhibit a game or shew of sword-fencers: and in the lieu of the Provinces, Ostia and \*gaule which he tooke from them hee restored the charge of the publike Treasure in the temple of Saturne; which office in the meane space \*betweene, the Pretours for the time being, or those verely who had been Pretours before had borne. VINTO SILANVS espoused and betrothed unto his daughter, before he was undergrowen and 14. yeeres of age hee granted triumphall ornaments: but of elder persons to so many, as there is an Epistle extant written in the common name of the Legions wherein they make petition, That unto the Consuls Lieutenants there might be granted together with the conduct of the armie, the sayde triumphall honours: to the end that they should picke quarrels and seek occasions of warre, they cared not how nor what way? Moreover to A. PLANTIVS he gave by a decree the pety triumph Ovatio: and as he entred so into the Citie himselfe met him upon the waie: and both when he went into the Capitoll & returned also from thence againe, gave him the better hand. VINTO GABINIUS SECUNDUS, who had vanquished the Cauca nation in Germanie, he permitted and gave leave to assume the surname CAUCIVS in his style.

25

The horsemens service and their places he ordered so by degrees, as that after the charge of a cohort, he granted the leading of a wing: and after the command thereof, the Tribuneship or regiment of a Legion: he ordeined their stipends also and a kind of imaginary warefare called *Supra-Numerum* (which they

\*Latus clavi: that he gave him the right hand, and went on his left side, as the Emperour

they that were abient might execute) and in name or title onely. By vertue of a decree that passed even from the Nobles them selues, he prohibited all soulidours professed, to enter into any Senators houses for to do their dutie and salute them. Those Libertines who bare them selues for Romane gentlemen he caused to forfeit their goods and bodies to the state. Such of them as were unthankfull and of whom their patrons complained, he deprived of freedom and made them bound againe: Yea and denied unto their advocates, for to heare any plea and to sit in judgment against their owne freed men. When some Masters there were, that put forth their sick & diseased slaves into the Isle of \*Aesculapius, for to avoid the tedious trouble of their cures at home, he made an act and ordeined, That all such slaves should be free and not returne againe into the hands of their Masters, in case they ever recovered: and if anie Master chose to kill them outright, rather then thus to put them forth, they should be guilty of murder. He gave warning by an edict, that no waiting men should travell through anie towne in Italia, but either on foot or (a) borne in a chaire, or els carried in a litter. In Puteoli and in Ostia he placed severall cohorts, to put by all mischances of skare-fires. He forbade all persons by condition aliens and forrainers, to take upon them Romane names; those I meane onely that distinguished houses and families. As manie of them as usurped the freedome of Rome-Citie he beheaded in the \*Esquiline fildes. The two provinces Achaia and Macedonia, which TIBERIUS (the Emperour) had appropriated to \*himselfe, hee yeilded up againe into the hands and dispose of the Senate. The Lucians hee deprived of their freedome, by occasion of the mortall discord and variance among them. To the Rhodians, who repented for their olde trespasses hee restored their libertie which they had lost. Hee forgave all tributes to the Ilienjes for ever, as to the first founders and stocke-fathers of the Romane Nation: And to that purpose hee read an olde letter in Greeke written unto K. SELEUCUS by the Senate and people of ROME: wherein they, promised to entertaine amitie and league with him upon this condition, that hee would graunt unto the Ilienjes, their naturall kinsfolke, immunitie from all taxes and tributes. \*The (b) Iewes who by the instigation of one CHRISTUS were evermore tumultuous, he banished ROME. The Embassadors of the GERMANES hee permitted to sit in the (c) Orchestra (with the Senators) beeing moved so to doe at their simplicitie and confident boldnesse for that beeing brought into the (d) Popularia and perceiving PARTHIANS and ARMENIANS sitting among the Senators, they of their owne accord had removed and passed to that quarter: giving out these words withall, that their valour and condition of estate was nothing inferiour to the others. The religion of the Druidae among the French-men, practising horrible and detestable cruelty and which under AUGUSTUS, Romane Citizens onely were forbidden to professe and use, hee quite put downe and abolished. Contrariwise, the sacred rites and holy Ceremonies (of CERES) called Eleusina, hee attempted to transference out of the Territorie Attica to ROME. The Temple likewise of VENUS (e) Erycine in Sicilie, which in continuance of time was decayed and fallen downe, hee caused to bee repared and built againe at the common charges of the people of ROME: Hee made Covenants and league with forraigne Kings

Otherwise called Tiberius.

\*Without the gave Esquiline, \*And his laces: flowers.

\*This (some thinke is to be understood of) Christians who we find in the Ecclesiast call writers to bee manumised by the Emperour. Infidel, Christians, like as Christians, in Ikoniac.

\*Forc.  
\*Or Facials.  
See Live Lib.

Kings, by the complements of killing a \*fowe in the *Forum*, and using withall the lentence or preface that the \*Heraulds in old time pronounced: But both these affaires and others besides, the whole Empire also in a manner or a great part thereof he managed not so much after his owne minde, as by the direction and wil of his Wives and children: being verely affected and framed for the most part fo, as stood eyther with their profit or good pleasure.

26

When he was a very youth, he had espoused two maidens, namely *ARISTIA LEPIDA* neice to *AUGUSTUS* once removed, likewise *LIVIA MEDULLINA*, surnamed also *CAMILLA*, a Ladie descended fro the auncient house of *Camilius* the Dictatour. The former of these twaine, because her parents had offended *AUGUSTUS* he cast off remaining as yet a Virgin: the latter, hee lost by occasion of sicknesse, upon that very day which was appointed for the marriage. After this, he wedded these wives, to wit, *PLAUTIA HERCULANILLA*, whose father had triumphed; and not long after, *ARISTIA PETINA*, whose father had beene Consul. Both these he divorced. *PETINA* upon light offenses and small displeasures: marry, *HERCULANILLA* he put away for her filthy lust and whorish life; as also for suspicion of a murder. After these he tooke to wife *VALERIA MESSALLINA*, the daughter of *BAREATUS MESSALLA* his cousin german: whom when hee found once, over and beside the rest of her abominable vices & dishonesties, to have been wedded to *C. SILIUS*, and that with a dourie assured unto her and signed among the

\*Or: \*Tigian:  
li.

A.V.C. 804

\*Whies she  
was Emperre  
& wife to  
Clavdivs.  
\*The hands  
Eiters or mas  
kers of the  
marriage.

\*His owne  
neice

\*With their  
brothers or  
sisters daughter.

*Auspices*, he put to death. And in a speech that he made openly before his Pretorian Souldiours, *avowed that because his marriages proved so bad, he resolved to remaine unmarried and live a single life: and if he did not continue so far ever, hee would not refuse to be stabbed by their very hands.* Neither could he endure, but forthwith treat upon conditions of marriage even with *PETINA*, whom long before hee had put away: yea and with *LOLLIA PAVLINIA* wife some time to *C. CÆSAR*. But through the enticing allurements of *AGRIPPINA*, the daughter of *GERMANICUS* his owne brother what by the meanes of killing courtiesies, what by the opportunities of other dalliances, being drawn into love and fancie with her, at the next Session of Senate hee subborned certaine of purpose to opine and give aduise, *To compell him for to make her his wife, as being a matter of right great consequence, and which most of all concerned the State: That other men also might be dispensed with and licenced to contract the like \* marriages which until that time were reputed incestuous.* And so, himselfe staid hardly one day between, before hee dispatched the wedding: but none were found that followed the precedent, except one libertine & another who had been a principal Centurion in the formost Cohort, at whose marriage even himself in person together with *AGRIPPINA* was present to do him credite and honor.

27

Children he begat of 3. wives. By *HERCULANILLA* he had *DRUSUS* and *CLAUDIA*: By *PETINA* he was father of *ANTONIA*: and *MESSALLINA* bare unto him *OCTAVIA* and a son, whom first he named *GERMANICUS* and afterwards *BRITANNICUS*. As for *DRUSUS*, he lost him at \**Pompeij*, before he was 14. yeares of age by occasion that he was choaked with a peare which

\*Pompeij im:  
poberra angit.

which in play and pastime beeing tossed aloft into the aire, fell iust into his mouth as he gaped wide for it: unto whom also but few daies before, hee had affianced in marriage the daughter of *SEIANUS*: which maketh mee more to marvelle that some have written, hee was treacherously killed by *SEIANUS*. His (supposed) daughter *CLAUDIA*, who in deede was conceived by his freed man *BOTER*, although shee was borne before the fifth moneth after the di-  
A.V.C. 773  
uorfe, and began to be nourced and reared, yet hee commaunded to be laid at her mothers dore and sturke naked to be cast forth. *ANTONIA* his daughter, he gave in marriage to *CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS*: afterwards to *FAUSTUS SULLA* a right noble yong Gentleman: & *OCTAVIA* he bestowed upon *NERO* \* his wives sonne, notwithstanding she had been promised, & betrothed before unto *SILANUS*. His sonne *BRITANNICUS*, whom *MESSALLINA* bare  
A.V.C. 806  
unto him the twentieth day after he came to the Empire & in his second Consulship, being yet a very babe he recommended continually both to the Souldiours in open assembly, dandling him in his owne hands, and also to the common people at the solemnities of games and plaies, holding him either in his bosome or iust before him, whilst the multitude with great acclamations, all good words and fortunate ofies seconded him. Of his sonnes in Law who matched with his daughters, he adopted *NERO*: *POMPEIUS* and *SILANUS* he  
A.V.C. 103  
not onely cast off and reiected but murdered also.

28

Of all his freed men hee esteemed especially *POSIDES* the \* Eunuch, unto whom also in his triumph over *Britaine*, among martiall men and valiant Souldiours, he gave a speare \* without anyron head: and no lesse account made he of \* *FELIX*: whom first he ordained Capitaine over the Cohorts & Cornets of Horfemen, yea and ruler of the Province *Iurie*; the husband (a) of three Queenes. As also of *HARPOCRAS*, unto whom hee graunted a priviledge to be caried in a Litter through the Citie of *Rome*, and to set out (b) Games and Plaies in publick: And besides these, hee affected with much respect *POLYBUS* the guide and directour to him in his Studies, who oftentimes would walke cheeke by iole betwene the two Consuls. But above all these, he held in greatest esteeme, *NARCISSE* his Secretarie or enditer of Epistles, and *PALLAS* the Keeper of his bookes of accounts: whom by vertue of a Decree also which went from the Senate, he suffered willingly to be not onely rewarded with rich Fees, but also to be adorned with the Honours of Questore and Pretureship: likewise to get, to pill and poll by hooke and crooke so much, as that when himselfe complained upon a time how little treasure hee had in his Coffers, one made answere unto him not absurdly, *That hee might have store enough and plenty, in case his two \* freed men would admit him to share with them.*

\* Narcissus and  
Pallias.

29

To these (freed men) and to his wives as I said before, being wholly addicted and enthralled, hee bare himselfe not as an absolute Prince, but as their (a) Minister and Servitour. According as it was behoovefull and commodious to any of these, or stoode with their affection and pleasure, hee graunted honourable dignities, conferred the conducts of Armies, and awarded impunities and punishments: yea, and for the most part, I assure you when himselfe was altogether ignorant and witt not what hee did. And not to reckon

\* *Confecrum* :  
to called for  
that their chil-  
dren married to  
gether & such  
with us, name  
one another  
brethren  
\* The source of  
Tiberius  
\* who is called  
also Livilla  
A, V, C 801.

\* *Tacitus* writ-  
eth, that hee  
killed himselfe  
upon that day.

reckon up particularly, every small thing, to wit, his liberalities and gifts revoked, his judgements reversed, his Patents & Writings concerning the graunts of Offices either foisted in or plainly altered and changed by them: hee slew his brother (a) *APPIUS SILANUS*, the iij *LIVIE*, the one daughter of \* *DRUSUS*, and the other of \* *GERMANICUS* upon bare imputation of a crime, without any ground: not allowing them so much as lawfull triall and libertie to plead in their owne defence: likewise *CN. POMPEIUS*, husband to his elder daughter, and *LUCIUS SILANUS* espoused to the other, (and all through their suggestion and informations). Of which, *POMPEIUS* was stabbed even as he lay in bed with a beloved youth and Catamite of his: *SILANUS* was forced to resigne up his Pretureship foure daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, and to \* loose his life in the beginning of the yeere on the very wedding day of *CLAUDIUS* and *AGRIPPINA*. To the execution of 35 Senators, and above an hundred Romaine Gentlemen so easily was hee induced, as that, when the Centurie brought word backe, as touching the death of one who had beene Confull, saying, *That the deede was done which he had commanded*, he flatly denied, that he gave any such warrant. Nevertheless the thing he allowed: whiles his freed men afore-said standing by, avouched, *That the Souldiours had done their devoir, in that they ran willingly of their owne heads, to revenge their Emperour*. For, it would be thought incredible if I should relate, How even for the very marriage of *MESSALINA* with the Adulterer *SILIUS*: his own selfe sealed the Writings for assurance of the Dowrie, being perswaded and brought thereunto, as though the said wedding was but colourably, of purpose pretended to avert forsooth and translate the danger, that by certaine prodigies were portended to hang over his owne head. 30

Right personable hee was, and caried a pefence not without authoritie and maiestie, whether he stood or sat; but especially when he was laid and tooke his repose. For, of stature hee was tall, and nathlesse his body not lanke and slender. His countenancelively, his gray haire beautifull, which became him well, with a good fat and round neck under them. Howbeit, both as he went his hams being feeble failed him: and also whiles he was doing ought, were it remissely or in earnest, many thinges disgraced him: to wit, undecet laughter and unseemly anger, by reason, that hee would froth and slaver at the mouth, and had evermore his nose dropping: Besides, his tongue stutted and stammered: his head likewise at all times, but especially if he did any thing were it never so little used to shake and tremble very much.

31

Concerning his bodily health, as before time he used to be grievously sick, so being once Emperour exceeding healthfull he was and stood cleere of all diseases save onely the paine of the (a) stomack: in a fit whereof hee saide, hee thought to have killed himselfe.

32

Hee made feasts, and those very great and ordinarily; yea, and in most open and large places, such as for the most part would receive fixe hundred guests at one sitting. Hee feasted also even upon the Sluce of the Lake *FAVINUS*: what time hee had like to have beene drowned, when as the water let out with a forcible violence refloved backe againe. At everie supper his

his manner was to have also his owne children, who together with other noble mens children as well boyes as girles, should after the olde manner sit and feede at the tables \* feete. One of his guests, who was thought to have close-  
lie stolen away a cup of gold the day before, hee reinvited against the morrow: and then he let before him a stone \* pot to drinke in. It is reported moreover, that he meant to set forth an Edict, wherein he would give folke leave to breake winde downward and let it goe (a) even with a crack at the very bound; having certaine intelligence, that there was one who for manners and modestie sake, by holding it in, endaugered his owne life.

33

For appetite to meate and drinke his stomacke served him passing well alwaies, and in every place. Sitting upon a time iudicially in *AUGUSTUS* Hall of Iustice, to heare and determine causes, and sending there the steime of a dinner, that was a dressing and serving up for the Priests (a) *Sals* in the temple of \* *Mars* next adioyning, hee forooke the Tribunal, went up to the said Priests, and there fate downe with them to meate. Lightly you should never have him goe out of any dining roome, but with his belly strutting out, well whited al-  
to and drenched with wine: so, as straightwaies, whiles hee layd him downe along upon his backe and tooke a sleepe gaping, there was a feather put ordi-  
narily into his mouth wide open for to discharge his stomack. Hee tooke very short sleepes: for commonly before midnight hee awaked: yet so, as other-  
whiles he would catch a nap in the day time, as he sat to minister iustice: and scarcely could bee awakened by the Advocates at the barre, who of purpose raised their voices and pleaded the lowder. Hee was excessively given to the wanton love of women. As for the preposterous abuse of malckind, hee was altogether unacquainted therewith. Hee plaid at dice most earnestly (concerning the Art and skill whereof, hee published also a little booke) being wont to plie that game even whiles hee was caried up and downe, having his Carroch and Dice-board so fitted, as there might be no confusion nor shuffling at all in play.

That cruell he was and given to bloudshed naturally, appeared in great and very small matters. As for tortures used in examinations, and the punishments that (a) *PARICIDES* suffered, hee exhibited and exacted the same to be done without delay, and openly in his owne pefence. Being desirous upon a time to behold an execution performed after the auncient manner at *Tibur*, when as, (the malefactours standing bound already to a stake), there wanted the butcherly executioner to doe the feat; he staied there fill in the place, and waited untill evening, for one that was sent for out of *Rome*. At all Swordfights, whether they were set forth by himselfe, or by others, hee commanded as many of the Champions as chanced onely but to stumble and fall therewith, to have their throats cut: especially the Fencers called \* *Retiarii*; and why! because forsooth hee would see their faces as they lay gasping and yeelding up their breath. It fortuneth, that a couple of these fighting at sharpe wounded and kil-  
led one another: Thereupon hee commanded little knives to bee made of  
both their blades, for his owne proper use. Hee tooke such pleasure in  
those that \* fought (b) with wild beasts, as also in the sword fights ordinarily a-  
bout noone, that he would by breake of day goe downe to the Theater for to be-

\* Or at a Senate  
at the tables  
end:  
\* Or carban  
pot.

\* Revenger, St-  
mate seere to  
the Hall: for  
distinction of  
another Tem-  
ple, bearing  
that name, in  
the Capitoll  
mount.

34

\* The adversa  
faction to the  
Mistresses  
whom hee favo-  
red

\* Which com-  
bats were usu-  
ally in the  
morning:

Q2

hold

hold the one: *and at noone dismisst the people to their dinners, and sit it out himselfe to see the other: yea, and besides those that were appointed to such combats, upon any slight and suddaine occasion set some to fight for their lives, even out of the number of Carpenters, Servitors, & such like employed about these games: if happily any of those artificiall (c) motions that goe by vices, or a pageant \* in frame, or some such fabrick proved not well. Hee fetcht in also one of his owne \* Nomenclatours even in his gowne as he went \* to fight for his life.*

35

But it passed, how timorous and diffident hee was. At his first comming to the Empire; (how ever as we said before, he bragged and stood upon his civil and familiar behaviour) he durst not for certain daies goe to any feast, dinner or supper, without Pensioners standing about him with their speares and lavelins, and his Souldiours waiting at the table: neither visited hee any sicke person, unless the bed-chamber where the party lay, were first searched; the beds, bolsters, pillows, Coverlets and other cloathes were groped, felt, and thoroughly shaken before hand. All the time after, hee appointed evermore certain searchers for them all, that came to salute him, sparing not one; and such searchers as were most cruell. For, long it was first, and that with much ado, ere hee granted that women, young boyes in their embroidered coates, and maidens, should not be handled and felt in this manner: that any mans Attendants likewise or Clerks might not have their Penheathes and Penknives (a) taken from them. In a civile commotion, when CAMILLUS, (making no doubt but that without any warre at all hee might be terrified) willed him in a contumelious, menacing, and malapert letter, to resigne up the Empire, and to leade a quiet life in private estate, hee called his Nobles and chiefe personages about him, to counsell, and put to question, whether it were best to hearken unto him or no?

36

At the headlesse report and flying newes of some treason that should be practised against him, he was so affrighted, that hee went about to lay downe his Imperiall dignity. By occasion, that one (as I related before) was taken with a weapon upon him, about his person as hee sacrificed, in all haste he sent out the Bedels and called the Senate together: before whom, with teares and loud outcries hee bewailed his owne piteous case, as who no where could make account of any safety: and thereupon for a long time forbore to come abroad. His affectionate love also to MESSALLINA, most fervent though it were he renounced and cast cleane from her, not so much for any indignity of the dishonourable wrongs the offered unto him, as upon very feare of dangers: as fully perswaded that hee practised to bring the Empire into SILLIUS the Adulterers hands. At which time in a great fright he fled in shamefull manner to the camp, asking and enquiring all the way nothing else, but whether the Empire remained till safe to his behoofe?

37

There arose no suspition, there came forth no Author so light and vaine, but gave him a bone to gnaw upon, and put no small toyes in his head: where by he was forced to beware and seeke revenge. One of those, that had a matter depending in Court before him, taking him a side, when hee came by way of salutation

salutation to doe his duty, avowed unto him, that he dreamed, How hee was killed by one. Then within a while after, the same party, (as if he had now taken knowledge who that one was that should murder him) pointed unto his owne aduersarie, even as hee tendered a supplication unto CLAUDIUS; and said, This is he. Whereupon immediately apprehended he was, and haled to execution. After the semblable manner by report, came APPIUS SILANUS to his death. For, when MESSALLINA and NARCISSEUS had conspired to worke his overthrow and final destruction, they complotted thus, that NARCISSEUS betimes in a morning before day light rushed like a man amazed and astonished into the bedchamber of his Patrone (CLAUDIUS) relating unto him his dreame, namely that APPIUS had laid violent hands upon him: and MESSALLINA for her part, composing and framing her selfe as if shee wondered greatly thereat, reported, *How shee likewise had scene already the same vision for certaine nights together.* And not long after this, word came, (as it was before agreed betwene them) that APPIUS was coming to rush in among them: who in deed had bene bidden the day before to be present at the same instant. Whereupon, as if the said dreame had now proved true and bene plainly represented in effect, order was given for APPIUS, to be ended, arraigned, and to suffer death. Neither doubted CLAUDIUS the morrow after to report the whole storie and the order thereof unto the Senate: and withall to give thanks unto his \* freed man, for being so vigilant and watchfull in his very sleepe for his sake.

38 Being privie to himselfe of passionate (a) anger & bearing malice, he excluded them both in an Edict, distinctly promising that the one of them verily should be but short and harmlesse, the other not uniuert nor causelesse. Having sharply rebuked the men of *Offia*, because they had not sent boats & barges to meet him as he came upon the river *Tiberis*: and that in such odious termes as these, *That he was now become base and abject in their eyes*: all on a suddaine, he pardoned the upon their submission & readinesse to make satisfaction. Some there were, whom in the very open street he thrust from him with his own hand, coming unto him somewhat out of season. Semblably he confined and banished the Court a Scribe who had been Questour: a Senator likewise that had borne the Pretureship both of them without their cause heard and altogether guiltlesse: for that the \* one pleading in Court as an Advocate against him when he was a private person, had caried himselfe not so modestly as he should: & the Senator in his *Ædileship* had amerced & fined certaine tenants of his dwelling upon his lands, for selling boiled meats contrary to the law exprelly forbidding so to do: and withall whipped his Bailife comming \* betwene (to intercede for them). For which cause also, he tooke from the *Ædiles* their authority to punish the disorder of those that kept Tavernes and victualing houses. But as touching his owne foolishnes, he concealed it not, but gave it out & protested howeuer our moderne Lexicographers have in their Dictionaries put downe the *cessary*. \* The Scribe \* To intercede for them.

Q3

saigeth

*being with fully.*

39

\*Or Mistres of  
the house, De-  
mint. Grace,  
V. am. m.

Among other things, men wondered at him for his oblivion and unadvisedness, or (that I may expresse the same in Greeke) his *μετατριαν και ἀσέβειαν*, i. his grosse oversight or forgetfulness, and inconsiderate blindness. When *MISSALLINA* was (by his owne commandement) killed, within a while after, he was set in his dining parlour he asked why his \* Lady came not? Many of those whom he had condemned to death, the very morrow immediately after, he commaunded to have warning both to fit in counsell with him, and also to beare him company at Dice-play: yea, and by a messenger chid & checked them as drowsie and slothfull for staying so long and making no better haste. Being minded to take *AGRIPPINA* to wife against all law of God and man, he ceased not in all his speech to call her, *His \* daughter and nurceling*: to give out also, *That she was borne and brought up in his bosome*. Having a purpose to admit *NERAO* into the very name of his owne house & family, as if he had not incurred blame enough already for adopting (him) his wives son, having a naturall \* sonne of his owne who was now of ripe yeeres, hee eft-soones divulged, *That never any one had beene by adoption inserted or incorporate into the family of the CLAUDII*.

\*Audio deede  
he was her  
Valkie.

\*Eristannic:

40

\*Keep not  
demand of  
you:  
\*Or excessive  
number:

He shewed oftentimes so great negligence & carelesnes what he said or did, that he was thought not to know nor consider, either who made any speech, or among whom, or at what time, and in what place? When there was some question and debate about Butchers & Vintners, he cried out in the Senate house, *I beseech \* you, my Maisters who is able to live without a little peece or morfell of flesh?* and withall described the \* abundance of the olde Tavernes (a), from whence himselfe also in times past was wont to be served with wine. As touching a certaine Questour, who was a Candidate of his and by him recommended; among other reasons why he favoured him, he alleadged this, *Because his Father*, quoth he, *had quickly and in due time given him lying sick, cold water to drinke*. Having in the Senate brought in a woman to depose, *This*, quoth he, *was my mothers freed woman, and she that kept her ornaments, and used to deck and dresse her: But she alwaies tooke me for her Patrone*. *This have I*, quoth he, *delivered of purpose, because there be some yet in mine house, who think me not to be her Patron*. Moreover, sitting upon the Tribunal, when he was in a great chafe, & the men of *OPIDIA* requested at his hands (I wot not what) in the name of their towne: he cried out aloud, *That he knew nothing wherefore he should oblige the unto him: And if any man else*, quoth he, *I also am free and at mine owne liberty*. As for these words of his which now I will relate, they were rise in his mouth daily, yea every houre & minute thereof. *What dost thou take (b) me for* *THEROGONIUS* and *λαμπισκος*? beside many such foolish termes, not becoming private persons, much lesse a Prince, otherwise not uneloquent nor unlearned: nay, rather one eagerly given to his booke, and a great Student in the liberal Sciences.

41

In his youth, he attempted to write an Historie, exhorted thereto by *TITUS LIVIUS*; and having the help besides of *SULPITIUS FLAVUS*. And when he put the same first to the triall & iudgement of men in a frequent auditorie, hardlie & with much ado he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occasion that himselfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was set up a laughter, by reason that many of the seates brake with the weight

of

of a certeine corpulent and fat swad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appeased, but effsoones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afresh to unmeasurable laughing. During his Empire likewise, hee both wrote much and also rehearsed the same continually by his reader. The beginning of his foresayd historie he tooke from the time presently ensuing the murder of *CÆSAR DICTATOR*: but hee passed over to the latter dayes: \* *Antonia the* and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in those former times, as who was often checked both by his \* mother and also by his \* grandame. Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not so wisely and discreetly put downe, as otherwise elegantly penned: *Item*, an Apologie or defense of *CICERO* against the bookes of *ASINIUS GALLUS*: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He devised moreover three (a) new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet, and put them to the number of the olde as most necessarie. And having published whiles he was yet a private person, concerning the reason of those letters, one booke: soone after beeing Emperor he easily effected that they should be brought into use also indifferently with the rest. And verely such manner of writing with those characters is now extant to be seene in many bookes of records in Iournels, and titles or inscriptions of works.

42

With no lesse diligence studied hee the Greeke disciplines, professing as any occasion was offered, his affectionate love to that tongue, and the excellency thereof. When a certaine Barbarian discoursed in Greeke and Latine, see you be skilfull, quoth he, in both our languages; And in recommending *ACHATA* unto the LL. of the Senate, he sayde it was a province that he affected well and delighted in, for the commerce and society of studies common to him and them: and many a time he answered their ambassadors in the Senate, with a long and continued oration (in Greeke). But upon the Tribunal he used very much verses also out of *HOMER*. *CARTES* whensoever he had taken revenge of enemy or traytor, he lightly gave unto the Tribune over the Sentinels and guard of his person, calling unto him after the usuall manner for a watchword, none other but this

*Αντι εναντιον δε δρε τις ποτε εναντιον*

*Resist, revenge with maine and might.*

*When one provokes thee first to fight.*

To conclude, in the end he wrote Greeke histories also, to wit twentie books entituled \* *TYRRHENICOM*, and 8. entituled \* *CARCHEDIOMACOM*. In regard of which histories, unto the aumtient schoole at *ALEXANDRIA* he adjoynded another bearing his owne \* name: and ordained it was, that every yeare in the on of them his books *TYRRHENICOM* and in the other his *CARCHEDIOMACOM* upon certaine daies appointed therefore should (as it were in a frequent Auditorie) be read whole and through by severall singler readers in their times.

\*Of Tushne  
affairs.  
\*Of Carth-  
inian matters  
Callet Claudi-  
am.

43

Toward the end of his life, hee shewed certaine signes and those evident enough, that he repented both his marriage with *AGRIPPINA*, and the

adoption

Q4

adoption also of NERO. For by occasion that his freed-men made mention and gave their commendation of a judicial proceeding of his, wherein he had condemned the day before, a Woman in the case of adulterie, hee avouched *That the destinies likewise had so ordained, that all his \*marriages should bee unchaste howbeit not unpunished*: And soone after, meeting his sonne BRITANNICUS and embracing him *harder and more closely than his manner was, growe apace* quoth hee, and *take account of me for all that I have done. Using withall these Greeke words, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπέμεται, i. Love enforced me.* And when he had fully purposed to give him being as then very young & of tender yeeres his (a) *Forle Robe*, seeing that his stature and growth would beare and permit it, he uttered these words moreover, *To the end that the people of Rome may yet at last, have a true and Naturall CÆSAR.*

44

And not long after this he wrote his wil and signed it with the scales of al the (a) head-magistrates: whereupon before that he could proceed anie further, prevented hee was and cut short by AGRIPPINA. Whom they also who were \*privie to her and of her counsell, yet neverthelesse enformers, accused besides all this of many crimes. And verely it is agreed upon generally by all, that killed he was by poyson: but (a) where it should be, and who gave it, there is some difference. Some write, that as he sat at a feast in the (Capitoll) Castle with the priests, it was presented unto him by HALOTUS the Eunuch his taster: others report that it was at a meale in his owne house by AGRIPPINA her selfe, who had offered unto him a musliome empoisoned; knowing that he was most greedy of such meats. Of those accidents also which ensued herupon, the report is variable. Some say, that streight upon the receipt of the poyson he became speechlesse, & continuing all night in dolorous torments, dyed a little before day. Others affirme, that at first he fell a sleepe: and afterwards, as the meate flowed and stoted aloft vomited all vp, and so was followed againe with a ranke \*poyson. But whether the same were put into a messe of thicke gruell, (considering hee was of necessity to be refreshed with food beeing emptied in his stomacke) or conueied up by a clifste, as if being overcharged with fulnesse and surfeit, he might be eased also by this kind of egestion and purgation, it is uncertaine.

45

His death was kept secret until all things were set in order about his succession. And therefore, both vowes were made for him as if hee had lyen sicke still and also comicall Actours were brought in place colourably to solace and delight him, as having a longing desire after such sports. He deceased three dayes before the Ides of October, when ASINIUS MARCELLUS and ACILIUS AVIOLA were Consuls: in the 64th yeere of his age, and 14th of his Empire. His funerals were performed with a solemne pompe and procession of the Magistrates: and canonized he was a Saint in heaven: Which honor forlet and abolished by NERO hee recovered afterwards by the means of VESPASIAN.

46

Especial tokens there were presaging & prognosticating his death: to wit the rising of an \* hairy starre which they call a Comet: Also the \*monument of his father DRUSUS was blasted with lightning: and for that in the same yeare

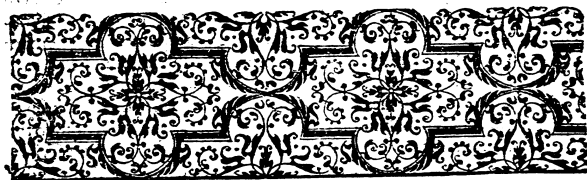
yeere most of the (a) Magistrates of all sorts were dead. But himselfe seemeth not either to have beene ignorant that his end drew nere, or to have dissimuled so much: which may be gathered by some good arguments and demonstrations. For both in the ordination of Consuls hee appointed none of them to continue longer then the moneth wherein he dyed: and also in the Senate, the very last time that ever he sat there, after a long and earnest exhortation of his children to concord, he humbly recommended the age of them both to the LL. of that honourable house: and in his last Iudiciall Session upon the Tribunal once or twice he pronounced openly, That come he was now to the end of his mortalitie: notwithstanding they that heard him, grieved to heare such an Office, and praised the gods to avert the same.



\*Marrimonia,  
or Wives like  
as Comitia pro  
consequuntur.  
\*Or rather,  
Ho TROIAN.  
KAI IASTAI.  
He that wound  
ded will also  
heale. I that  
have done thee  
wrong will make  
amends.

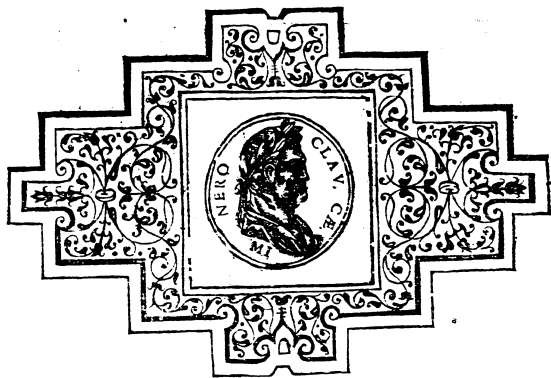
\*Confer. Some  
read Conscien.  
\*Sic quoque even  
his owne con  
science.  
\*Tertio,

\*The 19th. of  
October.



# THE HISTORIE OF Nero Claudius Cæsar, vvritten

by Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.



A.V.C. 936.  
Cæsar and  
Pellæx reform-  
bling two young  
men.



VT of the Domitian stocke and name, there sprung two famous families, to wit, the *Calpurnii* and the *Aenobarbi*: These *Aenobarbi* have for the first Author of their originall, and surname likewise, L. DOMITIUS: whome, as he returned in times past homeward out of the country, two young men twinned, carying with them a venerable presence and countenance more then ordinary, encountered, by report, and commanded to relate unto the Senate and People of Rome, newes, of that victorie whereof as yet they stood in doubt: and for the better assurance of their divine maiestie stroke his cheekes so, as that therewith they made the

bayre

\*hayre of blacke, \*redd, and like in colour to \*brasse. Which marke and badges continued also in his posterity; and moſt of them have such \*red bearded. Moreover, having borne seven Consulships, triumphed likewise and beene Censors twice, & therewith bin chosen into the rank of the *Patritij*, they remained all in the same surname. Neither were they known by any other forenames than CNEIUS & LUCIUS: & the same in variety worth the noting and observation: one while continuing either of the sayd names in three persons together: otherwhiles changing alternatively one after another in every descent. For, we have heard say, that the first, second and third of these *Aenobarbi* were forenamed LUCIUS: and againe, the three next following them in order were CNEI. All the rest no otherwise then by turnes one after another had their forenames, first LUCIUS and then CNEI. That many persons of this house descended should be known, I suppose it very pertinent and materiall: whereby it may the better appeare, that NERO degenerated from the Vertues of his Auncelors so, as yet he caried away & resembled the vices of them all, as infused into him and inbred by nature.

\*Capit. m. 1.  
Pilem, Gallus  
\*Or. Coppers  
\*Or. Coppers  
A.V.C. 938  
631  
638  
660  
700  
721  
785  
632  
639  
663

To fetch the beginning therefore, of this or discourse somewhat farther of his great Grandfathers Grandfather CN. DOMITIUS, being in his Tribune much offended at the \*Pontifex, for electing any other but himselfe into his fathers place, transferred the right and power of subrogating priests in the roome of those that were deceased, from their Colledges to the bodie of the people. But in his Consulship having vanquished the *Allobroges* and the *Arvernii*, he rode through his \*province mounted upon an Elephant, whiles the whole multitude of his souldiours attended upon him in a traine after the manner of a solemne triumph. This DOMITIUS it was, whom LICINIUS

\*Aenobarbi  
his Graddater  
degrees of  
\*High Priests

A.V.C. 631  
\*Gallus Næbarbi  
ensis  
A.V.C. 696

CRASSUS the oratour in a certaine declamation sayd, *It was no merwaile he had a brasse beard whose face was made of iron, and heart of lead.* His sonne being Pre-tour was the man, who as CÆSAR went out of his Consulship (which he was thought to have borne against the \**Auspicia* and the *lares*) conuicted him before the Senate to be by them examined, tried and censured. Afterwards when he was Confull he attempted to fetch him backe, Lord Generall as he was of an armie, from his forces in *Gaulle*: and being by the aduerse \*faction nominated his succellour in that province, was in the beginning of the civil warre taken prisoner before *Corfinium*: From whence being dismissed and set at libertie, after he had by his comming to the *Massilians* streightly beleagured, much strengthened them, sodainly he forooke them: and in the end, at the battaile of *Pharsalia* lost his life: A man not very constant and resolute, but with all of a fell and savage nature. Being driven to utter despair, he was so much afraid of death, which for feare he had desired, that after a draught of poyson hee repented the taking thereof and cast it up againe; yea and enfranchised his Phisition, who wittingly and of purpose had so tempered it that it might do him no great harme. And what time as CN. POMPEIUS put to question what should be done to those *Neuters* that stood indifferent and stuck to no part: He alone opined, *That they were to be reckoned enemies & proceeded against accordingly*

\*Jul. Cæsar Dir-  
tator  
A.V.C. 700  
\*Approbation  
of the gods  
\*The Pompei-  
ans.

Hee left behind him a sonne, worthy without question, to be preferred before



A.V.C. 720

\*Which Q.  
Padius made a  
gaunt the mur-  
derers of Cæsar\*The preient  
state governed  
according to  
his wil and  
pleasure.

A.V.C. 723.

\*Discreet  
by an imma-  
rine bargaine  
of sale to have  
bought them  
to the behoofe  
& use of the  
heire  
\*Censorium,  
not Censorum.\*Some of M.  
Agrippa and  
Julia adopted  
by Augustus.

fore all others of his name and linage. This man being among those that were privie to CÆSARS death, and of that conspiracy, standing condemned (though guiltlesse) by the law \*Padius, when he had betaken himselfe to CASSIUS and BRUTUS his neere kinsfolke, after the end of them both, held stil in his hand the fleet committed before time to his charge, yea and augmented the fame: Neither yielded he it up to M. ANTONIUS before his owne side was every where quite overthrowen: which he then did of his owne accord; and so, as that ANTONIUS took himselfe highly beholden unto him therefore. He on-ly also of all those who by virtue of the likelaw stood condemned, being resto-red into his native countrey, went through the most honorable offices of state: Soone after likewise, when civil diffension was kindled againe and renewed, being in qualiry of Lieutenant to the said ANTONIE, what time the soveraigne Empire was offered unto him by those who were ahamed of \*CLEOPATRA, not daring to accept thereof nor yet to refuse it resolutely, by occasion of fodeaine sicknesse wherewith he was surprisid, went and sided with AUGUSTUS, and within few dayes after departed this life: being himselfe also noted with some infamie: For, ANTONIE gave it commonly forth, *That for the love of one SERVILIA Nais whom he kept, he seld to AUGUSTUS side.*

4

From him came that DOMITIUS, who soone after had the name abroad to have beene the \*chapman of AUGUSTUS goods and substance left by his wil and testament: a man no lesse renowned in his youth for good skill in ruling of Chariots & running with them a race, as afterwards for the triumphant ornaments achieved by the *Germane* warre; but arrogant of spirit, wastefull in expence, and therewith cruel. When he was Aedile he forced L. PLENCIUS that had beene \*Censor, to give him the way. Bearing the honorable offices of Preture and Consulate, hee produced upon the stage to acte a Comical and wanton Enterlude, the gentlemen and dames of *Rome*. He exhibited baiting of wilde beastes both in the cirque and also in every quarter of the City, yea and a shew of sword-fight: but with so great cruelty, that AUGUSTUS was compelled of necessitie to restraints him by an edict, since that no secret warning nor admonition at his hands would prevaile.

5

Of ANTONIA the elder, hee begat the father of NERO: an impe in all the parts of his life ungracious and detestable. For accompanying \*CAIUS CÆSAR in his youth into the East-parts, where he killed a freed-man of his owne, because he refused to quaffe as much as he was commanded, being discharged therefore out of the cohort of his friends, he led his life never a whit more modestly: but both within a village standing upon the street Appia, sodainely put his horses to gallop, and not unwittingly rode over a little child and trode him to death: and also at *Rome* in the midle of the *Forum* plucked a *Romane* gentlemen eye out of his head, for chiding him somewhat over boldly. So false and perfidious beside, that he defrauded not onely the bankers and money changers of the prices of such commodities as they had bought up, but also when he was Pretour put the runners with Chariots besides the prizes of their victories. For which pranks, reproved he was merily even by his owne sifter (LEPIDA) and upon complaint made by the Masters of the foure (4) factions hee enacted

\*Morbo aque  
intermitis: that  
kind of crotty  
wherein water  
tunneth be-  
tween the fell  
and the flesh  
all the bodie  
over, Lemph  
legmatia in  
Greece,

enacted, *That from thence forth ever after, the said prizes should be presently payed.* Being accused likewise for \*treason to the State and many adulteries, as also for incest committed with his sifter LEPIDA a litle before the decease of TIBERIUS, yet escaped he the danger of Law by the alteration of the times, and died at *Pyrgo* of (b) the \*Drop sic, when AGRIPPINA daughter of GERMANICUS shad brought him a sonne named NERO.

6

This NERO was borne at *Antium*, nine moneths after that TIBERIUS departed this world, eightene daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, iust as the Sunne was newly risen, so as his beames \*light well neere upon him before they could \*touch the earth. As touching his \*Horoscope, many men straightwaies gave many guessees and coniectures of fearefull events. And even a very word that his father DOMITIUS spake, was taken to be a prelagging offe. For when his friends by way of gratulation wished him ioy of his sonne new born: he said, *That of himselfe and AGRIPPINA there could nothing come into the world but accursed, detestable and to the hurt of the weale publick.* Of the same future in-fortunity there appeared an evident signe upon his (a) naming day: For CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA) when his sifter (AGRIPPINA) requested him to give the Infant what \*name he would, looking wistly upon CLAUDIUS his Vnkle, (by whom afterwards being Emperour (the child) was adopted), said he gave him his name. Neither spake hee this in earnest, but merily in boord: and AGRIPPINA scorned and reiected it, for that as then, CLAUDIUS went for a foole, and one of the laughing stocks of the Court. At three yeeres of age he became fatherlesse: and being his fathers heire but of one third part, yet could nor be touch so much as that, full and whole, by reason of CAIUS his coheire who had seized upon and caught up before-hand all the goods: and for that his mother also was soone after confined and packt away, he being in manner de-fistute of all helpe and very needy, was fostered in his Aunt LEPIDAS house under two Pædagogues, a dauncer and a Barber. But when CLAUDIUS was come once to the Empire, hee not onely recovered his \*patrimoine, but also was enriched by the inheritance of CRISPUS PASSIENUS his mothers husband, that fell unto him. And verily through the grace and power of his mother now called home againe and restored to her estate, hee flourished & grew so great, that commonly it was bruted abroad, *That MESSALLINA the wife of CLAUDIUS sent some of purpose to take the opportunity of his womers sleep and so to smother and strangle him, as the onely Concurrers of BRITANNICUS, and one that eclipses the light of his glorie.* Now in the tale it went, besides: that the said parties tooke a fright at a Dragon issuing out of his pillow, whereupon they fled backe and forooke the enterprife. Which fable arose upon this, That there was in deede found the \*slough of a serpent in his bed about the bolsters. And yet, this slough he enclosed within a bracelet of gold (as his mother willed him) and wore it a good while after, upon his right arme: and at length, wearie of any memoriall and monument of his mothers flung it away: but in his extremity and despaire of his estate sought for the same againe, in vaine.

7

In his tender yeeres, and whiles hee was yet a boy of no full growth, hee  
R acted

\*Or those  
\*Dislayt hee  
was conpassed  
with the tunne  
beames; and  
yet no surme  
appeared above  
his Horizon.  
\*Or Naxos.

\*For name,

\*Fathers  
goods

\*Her Sonne

\*Or skinned

\* *Fulcra*:  
Some read  
rather, *perio-  
decimo*, in the  
thirtieth  
\* *Caligula*

\* Or Hall of  
Justice  
\* Or running  
street.

\* Or declarati-  
ons.  
\* *Dawne* in  
large bookes:

A. V. C. 807

\* Between  
noone and one  
of the clock.

\* Pretorian.

\* Father of his  
Country.

\* The Empe-  
rour.

\* Or *perpide*  
guard.

acted at the *Circian* Games the warlike *Troy* fight most resolutely, with great favour and applause of the people. In the eleventh yeere of his age adopted he was by CLAUDIVS & put to schoole unto ANNEVS SENECA, even then a Senator, for to be trained up in good literature. The report goes, that SENECA, the next night following, dreamed as he lay in bed, That hee was teaching \* C. CÆSAR: and shortly after NERO proved his dreame true, bewraying the fell Romacke and shrewd nature of the said Prince, by the first experiments that he could give thereof. For when his brother BRITANNICVS saluted him after he was once adopted, (as his wonted manner was before) by the name of ENOBARBUS, hee went about to lay this imputation upon him before his Father, that he was some Changeling and no sonne of his as he was reputed. His Aunt LEPIDA likewise being in trouble, hee deposed against, in the open face of the Court, thereby to gratifie his mother her heauie friend, and who followed the suite hotly against her. Being honourably brought into the \* *Forum*, the day of his first plea and Commencement, hee promised publickely for the people a Congiarie, and Donative for the Souldiours. Having proclaimed also a solemne \* iusting, himselfe rode before the Pretorian Souldiours bearing a shield in his owne hand. After this, hee solemnly gave thanks to his Father in the Senate. Before whom being then Confull, hee made a Latine Oration in the behalfe of the *Bononiens*, and for the Rhodians and Inhabitants of *Istum*, another in Greeke. His first Iurisdiction hee began as (\*a) Provoost of the Citie, during the celebration of the Latine holidays: What time the most famous Advocates and Patrones in those daies strove a vie, who could bring before him most \* accusations and \* longest; not (as the manner was) such as were ordinarie and briefe: the expresse commaundement of CLAUDIVS forbidding the same, notwithstanding. Not long after, hee tooke to wife OCTAVIA: and for the good health of CLAUDIVS, exhibited the Cirque Games and baiting of wild beafts.

8

Being seenteene yeeres olde, so soone as it was knowne abroad that CLAUDIVS was dead, hee came forth to those (of the Pretorian Cohort) that kept watch and ward, betweene the sixth & the seventh \* houre of the day: For by reason that the whole day beside was ominous and disfnall, there was no time thereof thought more auspicate and convenient than it, to enter upon the Empire: and so before the Pallace itaires being proclaimed and saluted Emperour, he was in a Licker brought to the \* Camp: and hastily from thence, after a short speech made unto the Souldiours, conveyed into the *Curia*. From whence he departed home in the evening: and of those exceeding and infinite honours which were heaped upon him, hee refused onely the Title in his stile of *Pater\* Patrie*, in regard of his young yeeres.

Beginning then with a glorious shew of Piety and Kindnes, at the Funerals of \* CLAUDIVS, which were most sumptuously performed, hee praised him in an Oration and consecrated him a God. In the memoriall of his owne Father DOMITIVS, hee did him right great honour. His mother hee permitted to have the whole regiment of all matters as well publick as private. The very first day also of his Empire, when the Tribune of the \* Sentinels, asked of him a watchword, he gave unto him this Mot, *Optima mater* (*my best mother*) and afterwards

many

many a time she accompanied him through the Streets, in his owne Licker. He planted a Colonie at *Antium*, enrolling therein the old Souldiours out of the Pretorian cohort, & ioyning with them (by translating their habitations) the richest Centurions who had beene Leaders of the formost bands: where also he made a \* Pere, or most sumptuous peece of worke.

\* Or haven,

10

And to shew a surer prooffe still of his towardnesse, after profession made to governe the Empire according to the prescript rule of AUGUSTVS, he omitted no occasion to shew either bountifullnesse or clemencie, no nor so much as to testifie his gentlenesse and courtesie. Those tributes and taxes which were any thing heauie he either abolished quite or abated. The rewards due unto Informers as touching the Law *Papia*, hee reduced to the fourth part onely of the penalty. Having dealt among the people \* 400 Sesterces for every poll: to as many Senators as were most nobly defended (howbeit decayed and weakened in their estates) he allowed yeerely \* Salaries, & to some of them \* 500000 Sesterces. Likewise for the Pretorian Cohorts hee ordained an allowance of Come monethly \* gratis. And whensoever he was put in minde to subscribe & set his hand to a warrant (as the manner is) for the execution of any person condemned to die, hee would say, *Oh, that I knew not one letter of the booke*. Manie times he saluted all the Degrees of the Citie one after another, by rote & without booke. When the Senate upon a time gave him thanks, hee answered, (*Deo*) *when I shall deserve*. To his exercises in *Mars* field he admitted the Common also, yea and declaimed often publickly before them. Hee rehearsed his owne verses likewise, not onely within house at home, but also in the Theater: and that with so general a ioy of as many as heard him; that for the said rehearsal, there was a solemne procession decreed: and some of his said verses written in golden letters were dedicated to IUPITER CAPITOLINVS.

11

Many and sundry kindes of shewes he set forth: to wit, the Iuvenal (\*a) sports, the *Circian* Games, and the Stage-plays: also a Sword fight. In the Iuvenal pastimes, hee admitted old men even those of Consuls degree: aged women also and matrones to disport themselves. At the *Circen*ses, he appointed places for the Gentlemen of *Rome* a part by themselves: where hee put also to runne a race for the prize chariots drawne with foure Camels. In the Stage plaies, (which beeing instituted for the eternizing and perpetuities of his Empire hee would have to be called *Maximi*), very many of both \* degrees and sexes plaied their parts upon the Stage. A Romaine Gentleman of very good note & especiall mark, mounted upon an Elephant ranne downe a \* rope. There was brought upon the Stage to be acted the \* Romaine Comedie of *Afranius* entitled *Iuendium*: and gaunted it was unto the Actours therein to rife all the goods and implements of the house as it burned, and to take the same as their owne. Scattered also abroad there were for the people \* Miffis, during the whole time of those Plaies: to wit, a thousand birds every day of all kinds: Cates and viands manifold: Ticquets and Tallies for come, apparell, gold, silver, precious stones, pearles, pictures upon tables: slaves, labouring garçons and beafts also tamed: last of all, thips, liles, lands and possessions, according to their Tallies.

\* *Pappa*.  
\* 1 a s. s. d.  
\* *narling*, a  
Romaine  
pound.  
\* *Annities*,  
\* More by a  
fourth part, th  
the State or  
worth of a  
Gentleman of  
Rome.  
\* Without pay  
ing money.

\* Gentlemen  
and Senators,  
\* *Per Catellu*  
men, for there  
were Elephants  
Fauces, side  
Gallies, 6, 8  
Xpibulum.  
\* Or Laine.  
\* Or guts.

R 2

Thefe

12

These Games hee beheld from the top of the \* *Proscenium*. At the Sword-fight which hee exhibited in the Amphitheatre built of Timber in one yeeres space within the ward of *Mars* field hee suffered not one man to be killed, no not so much as a guilty malefactor. Moreover, hee brought into the Lists for to fight at sharpe even \* 400 Senatours and \* 600 Gentlemen of *Rome*. Some of good wealth and reputation, out of the same degrees, hee caused to come forth into the Show-place, for to kill wild beasts, and performe sundry services thereto belonging. Hee represented also a Naval fight upon salt water from the Sea, with a devile to have sea \* beasts swimming therein. Semblably, certaine Pyrrhick daunces in armour, sortred out of the number of young Springalls: And after their devoir done, hee gave freely unto every one of them patents & graunts to be enfranchized Citizens of *Rome*. \* Betwene the arguments of these Pyrrhick daunces, deviled it was, that a Bull should leape (a) *Paphus* hidden within a frame of wood \* resembling an Heiffer, which was acted so lively, that many of the beholders beleevved verily it was so in deede. As for *ICARUS*, at the first attempt to flie, hee fell presently downe hard by \* his owne (b) \* Bed-chamber for that hee besprent him with blood. For very teidome had hee used to sit as President at these Games: but his manner was, to behold them as he lay upon his \* bed. First through little loope holes: but afterwards setting the whole gallerie open from whence hee looked. Hee was the first moreover that instituted at *Rome*, according to the Greeke fashion, *Quinquenniall* games of three kinds, to wit, of Musick and Poetrie, of Gymnick maisteries and of \* Horsemanship: which Games hee called *Neromia*. After hee had dedicated the Baines, & a place therein for (c) Gymnick exercises, hee allowed the oyle that went thereto both for the Senate and also for the Gentlemen. Hee ordained Maisters and Wardens of all this Solemnity, \* especiall of Consular degree, chosen by lot to sit as over-seers in the \* place of Pretours, and then came downe himselfe into the \* Orchestra and the Senatours quarter. And verily the victorious coronet for the Latine tongue, both in prose and verse, about which the best and most worshipfull persons had contended, when it was graunted unto him with their owne consents hee received: and the harp presented unto him by the Judges hee adored, and commanded that it should bee caried to the Statue of *AUGUSTUS*. At the Gymnick Games which hee exhibited in the *Septa*, during the solemne preparation of the great Sacrifice (d) *Buthyia*, hee cut off the first beard that hee had, which hee bestowed within a golden box, adorned it with most pretious pearles and then consecrated it in \* the Capitol. To the shew of wretchedness and other Champions hee called also the weillall (e) virgins, because at *Olympia* the priestesses likewise of *Ceres*, are allowed to see the Games there.

13

A.V.C. 819

\* Or Market place.

I may by good reason, among other Shewes by him exhibited, reckon also the entrance into *Rome* City, of *TIRIDATES*: whom being King of *Armenia* hee had sollicitd by large promises. Now, when hee meant to shew him unto the people upon a set day appointed by an Edict, and was driven to put it off (the weather was so cloudy) hee brought him forth before them to be seene upon the best and most opportune day that hee could finde: having bestowed about the temples situate in the *Forum*, cohorts of Souldiours armed, and sitting himselfe upon his yvorie curule chaire of Estate before the *Rosira* in triumphall

umpball habite, among the militarie Ensignes, banners, guidons and streamers. And as the King came up toward him by the ascent of the steepe pulpit, hee admitted him first to his knees, and then raising up with his right hand kissed him: afterwards as he was making his prayer unto him, having taken off his *Tiara*, hee did \* the diademe on. Whiles one who had been Pretour, pronounced unto the multitude the Suppliants words, as they were by an Interpretour delivered unto him. Being brought after this into the Theater & making supplication againe, hee placed him on his right side next to himselfe. For which, hee was with one accord saluted Emperour: and so bringing with him the Lawrell branch into the Capitoll, hee shut both dores of double faced *JANUS*, temple, \* as if no reliques of warre remained behind.

14 Four Consulships hee bare: the first for two moneths: the second & last for three: the third for foure. The middle twaine hee continued without any intermission: the rest hee varied with a yeeres space betwene.

15 In his ordinary Jurisdiction, hee lightly gave no answer to the Proctours before the day following, & that was by writing. In extraordinary Commissions and trials this court hee held, namely to decide every cause by it selfe one after another upon certaine daies of the session; and to surcease quite the huddling up and debates of matters one in the neck of another: So often as hee went aside to consult, hee did deliberate and aske advice of nothing either in common or openly: but reading secretly to himselfe the opinions written by every counsellour: what liked his owne selfe, that pronounced hee, as if many more thought well of the same. For a long time hee admitted not the *Sonnes* of *LIBERTINES* into the *Curia*: and to those that were admitted by the Emperours his predecessours hee denied all honorable Offices. If there fixed for Magistracies more then could speed, or were places void; to comfort their harts againe for delaying & making them to stay longer, hee gave unto them the conduct of Legions. Hee graunted for the most part all Consulships for fixe moneths terme. And if one of the two Consuls hapned to die \* about the Kalends of Ianuarie, hee substituted none in his steede: as misliking altogether the old precedent of *CANNIUS RABILLUS*, who was Consul but \* one day. Triumphall ornaments hee gave even unto those that had borne Questours dignity only: yea & to some of the Gentlemens degree: and verily not alwaies for any \* militarie service. His Orations \* sent into the Senate concerning certaine matters, hee caused for the most part to be read and reheard by the Consuls, passing by the Questours \* Office.

16 Hee devised a new forme of the City buildings: and namely, that before the \* Edifices standing by themselves, and other boules, likewise there should be \* Porches. From the Solars whereof, all Skarefires might be put by and \* and repelled: and those hee \* built at his owne charges. Hee had an intention once to set out and enlarge the walls of *Rome*, even as farre as to *OSTIA*: and from thence by a Fosse to let the \* Sea into old *Rome*. Many matters under him were both severely punished and also restrained, yea and likewise newly ordained. Expences \* in his daies had a gage and stint set upon them. The \* publick luppets were brought downe to small Collations. Forbidden it was that any thing \* sodden, but only pulse, and \* worts should be sold in Taverns, and Cookes houses; where as before time, there was no manner of viands but it.

\* Resembling a cap of maine tenace, or as some thinke a Turkish tuffe or Turban, \* Which hee had laid off as it should seeme, like as when he was vanquished by *Corvus*, hee laid downe before the Image of *Nero*.

\* *Tanquam nullo refuso bello*  
A.V.C. 808  
810  
811  
813

\* Somewhat before.  
\* Or rather, one piece of a day: See *Index* *Cesar* cap. 76  
\* Or upon occasion of war.  
\* Which else where hee called Epitiles.

\* Into whom properly it appertained.  
\* *Aure Isopala*.  
\* Forcigates, or Gatehouses.  
\* Frs the front of such Edifices.

\* Or promised rather to build.  
\* To bring an arme of it thither.  
\* Is costly and excessive fare at the table.  
\* *Nequid vultu*.  
\* As Potherbe

waslet out to sale. The Christians, a kinde of men given to a new, wicked and mischievous Superstition, were put to death with grievous torments. The sports of Charitours, wherein by an old and licentious custome they had been allowed to range up and downe, to beguile folke, to pilfer and steale in merri-ment, were prohibited. The (b) factions of the \* *Panormini*, together with the Agours them(selves) were banished and sent away.

17

Against forgers of writings, then first came up this invention that no books or instruments should be signed unless they were boared and had a thred three times drawne through the holes. Provided it was, That in Wills the two \* first parts thereof should be hewed as blanks, unto those that came to seale the same: having the Testatours name onely written therein. Item, that no Clerk or Notarie, who was to draw and write another mans will, should put downe any Legacie for himselfe. Item, that they who had sures depending in Court, should pay the certaine, due fee set downe by Law, for pleading of their causes: but for (a) the \* Benches nothing, considering the Chamber of the Citie allowed the same gratis and to be free: Item, that in the pleading & deciding of controversies all causes debated afore time before the Maisters of the Exchequer or Citie Chamber should bee removed unto the Common \* Hall, to be tried before the Commissioners and Delegates called *Recuperatores*: Finally, that all appeals from the Iudges should be made unto the Senate.

18

Having no will, no motion, nor hope at any time, to propagate and enlarge the Empire, he thought once to have withdrawne the forces even out of *Brittaine*: neither gave he over that intent of his, but only for very theme; least he might be thought to deprave the glory of his Father (*CLAUDIUS*). Onely the realme of *Pontus* with the leave of *POLEMON* (4), as also the Kingdome of the Alpes, by the death of King *COTTIUS* hee reduced into the forme of a Province.

19

Two voyages and no more he undertooke, the one to *Alexandria*, the other into *Archaia*. But his journey to *Alexandria* hee gave over the very day of his setting forth: by occasion that he was disquieted at once, both with a religious scruple and also with some perill. For when hee had gone in procession about all the temples, & sitten downe within the Chappel of *Vesta*, as he was rising up, first the \* hem or edge of his Gowne stuck to the seate: and after this, arose for darke a \* mist before his eyes, that uneth he could see & looke about him: In *Archaia* hee attempted to digge through the *Asylum*, and in a frequent assembly made a speech unto the Pretorian Souldiours; exhorting them to begin the worke: and having given the signall by found of trumpet, himselfe first brake up the ground with a \* little spade: and when hee had cast up the earth, carried it forth upon his owne shoulders in a scuttle: Hee prepared also an expedition to the Caspian-gates: for which hee enrolled a newe Legion of Italian young Souldiours \* fixe foote high: This Legion hee called the *Phalanx* or Squadron of *Alexander the Great*: These particulars premised, partly deserving no blame, and in part worthy even of no meane praise, haue I collected together, that I might sever and distinguish them from his villanies

and wicked acts, whereof from hence forward I wil make report.

20

Among other arts & sciences, being in his childhood trained up in the skill also of musick: no sooner attained he to the Empire, but he sent for **Theraps** the harper, renowned in those dayes for his cunning above all other. Sitting by him as he played & sung, day by day after supper until it was far in the night, himselfe likewise by little and little began to practise and exercise the same: yea and not to let passe anie means, that expert professors in that kind were wont to do, either for preferring or the bettering and fortifying of their voices: even to wear before him upon his brest a thin plate or sheet of lead: to purge by clyster & vomit: to abstaine from apples and fruite, with all such meates as were hurtfull to the voice: so long, until his proceedings stil drawing him on, (a small and rusty voice though he had) he desired to come forth and shew himselfe upon the open stage, having among his familiar companions this greece proverbe evermore in his mouth, *(a) That hidden musike was worth his worth.* The first time that he mounted the stage was at *Naples*, where he gave not over singing, (albeit the Theatre was shaken & ready to fall by a suddaine earthquake) before he had finished the song begun. In the same place he chaunted often & many dayes together. Moreover, after some short time betwene taken to repaie his voice (as one impatient of keeping within house) from the baines<sup>es</sup> there he passed directly to the Theatre: and having in the midst of the Orchestra before a frequent multitude of people feasted and banquetted, made promise in the Greeke tongue, that if he had stippled a little and wet his whistle, he would ring out some note more fully and with a stronger brest: Now, being much delighted with the \**Alexandrines* praises in \**pride* song, who newly in a second *(b)* *uoilage* had with their fleet conflowed to *Naples*, he sent for more of them out of *Alexandria*. And never the later he chose from all parts youths of Grecians degree, and not so few as 5000. of the lustiest and strongest young men out of the commons, who being sorted into \**factions* should learne certaine kinde of shouts and applauses, which they termed *(c)* *Bambas* *(d)* *Imbrices* *(e)* and *Tessas*: also that dextr and trim boyes, such as had the \**(f)* thickest bush of haire upon their heads, and were set out in most excellent apparell, and no without a ring on their left hands, should give their attendaunce upon him as he sung. The chieftaines & leaders of these had for their stipend \*400000. sesterces

21

Esteeming so highly as he did of singing, he solemnized at *Rome* also againe the forsaide games called *Neoronum* before the day and\* time by order appointed. And when all the people called upon him forth his (a) celestiall voice, he made answer. *That he verily would as them that pleasure (being) to willing and desirous as they were to heare him): but it should be in his Hortyards.* Howbeit when the corps deguarde of the (Pretorian) Souldiers which at that time kept watch and ward seconded the praiers of the common people, willingly he promised to fulfill their minds out of hand in the very place; and without any farther delay caused his owne name to be written in the roll of other professed minstrels and fingers to the harpe. Thus having put his lot into the pitcher with the rest, hee entred the stage when his turne came: and withall the Capitaines of the Guard supporting his harpe after them the \*tribunes militarie, and clove unto them his

R 4

most

\* Or hoarse.

\* At Naples.

\*i. Diatrics.  
\*Tuned and  
compoſed to  
the rules and  
meaſures of  
Muſick, in the  
praiſe of him,  
by the mer-  
chants of Ale-  
xandria See  
cap. 98, Auguſt.  
\* Or crewes,  
\* *Pinguiffima*  
+ *Negſine annu-*  
*laris* or, cleane  
contrarie, *negſine*  
*annu laris*;  
wearing no  
ninge at all.

\* A Knight  
Living.  
\* Every fifth  
year.

\*Or Colony.

\* Wife of Amphion King of Thebes who priding her self in her fairest flower Jonnes and as manie daughters durst compare with Læone, the mother of Apollo & Diana but the with her arrows killed them all, & turned her into a stone.  
 \* Four of the clocke after noone.  
 \* Of other magistrates, who in respect of the Prince are accounted private.  
 \* Læone, Lydia Xenophon.  
 \* Or Magistrates.  
 \* Or young untrained fouldiers.

most inwarde friendes and Minions. Now when hee had taken up his standing, and ended his Proæme, he gave publicke notice and pronounced by the voice of CLAVDIVS RUFVS, (no meaner man than of Consuls degree) that he would sing and act the storie of "N I O B E" and so continued he well nere unto the tenth \*houre of the day: which done he deferred the Musicke Coronet due for the present victorie, together with the residue of that gaming unto the next year following; and all because he might have occasion oftener to chaunt. But bethinking himselfe that the time was long, hee ceased not to come ever and anon abroad to shew his skill in open place. Hee stucke not also in \*private shewes and games to doe his devoire, even among common Actors and Stage players: and namely, when one of the \*Pretours made offer of a milian of Sesterces. Hee sung moreover, disguised, Tragedies of the worthies and gods: of noble Ladies likewise in olde time and of goddesses, having their vilards framed & made to the likenesse of his own face & of some woman whom hee loved. Among the rest he chanced the tale of CANACE (b) travelling in child-birth: of (c) Orestes who killed his owne Mother: (d) of OEDIPUS that plucked out his owne eyes, and of HERCULES (e) enraged. In the acting of which Tragedie, the report goes, that a \*novice placed to keepe & guard the entrie of the stage, seeing him dressed and bound with chaines (as the argument of the layd Tragedie required) ran in a good to helpe him.

2 2

Exceedingly given hee was of a boy to delight in horfemanship, and with the love of charioting mightily inflamed: and very much would he be talking (forbidden though he were) of the Circæian games. And one time as hee was making mone, and bewailing among his skoole-fellows, the hard fortune of a chariot driver one of the greene-coate faction, \*drawn and dragged by his steedes, being chidden therefore by his schoole-master, he had a lye ready, and said that he spake of \*H E C T O R. But, as about his first entrance to the Empire, his custome was daily to play upon a chess-bourd with ivory \*horfes drawing in chariots, so he used to resort also \*from his retiring place of pleasure, to all the Circæian games even the very least and meanest of them. First by stealth and priuily: afterwards in open sight; so as no man made doubt, but at such a day he would be sure alwaies there to be. Neither dissuaded he that hee was willing to augment the number of the prizes. And therefore the shew of Chariot running was drawn out in length and helde untill late in the evening, by occasion of manie more courses than ordinarie: so as now the Masters of every faction deigned not to bring forth their \*crues and companies unless they might run the \*whole day through. Soone after himselfe also would needs make one and be seene oftentimes to play the Chariotier. And when he had tried what hee could doe, and performed, as it were, his first Actes in (private) hortaydes among verie slaves and the base commons, he proceeded to shew himselfe in the greatest Cirque in all Mens eyes, appointing one of his freed-men to put out a (white) towell for a signall, from the place where Magistrates are wont to doe it. But not content with this, that he had given good proofe of his progresse in these feats at R O M E, hee goes, as I layde before, into A C H A I A, moved especially upon this occasion. Those Cities and states where solemne gamings of musicke are usually held, had brought up a custome

\* Or fore would hee be bruised in the wheeles running over him. See, Pline, Nat. Hist. lib. 28 cap. 17.  
 \* Who was likewise, Raptus in Ritus as Virgil writeth.  
 \* Or Chariots to expresse those games Circæian.  
 \* See, Virg. or by way of retreating and recreation.  
 \* Grege either agitations, or chariot drivers: or equum quadrigariorum, of steeds both to one effeete.  
 \* Which was their greater game.

custom to sende all the Coronets of harpe-players unto him. This hee accepted so kindly, that he not onely admitted at the very first to his presence the Embassadors who brought the same, but also placed them among his familiar guests at the table. And being requested by some of them to sing at supper time, and highly praised with excessive applause, he came out with this speech *That Gracians were the only skilfull hearers, and the men alone worthe of his praises.* Neither made he anie longer stay, but tooke his voyage: and no sooner was hee passed over the sea to \*Cassippe, but presently he began to sing at the altar there, of I V P I T E R C A S I V S.

\* A towne in Corcyra.

2 3

After this, he went to all the games of prize, one after another. For even those that usually are celebrated at most remote and distant times he commanded to be reduced all into \*one year, and some of them also to be \*iterated. At Olympia likewise hee caused, (contrarie to the manner and custome of that place) a game of musick to be held. And least whiles he was busied about these matters, anie thing might either call him away or detain him: when he was aduertised by his freed-man H E L I V S, that the Citie affaires required his presence, hee wrot backe unto him in these words. *Albeit your counsell to mee as this present and your willing desire is, that I should retorne with all speede, yet ought ye to advise me and wish rather, that I may retorne worthy my selfe, that is to say, N E R O.* All the while hee was singing, Lawfull it was not for anye person to depart out of the Theatre, were the cause never so necessarie. Whereupon reported it is, that some great bellied women falling into travaile were delivered upon the very skaffolds: yea and many men besides, wearie of tedious hearing and praying him, when the towne gates were shut, cyther by stealth leapt downe from the walles, or counterfeiting themselves dead were caried forth as corpes to bee buried. But how timorously, with what thought and anguish of minde, with what emulation of his concurrents and feare of the Vmpliers, hee strove for the Mastery; it is almost incredible. His manner was to deal with his aduersaries, as if they had been but his equals and of the same condition with him, in this sort: namely, to observe, watch and mark their behaviours; to ly in the wind for to catch advantage: to defame them vnder hand, other whiles to raile at them & give them hard teams as they came in his way: yea and to corrupt with \*bribes and gifts such as excelled in skill and cunning. As for the I V D G E S and V M P I E R S aforesayde, hee would speake unto them in all reverence before he began to sing, using these termes. *That hee had done whatsoever was to be done: Howbeit, the issue and event was in the hand of Fortune: They therefore, as they were wise men and learned ought to except and barre all chaurces and mishaps. Now upon their exhortation, unto him for to be bold and venturesome, he would indeed goe away from them better appaied, but yet for all that, not without pensive care and trouble of minde. finding fault also with the silence and bashfull modestie of some, as if the same argued their discontented heavinesse and malicious repining, saying withall. That hee had them in suspicion.*

\* Wherein how rather came  
 \* Solemnized twice in the same year.

\* Thereby to make them releas and not to do their best

2 4

During the time that hee strove for to winne anie prize, so strictly obeyed

obeyed hee the lawes of the game, that hee never durst once spir and reach up flame : and the very swet of his forehead hee wiped away with his<sup>a</sup> arme onely . Moreover in the<sup>a</sup> acting of a Tragedie, when he had quickly taken up his staffe (a) againe, which he happened to let fall, being much dismayed and in great feare, least for that delinquencie hee should be put from the stage: by no meanes tooke he heart againe, until an under actor or prompter standing by sware an oth that it was not espied and marked for the shoutes and acclamations of the people beneath. Now, whensoever hee was the victorie, hee vied to pronounce himselfe victour. For which cause, hee contended also in every place for the<sup>a</sup> Criers coronet. And to the end, there should remaine extant no memoriall or token of anie other victours (e) in these sacred games beside himselfe, hee commanded all their statues, and images to be overthrowen, drawn with a drag and so slung into sinkes and privies. Furthermore, hee ran with chariots for the best game in many places, and at the Olympicke solemnities with one that had a teeme of tenne steedes, notwithstanding hee reposed the very fame in K. MITHRIDATES as appeared by certaine verses of his owne making. But being once shaken and hoisted out of his Chariot and set therein againe, howbeit not able to hold out, hee desisted and gave over, before he had runne the race through. Yet was hee crowned neverthelesse. After this, at his departure fro thence, hee enfranchised the whole Province throughout: and withall, the Iudges of these Games hee endowed with the freedome of Rome, and rewarded with great summes of money. Which benefits of his himselfe published with his owne voice from the middle of the race, upon a day of the Isthmian games.

25

Being returned out of Greece hee entered Naples; mounted upon a Chariot drawne with white horses: For that, in the said Citie hee had made profession first of his skill, in (musick) and a part of the wall was cast downe against his coming, (as the manner is of all victours in those sacred games). Semblably rode hee into ANTIVM, and from thence into ALBANVM and so forward into ROME. But hee entered ROME in the very same Chariot, wherein sometime AUGUSTVS had rode in triumph, clad in a purple cloke, and the same garnished with starres embroidered in golde: wearing upon his head the<sup>a</sup> Olympicke Coronet, and bearing in his right hand the<sup>a</sup> Pythick: with a pompe and gallant shewe of the<sup>a</sup> rest before him, together with their titles and inscriptions testifying, where: and whom: in what kinde of fonge or fabulous argument, hee had wonne: nor without a traine also of (a) Applauders following his Chariot, after the manner of those that ride ovant in petie Triumph setting up a note, and crying with a lowde voice, That they were AUGUSTIANS, and the souldiers of his triumph: From thence hee rode forward, and having throwen downe the Arch of the greatest Cirque, hee passed on through the Velabrum & market place, up to the Palatium and so to the temple of APOLLO. To do him honor all the way as hee went, were beasts killed for sacrifice, and saffron effusions strewed along the streets. Birdes were let flie, ribbands also and tapers yea and sweete banquetting junkets cast among. As for the sacred Coronets and guirlands aforelaid. Hee bestowed them in his owne bed-chamber round about his beds: likewise

<sup>a</sup>Or Mantell.  
<sup>a</sup>Made of the  
wilde Olive  
branches.  
<sup>a</sup>Of Lawrell.  
<sup>a</sup>Isthmian, of  
Pine & Neme  
an of small ch  
or periley.

his owne statues pourtrayed in the habit of an<sup>a</sup> harper, and with that mark stamped hee his money. And after all this, (so faire was hee from letting slacke and remitting one jot of his ardent study of his musick profession) that for the preferment of his voice hee would never make speech unto his souldiours, but absent: or having<sup>a</sup> another to pronounce his words for him; nor yet do ought in earnest or mirth without his<sup>a</sup> Phonuscus by, to put him in mind for to spare his pipes and hold his handkerchiefe to his mouth: and to many a man hee eyther offered friendship, or denounced enmitie, according as every one praised him more or lesse.

26

His unruly wildnesse, unbridled lust, wastfull riotousnesse, avarice and cruelty, hee practised verely at first, by leasure closely, as the trickes of youthfull folly: yet so, as even then, no man might doubt, that they were the inbred vices of nature, and not the errors of young age. No sooner was it twilight & the evening shut in but presently hee would catch vp a cap (a) on his head, and so disguised, goe into tavernes and victuallling houses: walke the streetes playing and sporting all the way, but yet not without shrewd turnes and dooing much chiefe. For hee vied to fall upon those that came late from supper and knocke them soundly: yea and (if they strugled with him and made resistance,) to wound and drowne them in the sinkes and towne ditches: to breake into petie shops also, and rife them: For hee had set up in his house at home a<sup>a</sup> (b) faire, there to receive the price of the bootie which hee had gotten, and was to bee sold to who would give most and bid best therefore. But many a time at such brawles and stuffings aforelaid, hee endangered his eyes, yea and his life too; being once beaten well neere to death by a certaine young gentleman of Senators degree, whose wife hee had misused with unclean handling. Whereupon, never after durst hee goe abroad into the streets at that houre of the night, without his militarie Tribunes following after him aloofe and secretly. In the day time also, being carried close in<sup>a</sup> a chaire into the Theatre, hee would be present in person, and from the vpper<sup>a</sup> part of the<sup>a</sup> Proscaenium both give a signall to the seditious factions of players (setting them together by the cares) and also behold them how they bickered. Now when they were come once to plaine fight skirmishing with stones and fragments of broken seates, skafolds, himselfe stucke not to fling apace<sup>a</sup> at the people in so much as once hee brake the pretours head.

27

But as his vices grewe by little and little to get head, hee laide aside these wilde trickes by way of sport and in secret: and without all care of concealing and dissimuling the matter, broke out openly to greater outrages. His moales (a) hee drewe out at length: eating and drinking from noone to midnight, dowied and fomented oftentimes in cisternes of hote waters, and in sommer season within bathes altered and made colde with snowe. His suppers hee tooke divers times abroade also in publicke place, to wit, in the<sup>a</sup> Nautimachia shut up and enclosed; or in Mars field; or else in the greatest cirque: where hee was served and attended upon by all the common Queenes of the Citie, and stinking (b) strumpets of the stewes. So often as hee went downe the River Tiberis to OSTIA, or layled along the Baia<sup>a</sup> Creeke, there were provided in divers places of the strond and banks, booties to baite in<sup>a</sup> Or Bay.

conspicuous

<sup>a</sup>Or Minstrel

<sup>a</sup>Per Nemo  
by messengers  
sent betwixt  
<sup>a</sup>when himself  
was present.  
<sup>a</sup>An exclamation  
of his  
voice.

<sup>a</sup>Or hood.<sup>a</sup>Or market.<sup>a</sup>Or Litter.<sup>a</sup>Or lift.<sup>a</sup>The forage.<sup>a</sup>Or among.

<sup>a</sup>A broad place,  
wherein a Na-  
vialight had  
sometime been  
exhibited but  
then filled up,  
yet it carried the  
former name  
still.  
<sup>a</sup>Or Bay.





the rivers Albula: This ædifice finished after such a fashion as this, when he \*dedicated, thus farre forth onely he liked, as that hee sayd, *He new at length began to dwell like a man.* Furthermore, hee began a \*pooole reaching from *MISENF* to the \*Metre *AFERNVS*, covered all above head, enclosed and enuironed with \*Cloistures: into which all the hote waters that were in the Bathes of *Baie* might bee conueied. Likewise he cast a \*fossie from the sayde *AFERNVS*, as farre as to *OSTIA*, and the same navigable: that men forsooth might faile in ships, and yet not be upon the sea. This carried in length 160. miles, and bare that breadth, as galleies with 5. ranks of oares might passe to and fro thereupon. For the performing of these workes, he had given commandement, that all prisoners whersoever should be transported into *Italie*: and that no person attaine and convict of anie wicked act, should be condemned otherwise, but to worke thereat.

To these outrageous expenses, beside the trust and confidence he had in the revenues of the Empire, put forward hee was upon a certaine unexpected hope also that hee cōceived, of finding a world of wealth: & that through intelligence given unto him by a gentleman of *Rome*, who assured him upon his knowledge, that the rich treasure & old store of silver and gold both, which *Quemne D* in o flying out of *Tyros* carried away with her, lay buried in *Affricke* within most huge and vaste caves under the ground, and might be gotten forth with some small labour of those that would goe about it. But when this hope failed him and came to nothing, being now altogether destitute, & so far exhaust and bare of money, that of necessity even souldiours pay, and the fees due unto olde seruitors in the wars for their seruice must run on stil and be deferred; he bent his mind to promoting of false imputations, to pilling also & polling. First and formost hee brought up this order, that out of the goods of freedmen deceased in steed of the one half, three 4th parts should be exacted & gathered for him, of as many, I say as without publike cause bare that name, which anie of those families did, whereunto himselfe was allied. Afterwards, that their wils should be forsaite & confiscate, who were \*unthankfull to the Prince. *Item*, that Lawiers should not escape free & goe cleere awaie, who had drawn & written such wils: As also, that all deedes and words should bee brought within the cōpasse of treason: If there could be found but anie promoter to give information. He called moreover after a long time passed, for the rewards and Coronets due to victours, which ever at any times the Cities & States had presented or decreed unto him at the games of prise. And whereas hee had prohibited the vse of the \*Amethyst & purple colours, hee suborned one of purpose under hand to sell upon \*a market day some few ounces thereof, and thereupon made stay of all \*occupiers & chapmen whatsoever, & laid them fast. Furthermore, having espied once (as he was singing) a dame of *Rome* frō the scaffolds in the Theatre, attaired in purple forbidden by the \*law, himselfe pointed at her (as it is verily thought) & shewed her to his \*Procuratours: & presently caused the woman to be haied from thence & turned out, not only of her garments but also of all the goods shee had. He assigned an office to no man, but he used these words withall. *Thou knowest what I have neede of.* Also, *Let us looke to this, that no man may have anie thing.* To conclude, he robbed the TEMPLES of many giftes and oblations: The Images likewise therein made of golde or silver

\*Made his first entrie into it after a solemne and festiual manner.  
\*Piscinam.  
\*(Or lake)  
\*Or Walking places.  
\*Or ditch.

A, V, C, 818

\*Remembred him not in their wils and made him not an heire.

\*Or violet in graine.  
\*Or faire.  
\*Who had bought the saide colours.  
\*Italia: which Cæsar did attire make. See in Ital. Cæs. cæ. 43  
\*Preachers or Factours.

\*Or possesse.

hee

he melted into a masse: and among the rest, even those of the \*Tutelar gods (of *ROME*): which soone after *GALBA* restored & erected againe in their places.

As touching his Parricides and murders hee began them first with *CLAVDIVS*: of whose death although he were not principall author, yet he was privie and accessarie thereto. Neither dissimuled he so much, as who afterwards was wont by a greek \*by-word, to praise much crimes; (in which kinde of meat *CLAUDIVS* had taken his bane), as the \*foode of the gods. *CERTVS*, he abused him after hee was dead in most spitefull and contumelious manner, both in word and deede, every way: taunting and twitting him, one while with his folly, another while with his cruelty. For, in scoffing wise he would say of him that hee had left now (*a*) morari) anie longer among mortall men, using the first fillable of the sayd word long. And many of his decrees and constitutions he annulled as the acts of a doltish and doting man: Finally, he neglected the \*place (b) of his funerall fire: suffering it to be \*empaled, but with sleight stuffe and low railes of timber. As for *BRITANNICVS*, not so much for enuie that he had a sweeter and pleasanter voice than himselfe, as for feare least another day he should bee more gracious then he among men, in remembrance of his Father, he attempted to make him away by poison: This poison, *NERO* had received at the hands of one *LOCUSTA*, a woman who appeached & brought to light divers cōfectioners of poysons: and seeing it wrought later than hee looked it should doe, and proved not to his mind, by reason that it mooved *BRITANNICVS* to the stoole onely and caused a laske; he sent for the said woman, and beate her with his owne hands: laying hardly to her charge that in steede of a poyson shee had given him a remedie and holosome medecine. Now when shee alleaged for her excuse that she gave him the lesse \*dose, thereby to colour and cloke the odious fact, which would have bred much anget and hatred: *why! then belike quoth he, I am affraide of the lawe* \**IVLIA*. And so hee forced her before his face in his owne bed-chamber to compound and seeth a poison that should be most quicke and of present operation. And then having made triall thereof in a kid, after he saw once that the beast continued five houres before it dyed, he caused the same to be boyled againe and manie times more, and so he set it before a pig. And when the pig dyed presently upon the taking thereof, hee commanded it should be brought into his refection chamber, and given unto *BRITANNICVS* as hee sat at supper with him. No sooner had hee tasted it but hee fell downe dead. *NERO* readily made a lye and gaue it out among the rest of his guests, that *BRITANNICVS* was surprised by a fit of the falling sicknesse, as his manner was to be. But the next morrow, in all hast hee tooke order for his corps to bee carried forth to buriall, with no better funerals than ordinarie; and that, in an exceeding great storme of raine. Vnto the sayd *LOCUSTA*, for her seruice done, he granted \*impunitie: hee endued her also with faire lands: yea and allowed her to have schollers for to be trained up under her in that feat.

*Apollō Nept unū  
Iovis Iunū,  
Minerva.*

\*Or Prouerbe  
\*his Epian  
alluding to the  
deification af-  
ter his death.

\*Bullam  
\*As the man-  
ner was for  
certaine daies  
before the  
offices and re-  
ligues were  
gathered up

\*In quantitie.

\*Dei causam.

\*For her forme  
mer practice of  
poisoning, by  
the which con-  
dēd.

His owne mother, for looking narrowly into him, & examining his words and deedes somewhat streightly; for seeming also to correct and reforme

34

S 2

the

the same, thus farre forth onely at the first he was grieved and offended with, as that este-foones he made her odious to the world, pretending that he was about to resigne up the Empire \* and depart to *Rhodes*. Soone after, he deprived her of all honour, dignity, and authority: and removing from about her the guard \* of Germaine Souldiours that attended upon her person, hee banished her out of the same house with him, and so forth out of the precincts of the Palace: Neither cared he what he did, so he might molest and trouble her: Suborning some of purpose, both to disquiet her whiles shee abode in *Rome* with suites and actions; and also when shee was desirous of repose and ease in a retiring place out of the way, to censure her with reproachfull taunts and flouting scoffes as they passed that way either by land or sea. But beeing terrified with her threats and violent shrewdnesse, hee determined to kill and dispatch her at once. Having attempted it with poison thrice, and perceiving that shee was defended with Antidotes & preservatives; he provided a bed-chamber for her, with fo ticklish an arched rouse over her head, as beeing easily unioincted, the frame thereof might fall in peeces in the night, and light upon her as she lay a sleepe. When this designe could not be kept close, but was revealed by some of the complices privie thereto; hee devised a ship, so made, as that quickly it should cleave a sunder: that either by the wrack, or fall of the fore-deck aloft, she might come to a mischiefe and perish. And so, making a semblance of a Love-day and reconciliation, hee sent for her by most sweet and kinde Letters, training her unto *Baie*, there to celebrate with him the solemnity of the *Quinquagintian*. And having given order before hand to certaine Maisters of Gallies for to split the \* Foise wherein she was embarked, as if by chaunce they were run full upon her; he made it late ere he went to the feast, & sat long at it. Now when she was to returne back againe unto *Baulis*; in lieu of that vessell thus shaken and crackt, he put unto her the other above said made with joints and vices, easie to fall in peeces: and so, with a cheerefull countenance accompanied her (to \* the water side) and at the parting also kissed her paps. All the time after, he lay awake in great trouble & feare, waiting for the issue of these enterprises. But when he understood that all went crossly, & that she was escaped to land by swimming; being altogether to seeke what course to take; as *L. AGERINUS*, his freed-man brought word with great joy, *How she was escaped alive and safe*; he conceived privily a dagger close \* by him; and as if he had been suborned & hired secretly (by her) to kill him, caused the said *AGERINUS* to be apprehended and bound with chaines: and withall, his mother aforesaid, to be murdered: pretending, as if by voluntary death she had avoided the odious crime thus detected, and so made her selfe away. Worse matter yet than all this & more horrible, is reported beside, and that by Authors of good credit and who will stand to it: Namely, *That he ran in all haste to view the dead body of his mother when she was killed*: that he handled every part & member of it: found fault with some; commended others: and being thirty in the meane \* time, tooke a draught of drink. Howbeit, notwithstanding hee was harmed by the ioyous gratulation of Souldiours, Senate, & People, yet could he not either for the present or ever after, endure the worme and stinging of conscience for this foule fact; but confesse many a time, that haunted & harried he was with the apparition of his mothers ghost: tormented also with the scourges and burning torches of the Furies.

Moreover,

Moreover, with a sacrifice made by direction of magicians, he assaied to raise up her soule and spirite, and to intreate the same to forgive him. Verily as hee travailed through *Greece*, at the sacred Eleusine ceremonies (from the institution and professing wherein all impious, & godlesse, & wicked persons are by the voice of a cryer debarred) He durst not be present. To this parricidy of his mother, he adioyned also the murder of his \* aunt. For when upon a time he visited her lying sicke of a \* costive bellie, and she a woman now well slept in yeares in handling the tender downe of his beard new budding forth, chanced, (as the manner is) by way of pleasing speech, to say, *Alas! but true to \* take up this soft haire when it falls, I would be willing to dye*; he turning to those that stood next unto him, in derision and scoffing manner sayde, *Mary & even straight wayes I will cut it off (for her sake)*, and so made no more adoe but \* gave order unto the Phisitian to pnye the sicke woman still with \* stronger purgatives. For, ere before she was through dead, he laide sure hold of her goods, and suppressed her last will that nothing might escape his clutches.

35 Besides \* *OCTAVIA*, he married afterwards two wives to wit, \* *POPPEA SARRINA* the daughter of one who had beene Queltor, & the wedded wife before of \* a romane Knight: then, *STATILIA MESSALLINA*, \* niece in the third degree removed of \* *TAURUS*, twice Consul, who had once triumphed. Forto have & enjoy her, he murdered her husband *ATTICUS VESTINUS* then Consul, even during the time of that honorable Magistracie. Soone wearie he was of *OCTAVIA* as companion & forlooke her bed. And when some friends reproved him for it he made answer, that the jewels & ornaments only of a wife ought to content her. Soon after, when he had assayed many times (but in vaine) to strangle her, he put her away, pretending she was barraine. But when the people misliked this divorce, and forbore not to raile upon him for it, he proceeded, even to confine & banish her quite. In the end he murdered her, under a colourable imputation of divers adulteries, charged upon her so impudently and falsely; That al generally who were by torture examined upon the point, stood stoutly to the very last in deniall, he suborned and brought in *ANICETUS* his own Pedagogue against her; who should slander himselfe with her & confesse that by a wife he had abused her bodie. The twelfth day after the saide divorcement of *OCTAVIA*, he espoused and married the aforesaid dame *POPPEA* who he loved intirely; and yet even her also he killed with a \* kicke of his heele, for that, being big with child and sickly withall, she had reviled him & given him shrewd words, for coming home so late one night, after his running with chariots. By her he had a daughter named *CLAUDIA AUGUSTA*, whom he buried when she was a very infant. There was no kinde of affinitie & consanguinity were it never soene, but it felt the weight of his deadly had. *ANTONIA*, the daughter of *CLAUDIUS*, refusing after the death of *POPPEA* to be his wife, he slew, under a pretense as if she went about to conspire against him and to alter the state. Semblably, he killed all the rest, that were either allied unto him or of his kindred. Among whom, *A. PLANTIVS* a young gentleman was one. Whose bodie, after he had by force filthily against kind abused before his death: *Let my mother grow quoth he, & kisse my successors sweete lips; prime it out, That he was her wellbeloved deareling, and by her let on to hope & gaze after the Emper.* His sonne in law *RUFINUS CRISPINUS*, the son of \* *POPPEA* a being yet of ten-

S 3

der

\* As if he were the cause thereof.  
\* *Milvum, es Germanorum, Hic da dno.*

\* A feast in the honour of *Minerva*, beginning five daies before the Ides of March, i. the 11 of March.  
\* Or Phiance.

\* Or to the faires.

\* Betwene his feete, *Paris.*

\* About midnight it was.

\* *Damia* by his fathers side.

\* *Ex duricia alijulias enim cibum non recipit, ut Plinius scribit, & dicitur.*

\* As it the world say it might see thee once a man grown &c. for he came to be

Emperour before he was 18 yere of age.

\* You must suppose he sent for the barber first &c.

\* As purging was the cure, so it was the colourable means whereby the vices were killed.

\* The daughter of *Cladius*, Or *Pompeia* as some read.

\* *Titus O. Cus.* *Falsus Crispus.*

\* In the right line of descent.

\* *Statius* vvho in *Augustus* time built the great Amphitheatre in *Rome*, bearing his name

*A. V. C. 84*

\* Why had he brought him up to his childhood.

*A. V. C. 818*

\* Or *Quana*

\* His wife by *his* *Crispus* a former husband

\*Ductus: of  
Capit. r. l. p. 1.

\*To cut the  
maister veins  
of arme: and  
legs: so to  
bleed to death.

\*Sene: a.

\*Eparchos: Ten  
gubernators.

\*A squinancie.

\*Name: y, De-  
viliorus & Pa-  
laci: Testit.

36

der yeeres and a youth under age, because the report went of him, *that in game he would play for \*Dukedomes and Empires*, he gave order unto his owne servants for to drowne in the sea, whiles he was there fishing. TUSCUS his nources sonne he confined and sent away; for that being his procuratour in Egypt, he had bathed in those baines which were built against his coming. His Preceptor and Schoole-master SENECA he compelled to dye: albeit he had sworne unto him very devoutly, (when he made suite many times for a licence to depart the Court, and yeelded up therewith all his goods into his hands) *That he had no cause to suspect him: for he would rather lose his owne life then doe him any hurt.* Vnto BURRUS\* Capitaine (of the garde) he promised a medicine to heale his swollen\*throat, and sent him the rank poison Toxicum for it. His\*freemen, that were rich and olde, whose favour, friendship & directions had stood him in good steele for procuring unto him in times past adoption, and afterwards the Imperial rule, he cut short every one by poyson, partly put into their meats and partly mingled with their drinks.

With no lesse cruelty rag'd hee abroad even against strangers and meere forainers. A blazing hairy starre, commonly thought to portend death and destruction to the highest pourses, began to arise, and had appeared many nights together. Being troubled therewith, and enforced by BABILUS the Astrologer, that Kings were wont to expiate such prodigious signes with some notable massacre, and so divert the blame from themselves, & turne all upon the heads of their Peeres & Nobles, he thereupon projected the death of all the Noblest personages in the Citie. And verily, so much the rather, and, as it were, upon just cause, by reason of two conspiracies by him published & divulged abroad: of which, the former & the greater, bearing the name of\*PISO, was plotted and detected at Rome: the latter going under the name of\*VINICIUS at Beneventū. The conspirators had their trial, and pleaded bound with three-fold chaines: and as some of them confessed the action of their owne accord, so\*others said moreover, *That he was beholdeū unto them for it, because they could not possibly doe a cure upon him by any other means, (displeased as he was and dishonored with all kinde of wicked actes) but only by death.* The children of the condemned were expelled the Citie, and then, dispatched with poison or hunger-starved. It is for certaine known, that some of them with their pædagogues & booke-keepers tooke their bane all at one dinner together, others were restrained for seeking and earning their daily food.

37

After this without all choise and respect, without all measure in his hand, he spared none: he put to death whomsoever it pleased him, and for what cause it skilled not. But not to make long relation of many, it was laid to SALUIDIENUS ORCITUS charge, that he had fed and let three shops out of his house about the *Forū*, unto the Cities & States abroad for (their Embassadours) for to make their abode & conuerse in. To CASSIUS LONGINUS the lawier (a man bereft of both his eyes) objected it was, that in the antient pedigree of his own house and linage, he had set up againe the images of C. CASSIUS, one of the that murdered CÆSAR. To PANTAS THRASIAS, for having a sterner & severe countenance like a Pædagogue, When these with other were appointed once to dy, he allowed them no more then one houres respite to live after & because

no

no further delay might come between, he put unto the Chyrurgians (in case they lingred and made no hast) to cure them out of hand, (for that was the term he used) meaning thereby, to cut their veins & let them bleed to death. It is verily thought also, that to a certain great(e) eater \*(an Egyptian borne) that used to feed on raw flesh and whatsoever was given him, he had a great desire to cast men alive, for to bee quartered cut in peeces & devoured by him. Being lified and puffed up, with these as it were, so great\*successes, he saide that no\*prince ever knew what he might do: and oftentimes he cast out many words betokening very significantly, that he would not spare the Senators remaining behind, but one day utterly rare that Order & degree out of the comon-wealth, and permit the gentlemen of Rome & his freed-men (only to rule provinces & have the conduct of armies. CÆTES, neither at his coming home nor going forth any whether, vouchsafed he to kisse any one of them, no nor so much as once to resalute them: and when with formall complements he entred upon his worke of digging through *Isthmus*, he wished and praid aloud before a frequent audience, *That the enterprise might speed well and turne to the weale of himselfe and the people of Rome*, concealing and suppressing all mention of the Senate. 38 But yet for al that, he spared not the people nor forbore the very walls and buildings of his country the Citie. When one in common take upon a time chaunced to say,

(a) *Quis deus est? quia iuxta te vivit?*

When vitall breath is fled from me,

Let earth with fire imingled be.

Nay rather quoth he *Quis deus est?*

Whiles vital breath remains in me &c.

And even so he did indeede: for being offended, as it were with the ylfavoured fashion of the olde houses, as also with the narrow, crooked & winding streets; he set the citie of Rome on fire so apparently, that many Citizens of Consuls degree, taking his\*chamberlaines in the maner with matches, touchwood and hurds in their messuages (within the Citie) would not once lay hand on them but let them alone: yea & certain garners and store houses about his golden Aedifice (for that the plot of ground on which they were situate, his mind stood most unto), were by war-engins forcibly shake, throwe down & fired, by reason they were built with stone walls. For 6. dayes & 7. nights together rag'd he in this wise making havocke of all, and driving the common-people to take up their\*Innes & shrowd themselves the while about the tombs & monuments of the dead. During this time, beside an infinit number of (b) houses standing apart fro others, the goodly ædifices & buildings of noble captains in old time, adorned still & beautified with the spoiles of enemies, the stately temples also of the gods, vowed & dedicated by the auntient kings first, & afterwards in the\*punick & french wars; burned all, on a light fire: & in one word, whatsoever remained from old time worth the seeing & memorable was consumed. This fire, beheld he daily out of *Mæcenat* (c) high toure: and taking ioy (as he sayd himselfe) at the beautiful flame that it made, chaunted the winning and destruction of *Troie*, in that Musicians habit wherein he was wont to sing upon the stage. And because he would not misse, but lay fast holde upon all the bootie and pillage which possibly hee, could come by, even from thence also, having promised free

\*Polyphogus cui.  
dam. or glutton

\*Or prosperity  
\*Or none of the  
Emperors  
knew.

\*In Achæia,  
here Cæsar.  
\*Comprising  
therein the  
gentlemen  
degree: not  
Senatus: p. 100. by  
Rome, as the  
manner had  
beene.

\*Cubicularenz,  
the grooms of  
his chamber.

\*Or lodgings,

\*With the Car  
thaginians.

S 4

leave

leave to cast forth dead karkassies, and rid away the rammell of the ruines; looke what reliques remained of all their goods and substance burnt, he permitted not one to goe unto it. Finally, not onely by receiving, but also by exacting Contributions from all parts, he beggered well neere the provinces and consumed the wealth of private persons.

39 To amend the matter well, vnto these harmes and reprochefull dishonors (of the State) so great as they were arising from the Prince, there happened also some other calamities by chance and fortune: to wit, a pestilence continuing one autumn, whereby thirte(a) thousand burials were reckoned in the \*record of \**Libitina*; an unfortunate losse in *Britaine*, wherein two principall townes of great importance were sacked, with great slaughter besides of Roman Citizens and Allies: A shamefull disgrace received in the East by reason that the Romane Legions in *Armenia* were put under the yoke as Slaves, and *Syria* was hardly and with much adoe kept in tearmes of allegiance. But a wonder it was to see, and a thing especially to be noted, that amid all these infortunities hee tooke nothing lesse to the heart, than the shrewd checks and reviling taunts of Men: and was to none more milde, than to such as had provoked him, either with hard speeches, or opprobrious verses. Many infamous libels & defamatorie words, both in Greeke and Latine, were publicly written, or otherwise cast and spread abroad against him, As for example these.

Νέρον Ορέστην, ἀδελφὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ  
Νέρονος, ἔνεον διὰ τὴν μητέρα πατέρα

NERO, (c) ORESTES, (d) ALCMEON, did shorten mothers life:

NERO slew \*his, when newly hee wedded as his wife.

*Quis negat Aeneam magna de stirpe Neronem?*

*Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*

Who can deny, of great AENEAS our NERO sprung to be

That rid his mother of her life, as \*Sire (c) from fire did hee.

*Dum tendit citræarum noster, dum Cornu Parthus,*  
*Noster erit Pean, ille Hecatebeletes.*

\*Whiles our NERO bendeth his harpe while PARTHIAN his bow;  
Our prince shall be PARSAN. Hec (f) HECATEBELETES.

*Roma domus fiet: Viciis migrare Lyciries*

*Si non et Viciis occupet ista domus.*

Rome will become a dwelling (g) house: To Veijs flit a pace.

Quirites, least this house before ye come take up the place.

But no search made he after the authors hereof, and some of them being by the Approacher conuenient before the Senate, he would not suffer to sustaine any greivous punishment. As he passed by in the open street, I S I D O R Y S the

\*CYNICK, had checked him alowd in these tearmes, That he vsed to chaunt the calamities of (h) N A P L I V S very well, but disposed of his owne goods as badly. And D A T V S, a plaier of the \*Atrillane Comædies in a certain Sener singing these words (i) *huc ianæ pater i.* Farewel father. *huc ianæ pater i.* Farewel ther, had acted the same so significantly, as that hee feigned the one drinking and the other swimming, to expresse thereby the end \*of C. CLAVDIVS and AGRIPPINA: And in the last conclusion of all, with these wordes.

(\*) *Orati vobis auctis pedes* Now P L U T O leadeth forth your feet.

\*As we say in the Church booke.

\*In whose temple were to be bought or hired, whatsoeuer pertained to funerals & burials, *Para Plararchi* taketh her for *Venus*.

\*To wit AGRIPPINA.

\*Anchise.

\*Hecatebeletes, & PARSAN.

\*Philosopher, \*Or euil.

\*Which were very lascivious & licentious.

\*Whole for he was by adoption, for some report, hee took his poison in a cup of drinke

& not in a mist of rom.

\*Who was thought to have perished in the sea and indeed hee

hardly escaped drowning by swimming.

in plaine gesture noted the Senate: The \*Agor & \*Philosopher N E R O did no more unto, but banish them *Rome and Italie*: either for that he set light by all shame and infamie; or els least in bewraying anie grieffe, he might stir up and provoke pregnant wits to worke vpon him.

Well, the world having indured such an Emperour as this, little lesse than 14. yeares, at length fell away & forsooke him cleane. And first the French began, following as the ringleader of their insurrection IULIUS VINDEY, who that very time governed the \*Province, as Propretour. Foretold it had been long agoe unto N E R O by the Astrologers, *That one day he should be left forlorne.* \*Of Gaulle. Whereupon this saying was most ripe in his mouth.

Τὸ τέχνην ποιεῖν γὰρ τὴν τέλιν,

*An Articame of anie kinde*

*In every land will bring findes*

So that he might the better be excused and borne withall for studying & practising the art of minstrelsie and singing to the harpe, as a skil delightful unto him now a Prince, and needfull for him another day a private person. Yet some there were who promised unto him so for sake, the goverment of the East parts: and others by speciall name the kingdome of *Hiernsalem*: but most of them warranted him assuredly the restitution of his former estate. And being inclined rather to rest upon this hope, when he had lost *Britaine* and *Armenia*, & recovered them both againe: he thought himselfe discharged then and quit from the fatal calamities destined unto him. But sending one time to the Oracle of A P O L L O at *Delphi*, and hearing this answere from thence (a) *That hee must beware of the yeare 73*, as who would say, *He was to dye in that yeare of his owne age* and not before: and divining no whit of G A L B A R S yeeres; with so assured confidence hee conceived in his heart not onely long life but also a perpetuall and singular felicity, that when he had lost by shipwracke things of exceeding price, he stucke not to say among his familiars, *That the \*fishes would bring the same againe unto him.* At *Naples* aduertised he was of the rebellion in *Gaulle*. Which fell out to be the very fame day of the yeare, on which he had killed his mother. But hee tooke this newes so patiently and carelesly, that he gave suspition even of joy and contentment: as if occasion had bene offered and presented thereby to make spoyle (by the lawe of armes) of those most rich & wealthy Provinces: and streight waies going forth into the \*Gymnase, he beheld with exceeding great earnestnesse and delight the wrestlers and champions striving for the prise. At supper time also, being interrupted with letters importing more tumults and troubles still: Thus farre forth one ly he grew into choller and indignation, as that he threatened \*mischiefe to them who \*had revolted. To conclude, for eight dayes together he never went about to write backe unto any man nor to give any charge or direction at all, but buried the matter quite in silence.

At the last, thoroughly mooved and nettled with the contumelious edicts of vindex comming so thicke one in the necke of another, he exhorted the Senate, in a letter written unto them, to revenge him and the commonwealth: alleading for an excuse the \*Squinie whereof hee was sicke: and therefore could not himselfe be present in person. But nothing vexed him so much as this, *That hee was by him blamed for an unskillfull musician*, and because in

\*As they did to *Polyrates* that mighty Tyrant of *Samos*; but he was not long before his fall and destruction.

\*Publike place of exercise. \*Mellum an Emphaticall and significant word in this place: like as in *Lucie*, lib. 4. *Mellum melius mensis quere-rit.* As it he had said, *mischiefe take these Rebels: or, mischiefe will come to them.*

*Deffesse*, ad. *Deffesse*, as if mischiefe would fall upon the authors heads

41

\*An inflammation or swelling in the throat.

steed of NERO, he called him \*ÆNOBARBUS. And verely as touching this name appropriate to his house and family; wherewith he was thus in contumelious manner twitted, he professed to resume the same, and to lay away the other that \*came by adoption. All other reviling taunts and slanders hee confuted as meere false, by no other argument than this. *That unskilfulnesse, forsooth, was objected unto him in that very art, which he had so plainly studied and brought to so good perfection: and therewith asked them if some one by one, whether they had ever known a more excellent Musician than himselfe.* But when messengers came still one after another, in great feare he returned to Rome. And having his hart lightened but a litle in the way, with a vaine and foolish proflag by occasion that hee espied and observed engraven upon a monument, a certaine french souldiour with a Romane knight overmatched in fight and trailed along by the haire (of the head): he at this sight leapt for ioy and worshipped the heavens. Neither then verely, did hee so much as consule in publike with the Senate, or assemble the people: but onely call forth home to his house some of the chiefe and principall persons among them. And having dispatched in great haste this consulation, the rest of that day he led them all about to his muscalle water instruments of a strange devise and fashion, not before known: and shewing every one by it selfe unto them, discoursing also of the reason and difficult workmanship of each one, he promised even anone to bring them all forth into the open Theatre, \* If VINDEX would give him leave,

42

After that he understood besides, how GALBA likewise & the provinces of Spaine were revolted, he fell downe at once: his heart was then daunted & cleane done: and so he lay a good while speechlesse in a trance, and ready, as one would say, to goe out of the world. And so soone as he came againe to himselfe, he rent his clothes, beat and knockt his head, saying plainly *That he was utterly undone*: yea and when his nourse came about him to comfort his poore heart, telling him, that the like accidents had befallen to other princes also before him, hee answered againe, *That hee above all the rest suffered miseries never heard of nor knowne before: Thus in his life time to forgoe and loose his Empire.* Neither yet for all this stricke he faile one whit in laying away or leaving out one jot of his ordinary riot and supine slothfulnesse. Nay when some little inckling was given of good newes out of the provinces as he sat at a most sumptuous and plentifull supper, hee pronounced even with expresse gesture like a player, certaine ridiculous rimes, and those set to lascivious and wanton measures, against the chieftaines of rebellion: and what were those? even stale stuffe and commonly known already. Being also secretly conveyed into the Theatre he sent word unto a certaine Player acting his part with great contentment of them that *saw and heard him, That he did but abuse his \*occupations.*

43

Immediatly upon the beginning of this feareful \*tumult, it is credibly thought that he intended manie designs and those very cruell and horrible: yet such as agreed well enough with his naturall humour: namely, to sende under hand successeours and murderers of all those that were Commanders of armies & regents of Provinces; as if they all had conspired and drawn in one and the selfe same line. *Item,* to massacre all banished persons where soever; and the frenchmen

mē every one that were to be found in Rome: those because they should not band & combine with them that revolted: these, as complices with their owne contrie men, and their abettors. *Item* to permit, the armies for to make spoyle and havocke of the Provinces in Gaul. *Item* to poyson all the Senate generally at some appointed feast. Last of all to fire Rome & let wild beasts loose among the people; that thereby there might be more adoe and greater difficulty to save the Citie. But being skared from these designments, not so much upon anie repentance, as despaire of their accomplishment: and perswaded withall, that necessarie it was to make a voyage and warlike expedition; the Consuls then in place hee deprived of their government before the due time, and himselfe alone entred upon the Consulship in their roomes, as if forsooth, the destinies had so ordained, that Gaul could not be subdued but by a (sole) \*Consul. Having then taken into his hands the \*knitches of rods, when after meat he withdrew himselfe aside out of his dining chamber, leaning upon the shoulders of his familiar friends, hee protested, that so loone as ever he was come into the Province: he would shew himselfe unarmed before the armies: and do nothing else but weepe. and after he had once by that meanes reclaimed the authors of the Revolt and brought them to repentance, sing merily, the day following, songs of triumph with them that rejoyced with him. Which songs quoth hee ought with all speede even now to be composed for me.

44

In the preparation of this warlike voiage, his speciall care was, to choose forth meere wagons for the cariage of his muscalle instruments; to cut & poll the concubines which hee caried out with him like men: and to furnish them with battaile axes and little bucklers after the Amazonian fashion. This done, he cited the Citie-tribes to take the militarie oth: and when no serviceable mē would answer to their names, hee enjoyed all Masters to set forth a certaine number of bond-servants, neither admitted he out of the whole family & household of every mā, but such only as were most approved, excepting not so much as their stewards or clarkes and secretaries. He commanded likewise all degrees to allow and contribute toward this expedition part of their estate according as they were valued in the Censors booke: and more than so, The tenants inhabiting private messuages and great houses standing by them selves, to pay out of hand in yearly pension to his exchequer. Hee exacted also with great skornefullnesse and extremitie, good money rough and new coyned, silver fine and full of frissons: golde pure and red as fire. In so much, as all men openly refused the payment of all contributions: demanding in a generall consent, that what monies soever promoters had received for their informations, should rather be required backe againe at their hands.

45

By the dearth likewise of corne, looke what hatred was conceived against the \*gainers, the same grew heave upon him. For it fell out by chance that in this publicke famine word came of a \*Ship of (a) Alexandria, how it was arrived freight with a kinde of dust for the wrestlers of NERO his court. Having thus stirred up & kindled the hatred of all the world against him, there was no contumelious despite but hee sustained. To one statue of his, just behind the crowne of the heade, was set a \*chariot with an Imprese in Greeke to this effect

fect

\*Which was the name of his family, and so had he been called before his adoption.  
\*Nero Claudius Drusus

\* Which it seems he spake ironically, if simply, he meant, in case Vindex interrupted not his sports and the publicke felicitie.

\* In that hee played without a concurrent whereas himselfe but for his businesse would have put him downe

\* Occasioned by the Com-motions & Revolts abroad

\* As sometime Cn. Pompeius Magnus was, for the like exploit.  
\* The Consular authoritie.

\* Surinnesse.

\* i. Cornu-  
gers lacrimant  
\* Or the fleets  
it selfe, nauis  
proclite as  
claturnate  
by the figure  
Synecdoche

\* Alluding to  
his Chariot  
running.  
\* A Sachell  
dies: a  
\* Ego quid potui;  
\* Culeum  
\* Pileus  
\* Gaudet et cum  
cūque caritate

scē, *Now (b) in truth, and not before is the combat.* And againe, *Now or never hale and drawe.* To the necke of another, there was tyed a lether-<sup>a</sup> bagge, and wherewith this title, \**What (a) could I doe? But thou hast deserved a verie* \**lether (e) badge indeed.* This writing also was fastned upon the \**Columnes, Now with his chaunting hee hath awakened the French.* And by this time manie there were who in the night season making semblance of chiding and brawling with their servants, called often for a VINDEX.

46

\* Presaging  
foretokens  
\* Uminum.

Beside all this, he tooke affrightes at the manifest <sup>a</sup> portents as well newe as old, of dreams, of prodigies and of \**Osse.* For where as before time, he was never wont to dreame, when he had murdered his mother once there appeared visions in his sleepe, him thought hee saw the helme of a ship wrested out of his hand as hee steered it: and that by his wife OCTAVIA hee was haled into a very narrow and blinde place: one while that he was covered all over with a multitude of winged ants; another while, that the images of grave men descended of noble houses dedicated in POMPEIUS Theatre, went round about him, and debarred him from going forward. Also, that his ambling guel- ding, wherein hee tooke most delight, was in most parts transfigured into the forme of an ape: But having his head only found and entier, did set up a lowde and shrill voice neighing. Out of the \**Mausoleum*, when all the dores thereof flew of their owne accord open, a voice was heard calling him by name. Vpon the \**Calends of Ianuarie*; his domestick gods, garnished and adorned (as they were), at the verie time when the sacrifice was in preparing, fell all downe. And as he was observing the signes by birds flight, SPORUS presented him with a ring for a newe yeares gift: in the precious stones whereof, was engraven the ravishing and carrying away of PROSERPINA: At the solemne nuncupation of his vowes, when as a great and frequent number of all degrees were already assembled together, the keyes of the Capitoll could hardly be found. What time as out of his inuective oration against VINDEX these wordes were rehearsed in the Senate: *Thou such wicked person should suffer punishment*, they all cryed out with one voice. *Trasces AVGVSTE.* i. Thou shalt to doe O AUGURUS. This also had bene obserued, that the last Tragædie which he acted and sung in publicke place, was OEDIPUS the banished, and iust as he pronounced this verse

οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλγεα θύγατρός· μὲντοι, πῆρ' ἐγὼ

How can I chuse but death desire,

Thus bidden by wife by mother and Sire?

\* he fell downe.

47

\* Decidisse orde-  
fisse i. stayed &  
gave over,

In this meane while, when newes came that all the other armies also rebelled, the letters delivered unto him, as hee sat at dinner hee tare in peeces, overthrew the table, and two cuppes (of Chryftall) out of which he tooke the greatest pleasure to drinke, and which he called Homericos, for certaine verses of \**(a) HOMER* engraven and wrought upon them, he dashed against the paved floure. Then, after he had received a poison of LOCUSTA & put it up in a golden boxe, he went directly into the horyards of the *Servitij*: where

\* See the anno-  
tation upon  
this place.

where, having sent before his most trusty freed-servants UNO STRA for to rig and prepare a fleet to sea, hee summoned the Tribunes and Centurions of the guard, whether they would beate him company and die with him, or no: But when some of them made merriment and kept some halting; others in plaine termes refused; and one also cried out aloud,

*Vsq̃ue adeo (b) mori miserum est?*

What! is it such a miserie

To leave this life and so to die?

He cast about, and thought of many and sundry shifts? Whether hee should goe as an humble suppliant unto the Parthians, or to GALBA? or whether it were best for him, arrayed all in blacke to come abroad into the Citie, and there in open place before the ROSTRA, with all the full and piteous moane that hee could possibly make, crave pardon for all that was past? and unless hee could turne the peoples hearts unto \**mercy*, make suite to have if it were but the (c) Deputy-ship of Egypt graunted unto him. Certes, found there was afterwards in his Cabinet a Speech of his owne penning, as touching this Argument. But men thinke hee was scared from this enterprise, as fearing least before hee thither, \**could come*, he should be pulled in peeces. Thus, putting off all farther cogitation of this matter unto the next day, and \**awakened about midnight*; when hee under stood that the guard of his Souldiours was retired and gone, hee leapt forth of his bed, and sent all about to his friends. But because no word was brought back from any of them, himselfe accompanied with a fewe about him went to every one of their lodgings: Where finding all dores shut, and no body to make him answer, he returned to his bed-chamber. By which time, his Keepers also and Wardens were slipped from thence: but they had stolen away first the hangings and furniture of his chamber, yea and set out of the way the box aforesaid with the poison. Then straight waies he sought for SPICILLUS the \**Sword-fencer*, or any other common hackster, \**Stimulans*, he cared not who, by whose hand he might receive his death wound. But finding none. Well, quoth he, *And have I neither a friend, nor a foe?* And so he runnes forth, as if he would have throwne himselfe headlong into Tiberis.

48

But having reclaimed once againe that violent moode, hee desired some more secret retyring place, wherein he might lurke a while and recall his wits together. And when PRAON his freed man made offer unto him of a Farme house of his, that he had by the Citie side, about foure miles off, betweene the high-waies *Salaria* and *Appientina*, bare footed as hee was and in his \**shirt* hee cast over it a \**Single waist-coate*, cloak all sullied and which had lost the colour. And so covering his head, and holding an handkercheife before his face, to horseback hee went; having not above foure persons in his companie; of which \**SPORUS* made one. And being by & by affrighted with an Earthquake & lightning that flashed against his face, he heard with all, an out-cry & howl (from the Campe hard-by), of the Souldiours of all mischief at him & all good unto GALBA: Yea, & one of the passengers that he met, saying, *These be they that pursue NERO*, as also another asking, *What news in Rome of NERO?* Now by occasiō that his horse under him senting a dead start as if that was throwne out in the way, started and flung at on side, his face was discovered, and himselfe knowne of one MISSICUS a *Pretorian Souldiour*, who

AT  
\* And to suffer  
him for to im-  
poy the Empire  
\* To the \**Empire*  
\* Or starting  
out of his sleepe

\* Stimulans

\* Single waist-  
coate

The rest were  
Phaon, Esophaon,  
Phaon and 2 (con-  
fessors)

T

who

who falsed him by his name. When they were come to the next Lane, turning out of the Rode-way, their horfes they forooke and turned them up: and fo among thickets of shrubs; rough bushes and briars, with much ado through a narrow path within a reed plot, and not without clothes spread under foot, he gat length as farre as to the wall of the Country house above said over & against him. There, when the said PHAON perswaded him to bellow himselfe the meane while, within a pit, from whence fane had bene cast forth, Nay, quoth he, I will never goe quick \* under ground: and so, after he had staid a litle (while there was a secret way making to let him into the same house), he laded up water with his owne hand out of a ditch under him, minding to drinke: and this, quoth he, is NEROES \* decocted water. After this, because his cloake was torne among the bushes and briars afore said, he rid it from the prickly sprigs that were runne through and stuck therein, and so creeping upon all foute through a straight and narrow hole digged in the wall for him, received hee was into the next backe roomer: Where he laid him downe on a pallet made of a simple scant matrice, and an olde over-worne cloake cast over it for a coverlet. Now when hunger came upon him, and thirst with all the second time, the browne and coufse bread verily which was offred unto him here refused; but of warme water he dranke a pretty draught.

49

When as each one called then instantly on every side upon him, to deliver him selfe with all speede from the reproachfull contumelies and abuses, whereto hee was hourly subject, he commaunded a grave to be made before his face, and gave a measure therefore according to the iust proportion of his body: and therewith, if any peeces of marble stone might be found about the house, to be laid in order: That water also and wood should bee gotten together for his dead body to be washed anone therewith: weeping at every word he spake, and interring ever and anon this pittifull speech, *Quis \* artifex Peres!* What an excellent Artificer am I: and yet nowe must I die. Whiles some stay was made about these complements, PHAON \* Courrier brought certaine letters which hee intercepted and snatcht out of his hands. And reading therein that hee had his Dome by the Senate, To be an Enemy to the State: That he was laid for all about to be punished, *Mors maiorum. Mors maiorum!* quoth he, what kinde of punishment is that! and when he undertooke, it implied thus much, *That the man so condemned, should be stript all naked, his head \* loked fast in a forke, and his body couerged with rods to death;* he was so terrified therewith, That hee caught up \* two daggers which hee had brought with him: and trying the points of them both how sharpe they were, he put them up againe, making this excuse, *That the fatall houre of his death was not yet come.* And one while he exhorted SPORUS to begin for to lament, weep and wailer: another while he intreated hard, *That some one of them would kill him selfe first, and by his example heipe him to take his death.* Sometime also hee checked and blamed his owne timorouesness in these wordes, *I live shamefully and in reproach,* & *πῶς Νέρων, σαρπῆντα ὑπὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς παύροις, ἀπὸ ἑσέος βλαπτοῦμαι.* Is he comes not NERO; it becomes him not. In such cases as these hee had neede to bee wise and sober: Goe to man, plucke up thy heart and van'se thy selfe. Nowe by this time approached the Horsemen neere at hand, who had a warrant and precept to bring him alive. Which when hee perceived, after hee had with trembling

quaking

quaking uttered this verse.

\* ἤκων μὲ δαυτοῖσιν ἐμφὶ κτύπος ἔσπετο βάλαι.

The trampling noise of horfes swift resounder in mine eares.

He set a dagger to his throat, whiles EPAPHRODITUS his \* Secretarie lent him his hand to dispatch him. When he was yet but halfe dead, a Centurion brake in upon him, and putting his cloake upon the wound, made semblance as if hee came to aide and succour him: Vnto whom he answered nothing but this. *Too late. And is this your loyalty and allegiance?* In which very word he yielded up his breath, with his eyes flaring out and set in his head, to the great feare and horrour of all that were present. He had requested of the companie which attended upon him, no one thing more earnestly than this. *That no man might have his head severed from the body but that in any wise he might be burnt whole.* And LERUS a freed man of Gaibe, who not long before was delivered out of prison (into which he was \* cast at the beginning of the first \* tumult) permitted \* to much.

50

His funerals were performed with the charges of 200000 Sesterces: His corps was caried forth (to buriall) enwrapped within white cloathes of Tinsel, woven with gold wire betwene, the very same that hee had worn upon the Calends of Ianuarie. His reliques, ELOGE and ALEXANDRA his two Nources, together with ACTE his Concubine bestowed within the monument belonging to the house of the DOMITIUS his Aunceltors: Which is to be seene out of Mars field, \* situate upon the Knap of an hill within their Hortyards. In which Sepulcher his chest \* made of Porphyrite Marble, with an Altar (as it were) or table of white Marble of Luna standing upon it, was enclosed round about with a fence of Thesaur Marble stone.

51

Hee was for stature almost of \* complext heighth. His body full of specks and freckles, and foule of skinn besides. The haire of his head somewhat yellow: His countenance and visage rather faire, than lovely and well favoured. His eyes gray and somewhat with the dimmet. His neck full and fat. His belly & paunch bearing out: with a paire of passing slender spindle thanks: but withall, he was very healthfull. For, being as he was so untemperate and most roytously given, in 14 yeeres space, hee never fell sicke but thrice: yet so, as hee neither so bare drinking of wine, nor any thing else that hee used to doe. About the trimming of his body hee was and wearing of his cloathes so nice, as it was shameful: in so much as hee would alwaies have the bush of his head laide and plained by curlers in degrees: but what time as he travailed in Achaia, hee drew it backward also from the crowne of his head \* and wore it long. For the most part, he wore a dainty and effeminate pied garment called *Synthesis*: and with a fine Lawne neck Kerchief bound about his neck he went abroad in the Streets, ungirt, untrussed, and unshod.

52 Of all the Liberrall Sciences in manner, hee had a tast when he was but a child. But from the Studie of Philosophie his mother turned his minde; telling him, It called by *Homer* was repugnant to one who another day was to be a Sovereigne: and from the knowledge of ancient Oratours, his Maister SENECA withdrew him, because hee would hold him the longer in admiration of himselfe. And therefore, being of his owne accord readily enclined to Poetry, he made verses voluntarily and without paine. Neither did he (as some think) set forth other mens Poems as his owne.

T 2

There

\* *Homer* *Iliad*, x  
spoken by  
Nestor  
\* *Or* *Orapies*  
\* *Or* his Maister  
ofi quods.

\* By *Nero*  
\* Occasioned  
by the rebell  
In *Gauls* and  
Saine.  
\* For he might  
doe a l in al with  
Gaibe. See *Gaibe*,  
14

\* *Or* *Cophin*.

\* Within a *hrie*  
of sixe footes.

\* As you may  
see in y coins  
picture of  
Othe the Empe-  
rour, Scaris  
callen this, *aga*  
*gellum* come in  
lib. 1. *Saly*  
\* haply inimi-  
tation of *Apello*  
(who was *Im-*  
*ros*), and is  
called by *Homer*  
therefore  
(*unpersuaded*)  
because there  
especially he  
proffessed Mus-  
ick, wherof  
*Apello* is the  
Patrone.

\* For feare di-  
ther of pic-  
king his fence  
or of being  
heard to goe.  
\* Or into any  
grave.

\* Or *Or* *Or* *Or*  
\* *Plinie* report-  
eth lib 3 *Cap*  
3. That *Nero*  
devoted to feed  
water first, then  
within a plate  
to let it stand  
in snow, wher-  
by it became  
exceeding  
cold: partly by  
the snow, & in  
part by the  
former deco-  
ction. A deli-  
cate dinke in  
the heat of  
Summer.

\* Meaning his  
singular skill in  
Musicke, for  
which pittie it  
was he should  
ever die.  
\* Or else, what  
manner of ar-  
tifician and I  
now become,  
thus to prepare  
mine owne fu-  
nerall.  
\* Or Footman  
\* Or set.  
\* Or rapiers.  
\* *Acte*: pro ac-  
tione *trium* *trium*.



There haue come into mine hands writing tables and bookes containing verses very famous and well knowne abroade, written with his owne hand: so as a man may easily see they were not copied out of other bookes, nor yet taken from the mouth of any other that indited them, but plainly penned as a man would say, by one that studied for them, and as they came in his head, so put them downe: so many blots and scrapings out, so many dashes and interlinings were in them.

53 No small delight he had beside in painting; and most of all in forging and moulding counterfaits. But above all, he was ravished and lifted up with popularity & praise of men: desirous therefore to imitate & equal them, who by any means pleased the humours & contented the minds of the common people. There went an opinion & speech of him, that after he had gained the Coronets for his musickall feats performed upon the stage, hee would at the next five yeares revolution, go unto the Olympicke games, and contend for the prize among the Champions there. For, he practised wrestling continually. Neither beheld he the Gymnicke games throughout all Greece otherwise, than sitting below within the \* Stadium, as the manner of the ludges and Vmpires of such masteries: and if any \* paires of them drew to farre backe out of the appointed place, to plucke them with his own hands into the middle againe. He had intended moreouer (since he was reputed to have equalled A P O L L O in singing and matched the Sun in charioting) to imitate also the worthie acts of H E R C U L E S. And men say, there was a Lion prepared, which he, all naked should either with his club braine, or els with straight claspings betwene his armes throttle and crush to death within the Amphitheatre, in the sight of all the people.

\*Or the lifts  
\*Or couples  
matched.

54

Certainly, a little before his ende he had openly made a vowe, *That in case he continued still in good and happie estate, represent he would likewise at the games, in his owne person after victory obtained, an Organist and player upon water instruments, upon the flute also and hautboys, yea and a bagpiper, and on the last day (of the said games) an actor of Enterludes: what time he would daunce and gesture Turnus in Virgill.* And some write, that P A R I S the actor was by him killed, as a concurrent that stood in his way and eclipsed his light.

55

A desire he had, (foolish and inconsiderate though it were) of eternitie and perpetuall fame. And therefore, abolishing the old names of many things & places, hee did upon them new, after his owne. The month Aprill also hee called *Nepones*. He ment moreover to have named *Rome*, \* *Neropolis*.

\*Nepes City.

56

\*Astergate or  
Asterre the  
same from  
think that Iuno  
\* Her image  
\* or vake: now  
to him.

All Religions whatsoever he had in contempt, unless it were that onely of the \* *Syrian* goddesse. And yet soone after he despised her so farre, that hee polluted \* her with urine: by occasion that he was wonderfully addicted to an other superstition, wherein alone hee continued and persevered most constantly. For having received in free gift, a little puppet representing a young girle, at the hands of a meane commoner, and \* obscure person, as a remedy, forsooth, or defensive against all treacheries and secret practises: and thereupon straight waies chauncing to discover a conspiracie, he held it for the soveraine deity above all, & persisted honoring & worshipping it every day with 3 sacrifices. Nay he would haue men believe, that he foreknew things to come by advertisement & warning given from her.

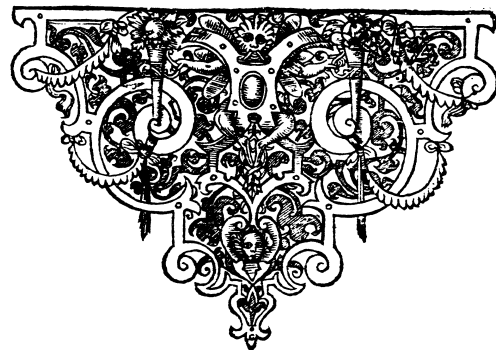
Some

Some few moneths before he lost his life, he tooke regard also of the Skill in prying into beasts entrailes. Which he observed in deede, but never sped well therein, nor gained thereby the favour of the Gods.

He died in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age; that very day of the yeere, on which in times past he had murdered his wife O C T A V I A: & by his death brought 57  
to great joy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore \* Caps, and ranne sporting up and downe throughout the Citie. Yet there wanted not some, who a long time after decked his Tombe with gay flowers that the Spring and Sommer doe affourd: and who, one while brought forth his Images clad in robes embroidered with purple gards before the *Rosstra*: otherwhile published his Edicts, as if he had beene yet living and would shortly returne to the great mischief of his enemies. Moreover, V O L O G E S U S King of the Parthians, when he sent his Embassadors unto the Senate for to treat about the renewing of league and Alliance with them, requested this also very earnestly, *That the Memoriall of N E R O might be still solemnized.* To conclude, when twenty yeeres after his decease (whiles I my selfe was but a young man) one arose among them (no man knew from whence? nor of what condition?) who gave it out, *That Hee was N E R O*, (so gracious was his name among the Parthians,) he was mightily upheld and maintained, yea and hardly delivered up againe.

A.V.C. 83:  
\*Or Bores, to  
it flie free-  
dome: secures  
ted.

\*Name, no  
Calphurnius  
Alpernas: to be  
executed for a  
lying counter-  
feit.





# THE HISTORIE OF Servius Sulpitius Galba, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



Chap 1  
\* Or line:

\* Which pro-  
ves what is  
also the whole  
breed of them.  
Dw:

**T**HE \* Progenie of the CÆSARS ended in NERO. Which; that it would so come to passe, appeared verily by many signes, but by two of all other most evident. As LIVIA in times past immediately after her marriage with AUGUSTUS, went to see a Mannour house and land of her owne in the vienteane Territorie, it fortuneed that an Eagle soaring over her head let fall into her lap a white hen, holding in her bill a Lawrell branch even as she had caught it up. And thinking it good to have both the foule kept, and the said branch set in the ground: behold there came of the one such a goodly broode of \* chickens, that even at this day the very house aforesaid is called *As Gallinas*: and sprung of the other so faire a row of Bay trees, that all the CÆSARS when they were to ride in triumph gathered from thence their

their Laurell \* gairlands. And as the manner was, that when any of them triumphed, they should prick downe straight waies others in the same place: so it was obserued likewise, that a litle before the death of every one the tree by him planned, did milke and die. In the last yeere therefore of NERO, not onely the whole grove of bay trees withered to the very roote, but all the hens there died every one. And anon after the Temple of the CÆSARS being stricken with lightning, the heads withall of their Statues fell downe all at once, and the Scepter of AVGVSTVS was shaken out of his hands.

After NERO succeeded GALBA, in no degree allied unto the house of the CÆSARS: but without all question a right noble gentleman of a great and auncient \* race: as who in the titles and Inscriptions over his owne Statues wrote himselfe: waies the \* Nephew once remooved of Q. CATVLVS CAPITOLINVS: and being once Emperour did let up also in his \* Haule the Lineall processe and race of his house, wherein he derieth his descent from the father side, from IVPITER and by his mother from PASIPHAE, the wife of King MINOS.

To prosecute the Images and Laudatorie testimonials belonging to the whole stocke & linage in generall were a long peece of worke: those onely of his own family wil I briefly touch. The first of all the SULPITII, why? and whereupon he bare the surname of GALBA? there is some doubtfull question. Some thinke it came by occasion of a Towne in *Spaine*, which after it had bene a long time in vaine assaulted, hee at length let on fire with burning brands befiecered all ver with Galbanum: others, for that in a long sicknesse which hee had, hee vsed continually Galbeum, that is to say, a cure with remedies \* enwrapped within wooll: some againe because hee seemed to be very fat, and such a one, the French doth name GALBA: or contrariwise, in regard that he was as slender, as are those creatures\* (or wormes) which breede in the trees called *Esuli*, and be named *Galba*. This familie one SERVIVS GALBA who had bene Consul, and in his time most eloquent, ennobled first, and made renowned, who by report, ruling the province of *Spaine* as Prætour, having \* treacherously put to sworde 30000, LVSTITANES, was the cause of the \* Viratine warre. His Nephew being maliciously bent against IVLIVS CÆSAR (whose Lieutenant he had bin in *Gaul*) for a repulse that he tooke in suing to be Consul, ioynd in the conspiracy with CASSIVS & BRVTVS: for which condemned he was by the law *Pedia*. From magots, this man descended immediately the Grandfire and father of this GALBA the Emperour. His Grandfather for his booke and learning was more famous, then for any dignity in common weale that ever he attained unto. For, he tole no higher, than to the degree of a Prætour: but many histories he wrote, and those not lightly nor negligently composed. His father bare the honourable office of Consul: a man very low of stature and withall crouchbacked: and having but a meane gift in Oratory yet used he to plead causes indifferently. Two wines he had, *MVMATA* ACHAICA the neipce of CATVLVS, and once remooved of LVCIVS MVMATIVS, who rased and destroyed *Corinth*: likewise LIVIA OCCELLINA, an exceedingly welthy Ladie & a beautiful. Of whom for his noble blood sake, it is thought he was a wood: yea, & somewhat the more hotely, after that, (upon her importunate suite) hee stript himselfe once out of his clothes in a secret place before her, and revealed the imperfection of his bodie, because he would not seeme to deceive her, for want of knowledge. By ACHAICA, he had issue CAIVS and SERVIVS

\* And branches  
which they  
held in their  
hands, *Pila*.  
Pila, saith the  
very same.

2  
AVC. 81.  
\* Or pugree  
\* Pronunciation  
\* Or Court

3  
\* A gumme or  
O-bareced iuice  
yellow out of  
the roote (when  
it is wounded)  
of a plant called  
*Fernia*.  
\* Like unto  
those round  
reels which  
women in stead  
of tathargales  
vie under their  
clothes beneath  
the warb called  
in Latine *Galba*.

\* Resembling  
magots,  
AVC. 610  
\* *Perfidia* according to M. Tullius in *Brutus*.  
Some expound  
it otherwise,  
namely for  
their treachery.  
*Livia*.  
\* 7000 As *Pila*,  
etia. M. Tullius  
AVC. 710.  
\* Of *Prætorius*  
the Capitaine  
thereof.  
AVC. 775

Of whom, CAIUS the elder, having waisted his estate and spent all, left the City of Rome, and was by TIBERIUS prohibited to put in his lot for to be chosen Proconsul, in his \*yeere: whereupon voluntarie he killed himselfe

\* when his time by cause came

4  
A.V.C. 751

\* Suspicion or rather as some read, *Superbia* is a word  
\* *Livia Ocellina*  
\* Or *Ocellaria*

\* As the manner was in kissing young children  
\* *Gallia*

\* For some be fortunate and signify good.  
\* For some be unfortunate.

To come now unto SERVIUS GALBA the Emperour, borne he was when M. VALERIUS MESSALLA, and Cn. LENTULUS were Consuls, the ninth day before the Calends of Ianuarie, in a country house situate under a little hill neere unto *Terracina*, on the left hand as men goe to *Fundie*. Being adopted by his stepmother, he assumed the name of LIVIUS, and the surname \* OCELLA, changing his fore name with all. For, afterwards even unto the time of his Emperour; he was forenamed LVCIVS in stead of SERVIUS. It is for certain knowne, that AVGVSTVS (what time as little GALBA among other boyes like himselfe saluted him) tooke him by his pretie \*cheeke and said, *καὶ σὺ τέκνον ὃ ἀρχὴν ἔχεις πατρὸς ἡμετέρου, ἴ.* And thou also my child shalt have a taste one day of our soveraine rule. TIBERIUS likewise, when hee had knowledge once that \* hee should be Emperour, but not before old age, go to quoth he, let him live a Gods name, seeing it is nothing to vs. Also as his Grand-father was sacrificing for the expiation of an \* aduerceth of lightning (what time an Aegle caught out of his hands the inwards of the beafts, carried them away, and bestowed them in an Oke \* bearing mail) answere was giuen unto him by the Soothsayers out of their learning, that thereby was portended and foretold unto his house, soveraine government; but it would be late first. Then he againe, by way of Irritation, *see say very true indeed, That will ye, quoth hee, when a mule shall bring forth a foale*. Afterwards when this GALBA began to rebell and aspire unto the Empire, nothing hardened him in this designe of his so much, as the toling of a mule. For when all men besides, abhorred this foule and monstrous prodigie, he alone tooke it to be most fortunate: calling to remembrance the fore said sacrifice and the speech of his grandfather. When hee had newly put on his virile gowne, he dreamt that fortune spake these words unto him, namely, *how she stood before his doore all weary, and unlesse she were let in the sooner she should become a pray unto whom sooner shee met*. No sooner awakened he, and opened his \* Port hall doore, but he found hard by the \*entry, a brazen Image of the said goddesse about a cubit long: which hee carried away with him in his bosome to *Tusculum* where he was wont to summer, and having consecrated it in one part of his house there, worshipped the same from that time forward with monethly supplications, and a \* Vigill all night long once every yeere. And albeit he was not yet come to his middle and staid age, yet retained he most constantly, this old manner of the Citie (which was now become out of use, but that it continued still in his house and lineage) That his freed-men and bond seruants should duellie twice a day present themselves all together before him: and one by one in the morning salute him with a good morrowe, and in the euening take their leave likewise with a farewell and also good night.

\* Oore the outward Court-gate.  
\* Or Doore sill.  
\* Or wake

5  
\* The father of *2* *cap.*

Among the liberall Sciences he gave himselfe to the studie of the (Civil) lawe. He entered also into the state of wedlocke, but having buried his wife LEPIDA, and two sonnes that he had by her, he led alwaies after a single life. Neither could he enier, by any offer or condition be perswaded to marriage again, no not of Dame AGRIPPINA who by the death of DOMITIVS became widow: and had by all meanes solicited GALBA even whiles he was the husband of a wife, and not yet a single

single man, and in so much as at a great meeting of Ladies and Matrones, the mother of his wife LEPIDA shooke her upper roundly. yea and knockt her well for it with her own fists. He honoured & affected above all others LIVIA AVGVSTA the Emperesse, through whole grace and fauoure whiles shee lived he became mighty, and by whole will and testament when shee was dead, he had like to haue become enriched. For whereas among others whom shee remembered in her will, he had a speciall legacie to the valew of \* 50 millions of Sesterces bequeathed unto him: because the said summe was set downe in figures and cyphres and not written out at large, her heire TIBERIUS brought it downe unto one \* halfe million: and yet even that he never received.

\* *Quingentis* H.S. so me read  
\* *quingentes*  
\* *theris*, 50 million  
\* *ans.*  
\* *Ad quingenta*, 500 thousand

Having entred upon the honourable offices of state before due time by law set downe; when he was Prætor, during the playes and games called \* Floralia, hee shewed a new and strange kind of fight, to wit Elephants walking upon Ropes. After that, he gouerned the province *Aquitaine* almost one whole yeere. Soone after he bare the ordinarie Consulship in his \* due time for the space of 6 moneths. And it fell out so, that as himselfe therein succeeded DOMITIVS the father of NERO, so SVLPIVS the father of OTHO followed immediately after him: a very preface of the euent ensuing: whereby hee came to be Emperour iust in the middle betwene the sonnes of them both. Being by \* CAIUS CESAR substituted Lord general for GETULIVS, the very next day after he was come to the Legions, when as the soldiers at a solemne shew which happened then to be exhibited, clapped their hands, he restrained them with this (a) Præcept, *That they should keepe their hands \* within their \* Clokes*: Whereupon, this byword anon ranne rife through the Campe.

*Difese miles militare,*  
*Galbesei, non Getulici.*

Leme, soldiers, seruire \* Valorous:  
GALBA is here, & not (b) Getulicus

With semblable severitie, he inhibited all petitions for \* placards and passports. The old beaten soldiers as well as the new and untrained, hee hardened still with continual worke & labour: and having soone repressed the Barbarians who by their rodes and incursions had now by this time broken in violently and set foote within *Gaulie*, he quit himselfe so well and shewed such good prooffe of his armie unto CAIUS also then & there present in proper person as that among an infinite number of forces levied and assembled out of all provinces there were none went away with greater testimonies of proesse nor received larger rewards than he and his regiments. Himselfe above them all was most bravely becene in this, that marching with his targuet before him hee marshalled the gallants lusting and running at tilt in the plaine field, and for that he ranne also by the Emperours chariot side, for the space of twentie miles. When tidings came that \* CAIUS was murdered, and many pricked him forward to take the opportunitie then offered, hee preferred quietnesse and rest. For which cause hee stood in especiall fauour with CLAVDIVS, and was admitted into the ranke of his inward friends; a man of that worth and reputation as that when hee fell suddenly sicke (although not verie grievously) the day appointed for to set forth in the Britiſh expedition was deferred. He gouerned *Africk* as Proconsul two yeeres: being elected without lours drawing, for to settle and bring into order that Province farre out of frame and disquieted

6  
\* *AV.C. 786*  
\* Either in bosom of *Flora* the Goddess of Flowers, or the in thankfull memoriall of *Floris* moore Court-fian named *Flora* who made the people of Rome her heire & gave her the City a great summe of money out of 7 yeerely revenues where were the charges defraied that went to the licentious places.  
\* Not substituted in the roomes of another deceased.  
\* *Caligula*  
\* Or under.  
\* Or *Mandiſia*.  
\* Or Laborious  
\* *Licet* c. st. beareth from the Camp  
\* *Caligula* A.V.C. 794:  
\* *Caligula* A.V.C. 794

disquieted as wel with the civil mutinies, among the soldiery, as tumultuous commotions of the barbarous inhabitants. Which commission he discharged with great regard of severe discipline & execution of iustice even in very small matters. A soldier of his there was, who during the expedition above said, in a great death and scarcity of Corne, was accused to have sold a residue remaining of his owne allowance, to wit, a \* Modious of wheat, \* for one hundred deniers: whereupon hee gave straight commandement, that when the said souldier began once to want food, no man should be so hardy as to relieve him. And so for hunger he pined to death. As for his civill iustification and ministering iustice: when there grew some question and debate about the proprietarie and right owner of a labouring beast, and slight evidences and presumptions on both sides were alledged: as simple witnessses also produced and therefore hard to devine and guesse of the truth, he made this decree, That the beast should be led \* hoodwinked unto the poole where it was wont to be watered: and when it was unhooded againe, he awarded and pronounced the said beast to be his, unto whom of the owne accord he returned directly after he had drunke.

8

For his brave exploits achieved both in *Africke* then, and also in *Germanie* afore time he received the honour of tryumphall Ornaments and a triple Sacerdotal dignitie: being admitted among the \* *Quindecimvirs*: into the guild and confraternitie of the (a) *Titij*: and the Colledge or societie of the Priests (b) *Augusta* *er*. And from that time unto the midle wel neere of *NEROES* Empire, he lived for the most part private in some retiring place out of the way: yet so as he never went forth any journey, (were it but for exercise by way of \* *Gestation*) but he tooke forth with him in a wagon going hard by, to the valew of a million of *Sesterces* in gold untill such time, as making his abode in a towne called *Fundi*, the Regencie of a province in *Spaine* named *Tarracensis*, was offered unto him. And it fortuned, that when he was newly arrived and entered into that province, as hee sacrificed within a publike temple, a boy among other Ministers holding the \* *Center*, sodainly had all the haire of his head turned gray. Now there wanted not some who made this interpretation, *That thereby was signified a change in the states; and that an old man should succede a younge*, even himselfe in *NEROES* stead. And not long after, there fell a \* *Thunderbolt* into a \* *lake of Cantabria*: and found there were immediately twelve axes: a doubtlesse taken prelagging *Soveraine Rule*.

9

For 8 yeares space he governed that province variably and with an uneven hand. At the first, that he was, severe, violent, and in chastising verily of trespasses beyond all measure extreme. For he caused a Banker, for unfaithfull handling and exchanging of money to lesse both his hands, and to have them nailed fast unto his owne shop board: A Guardian also he crucified, for poisoning his ward, whose heire he was in remainder. Now, as the partie *DELINQUENT* called for the benefit of law, and avouched in his plea, *That he was a Romaine Citizen*; *GALBA*, as if he would alay his punishment with some \* *comfort* and honour: commanded the crosse already made to be changed, and another to be reared far higher then the ordinary: and the same laid out with a white colour. By little and little he grew to be slothfull, carelesse and Idle because he would minister no matter unto *NERO* for to worke upon: and for that (as himselfe was wont to

say)

say) *His miseries compelled to render an accompt of his owne Idleness*. As hee held the iudiciall *Assises* at new *Carthage*, he had intelligence that \* *Gale* was in a tumult. And whiles the \* *Embassadour of Aquitaine* besought him earnestly to send aide, the letters of *VINDEX* came in the very necke: exhorting him to frame and caine himselfe as the deliverer and protectour: of *Mankind*, even to take upon him to be their generall Capitaine. He, making no longer stay upon the point, accepted the offer, partly for leare and in part upon hope. For he had both found out the warrants of *NERO* sent privily unto his Agents and procuratours there, as touching his death: and also much confirmed and strengthened he was, as well by most luckie Auspices and *Osses*, as by the prophesie of an honest *Virgin*: so much the rather, because the very same verses containing the prophesie, the priest of *LYPITER* at *Clunia*, had two hundred yeares past (by warning and direction given him in a dreame) fetched out of an inward and secret vault of the Temple, delivered them likewise by a maiden which had the spirit of prophesie. The meaning and effect of which verses was, *That one day there should arise out of Spaine the soveraigne Prince, and Lord of the whole world*.

Therefore, when he had mounted the Tribunal, as if hee intended then the \* *manumling* of slaves, and set before him in open sight very many pourtraicts and Images of such as had beene condemned and killed by *NERO*: whiles they stood also in his presence a \* *boy* of noble bloud, whom he had lent for of purpose out of one of the *Baleare* Ilands hard by, where he was \* *exiled*: he bewailed the state of those times. Whereupon being with one accord saluted \* *Emperour*, yet he professed himselfe to be the Lieutenant onely of the Senate & people of *Rome*. After this, having proclaimed a Cessation of iudiciall pleas for the times, out of the Commons verily of that Province, he entolled both *Legions* and *Auxiliaries*, over and above the old armie, which contained on *Legion*, two comets of horsemen, & three cohorts: but out of the better sort, to wit, the Nobility and Gentry; such I meane as for wisdom & age wet before the rest, he ordained a body of a *Senate* unto whom men should have recourse touching matters of greater importance, as need required. He chose forth also young gentlemen, for the knights degree, who continuing still the wearing of (gold) Rings should be called \* *Evocati*, & kept watch and ward in steede of (twome) \* *Soldiers* about his lodging and bedchamber. Hee sent out his *Edicts* also in every Province, counselling and perswading all and some to joyne with him in these designements: and (proportionally to the meanes that every one had) to helpe and promote the common cause. Much about the same time, in the fortification of a towne which hee had chosen to be the Capital seat of the warre, a Ring was found of Antique worke, in the Gemm or stone whereof was engraven the expresse resemblance of (a) victorie together with a (b) *Trophee*: And loone after, a ship of *ALEXANDREA* fraight with armour, arrived \* *before Dertosa*, without pilot, without mariner or passenger: that noe man might make any doubt, but that this warre was just, lawfull, and undertaken with the favour and approbation of the Gods. But lo, sodainly and unlooked for, all in manner was dashed and put out of frame. One of the two Comets of horsemen above mentioned; as bethinking themselves and repenting that they had changed their military oth was at the point to fall away and forsake him as hee approached the Campe, yea and hardly kept in their allegiance to him: Certaine slaves also, whom (being prepared aforehand to doe him a mischief) hee had received

\* Much about our pecke,  
\* 3 lb. 5. 6 d sterl.

\* As some horse or mule  
\* Coerced all over the head.

\* *Sacris facien*  
du, or *Sacris*  
libris in *spicula*  
i to oversee  
critiques and di  
vine service or  
to peruse the  
propheall  
books of *Sibyl*  
la. They were in  
number 15.  
\* Caring in a  
light litter or  
chaire.  
\* Incense *Panne*  
\* Or dint of  
lightcung.  
\* Lucum, al.  
Lucum, is a  
grove.

\* And therefore  
not to be cruci  
ed.  
\* *Solatio* *Ch*  
mers, or com  
fortable honor,  
Hea disano.

For they bee  
flaming spirits,  
that are locked  
into a State.  
A.V.C. 621  
\* Prince  
\* Or Lieutenant

10  
\* Enfranchises  
ing.

\* Some noble  
man some of  
Rome  
\* By *Nero*,  
\* or L. General

\* As if they  
had served  
their full time,  
and were now  
called forth a  
pair by way  
of honour  
\* Wh. vitally  
were rings of  
iron.

\* *Dertosa* *er*  
lit: *cl. Dertosa*  
appeal: killed  
down the tide:  
cras the wind  
did drive it

received as a present at the hands of a freed man of NERO, mistooke a little of killing him, as he passed through a cross lane to the Baines for to bairn. And surely done the deed they had, but that as they exhorted and encouraged one another not to \*overslip the opportunities presented. they were overheard: who being examined and asked, upon what occasion they spake such words? were by torture forced to confesse the truth.

\* Omission of, another case is to lose.

Besides these daungers so great, there fel out (to helpe the matter well) the death of VINDEX, wherewith being most of all amazed, and like to a man utterly forlorne, he went within a litle of renouncing this world and forgoing his owne life. But by occasion of messengers coming with newes from the City in the verie instant, no sooner understood he that NERO was slain, and all men in general had sworn alleageance unto him, but he laide away the name of Lieutenant and tooke upon him the stile of CAESAR. So, he put himselfe on his journey clad in his Coatearmour, with his dagger hanging downe from about his necke iust before his breast: neither tooke he to the use of a gown and long robe againe, before they were surprised and suppressed, who made insurrections and rose up in armes against him: namely, at Rome NYMPHIDIUS SABINVS Capitaine of the Pretorian guard: in *Germanie* FONTEIVS CAPITO & in *Africke* CLODIVS MACER, & Lieutenant.

\* Notwithstanding that upon the death of Nero, he was declared Emperour at Rome.

There had a rumour beene raised before of his crueltie and covetousnesse both for punishing the Cities of *Spain* which were somewhat slacke in comming to side with him, by laying very heavy tributes and taxes upon them: some of them also by dismanteling and raising their wals: likewise for putting to death certaine Presidents and Procuratours together with their wives and children: as also for melting a Coronet of gold weighing 15. pound: which the men of *Tarracon* from out of the old Temple of IVPITER had presented unto him: and commaunding that the three ounces which wanted of the full weight should be exacted and made good. This report was both confirmed and also increased upon his first entrance into *Rome*. For when he would haue compelled the servitours at Sea (whom NERO had made of mariners and oarmen, full and lawful soldiers) to returne againe to their former state and condition: when they made refusal, and besides called malapertly for their Aegle and other militarie enignes: hee not onely sent in, among them a troupe of horsemen and so trode them under foote: but also executed with death every tenth man of them. Semblably, the Cohort of Germanes which in times past had beene by the CAESARS ordained for the guard of their persons, and by many good proofes were found most trustie, hee dissolved: and without any avails and recompence for their service sent them home againe into their Country: pretending that they stood better affected unto C. N. DOLABELLA (near unto whose Horthyards and gardens they quartered) than to him. Moreover, these reports also (whether truly or falsely I wote not) went commonly of him by way of shockerie. That when there was a more plentifull supper than usual served up before him, he gave a great grone thereat. His Steward verily in ordinary cast up his bookes and rendred unto him a breviary of all reckonings; and accomps. For his great care and serviceable diligence, hee reached unto him a dish of \*pulse. But when CATVS the minstrell played upon the Harbois

\* Ord. naris Dispositio: or this one Ord. naris his it. ward. As of peacen or beanes &c.

the Harbois and pleased him wonderous well, hee bestowed liberally upon him for his labour five good Deniers, and those he drew with his owne hand out of his privie purse.

At his first comming therefore, he was not so welcome. And that appeared at the next solemnitie of publick Shewes. For when as the Atellane Comedies, some had begun a most vulgar Canticle with this verse;

*St. Venit Io Simus a villa, &c.*

\* St. See; Our SIMUS that Country clowne

Is from his Fenne now come to towne.

The Spectatours all at once with one accord and voice, sung out the rest in manner of a respond: and repeating withall the said verse oft, as the fore-burden of the Song, acted (and with gesture) noted him.

14

Thus verily with farre greater favour and authoritie obtained hee the Empire than menaged it when he was therein; notwithstanding, hee gave many proofes of an excellent Prince: But nothing so acceptable were his good AEs, as those were odious and displeasing wherein he faulted and did amisse. Ruled he was according to the will and pleasure of three persons: whom dwelling as they did together and that within the *Palatium*, (readie evermore at his elbow and in his care) men commonly called his *Padagogues*. The first were, TITUS \* IUNIUS, his Lieutenant in *Spain*; a man infinitely covetous: CORNELIVS LACO, who being of his Counsell and assistance was advanced by him to be Capitaine of the guard; one for his arrogance and \*luskiness so intollerable: and a freed man of his, ICELIVS; who but a litle before, being honoured with the \*golden ring; and endowed with the surname MARTIANVS, looked now for to bee the Provost and Capitaine of the Pretorian Gentlemen and Knights Degree. Vnto these men, I say, playing their parts and comming outages correspondent to their vices in divers kinds, hee yeilded and wholly gave himselfe to be abused so much, as that scarcely he was like himselfe, but alwaies variable: one while precise and neere, otherwhiles as remisse and catelesse; more, ywis, than became a Prince elected, and a man of those \*yeeres. Some honourable persons of \*both degrees hee condemned upon the least suspicion, before their cause was heard. The Freedome of *Rome* Citie hee seldom granted to any. The privilege and Immunitie due to those who had three children, hee gave to one or two at most with much ado: not to them verily, but for a certaine time limited and set downe. The Iudges making suite for to have a sixth Decurie adioyned unto them, hee not onely denied flatly, but also this benefite of vacation granted unto them by GERUDIUS. That they should not be called forth to sit in the Winter (as season, and at the beginning of the yeere, hee took from them,

\* Or peace, 3 S. 4. ob. English.

13  
\* See Tarrach Advers. cap. 2  
\* Hufic or whiff, an In-terdiction of silence.

\* Or Vindex.

\* Scordie, or fortiffines.  
\* Knighthood.

\* Summa equum sive gradus, or summa equestris militie.

\* 72  
\* Gentlemen and Senatours.

It was thought also, that hee purposed to determine and limit the Offices belonging to Senatours and Gentlemen, within the compass of two yeeres: and not to bestow the same: but upon such as were unwilling and refused to take them. The Liberalities and bountifull \*Donations of NERO, hee tooke order by a Commission directed unto \*fittie Gentlemen of *Rome*, for to bee revoked: yea, and the same to bee exacted for his behoofe, allowing out thereof

\* Which as mounted according to Tacitus into his victis militis 1200. milliana.  
\* Tarrachian

V

thereof not above the tenth part: wish this straight condition moreover, *That if Adversaries upon the Stage, or Wrestlers and Champions otherwise, had sold any such donation given unto them of fortune, the same should be taken from the Buie, since that the parties who had sold the same had spent the money, and were not sufficient to repay it.* Contrariwise, there was not any thing, but by the means of his followers, Favorites and freed men, hee suffered either to bee purchased for money, or graunted freely for favour: as for example, *Customs, Imposts, Immunities, Penalties of the Innocent, and Impunity of Malefactours.* Moreover, when as the people of Rome called upon him for lustice, &c. namely to have HALOTUS and TIGELLINUS executed, the only men of all the bloud-hounds and instruments of Nero that wrought most mischief, he saved them from daunger: and besides, advanced HALOTUS to a most honourable Procuratorship: and in the behalfe of TIGELLINUS rebuked the people by an Edict for their cruelty unto him.

16

Having hereby given offence and \* discontentment, to the States and Degrees in manner all, yet he incurred the displeasure and ill will most of the Souldiours. For, when his Provosts had promised and pronounced unto them, (what time they swore allegiance unto him), a greater Donative than usually had beene given, hee would not make good and ratifie the same; but eie-soones gave it out, *That his manner had ever beene to choose and not buy his Souldiours.* And as, upon that occasion verily hee angered all his Souldiours wheresoever: so, the Pretorians and those of his guard he provoked moreover with feare, and need with offering them indignities; namely, by removing and displacing most of them one after another, as suspected persons, and the adherents of NYMPHIDIUS. But the forces of highest Germanie grumbled and fumed most of all, for being defrauded of their rewards for service performed against the French and Pindex. They were the first therefore that durst breake out into open disobedience: and upon the Newyeeres day refused to take an oath and binde themselves in allegiance unto any other than the Senate of Rome. They intended also to dispatch forthwith an Embassie unto the Pretorian guard, with these advertisements and messages from them, *Namely, That they were displeased with an Emperour made in Spaine: and therefore themselves should elect one, whom all the Armies in Generall might allow and approve.*

17

No sooner heard he this newes, but supposing that hee was become contemptible, not so much for his olde age, as his childlesse estate; hee presently out of the thick throng and middle multitude that came to salute him, caught hold of PISO FRUO LICINIANUS, a noble young Gentleman and of excellent parts; one whom in times past he had made right great account of, and \* alwaies in his will remembered as Inheritor to succede in his goods and name: Him he now called Sonne, him he presented unto the Pretorian Campe; and there before a publick assembly, adopted. But of the fore-saide Donative not a word all this while, no not at that very time. Whereby he ministered unto M. SALVIUS OTRO better occasion and readier means to accomplish his enterprises within fixe daies after this Adoption.

Many

18

Manie prodigious sights and those presented continuallie even from the very first beginning, had portended unto him such an end as ensued. When all the way as hee journeyed, beasts were sacrificed to doe him honour in every towne on both sides, it chanced that a Bull stoned with the stroke of the Butchers axe, brake the bond wherewith hee stooode tied; and ranne full upon his Chariot: and rising up with his (fore) feete, all to be spreinct and drenched with bloud. As he alight out of it, one of the guard and Pensioners about him, with the thrusting of the throng had like with his speare to have wounded him. As he entered also the Citie of Rome and so passed forward up to the Palatium; hee was welcomed with an Earthquake, and a certaine noise resembling the lowing of a beast. But there followed after these, greater Prodigies still and more fearefull. He had selected and layed by it selfe out of all his Treasure, aiewell fetterick with pearle and pretious stones, for to beautifie and adorne his Goddesse Fortune at *Isculum*. This Jewell (as if it had beene worthy of a more stately and sacred place), all of a suddaine hee dedicated to VENUS in the Capitoll, and the next night following he dreamt, that he saw Fortune making her moane and complaining, how shee was defrauded of the gift intended and meant unto her: threatening withall, that shee her selfe also would take away what shee had given him. Now, being affrighted with this vision, when in great hast hee was gone apace to *Isculum*, and had by breake of day sent certaine before of purpose to provide an expiatorie \* sacrifice for this dreame, he found nothing there but warme embers upon the altar herth, and an olde man all in \* blacke sitting hard by, \* holding in a dish of \* glasse, Frankincense, and in an earthen cup, wine. Observed also it was, that upon the Kalends of Ianuarie while hee sacrificed, his coronet fell from his head: As he tooke his *Auspices*, the pullets flew away. And upon the Soleme day of the fore-said Adoption, when hee should make a Speech unto the Souldiours, the \* Camp-Throne stooode not, (as the manner was) before his Tribunal; (such was the forgetfulness of his Ministers) and in the Senate, his Curule chaire was placed wrong, with the back toward him.

19

But before he was slaine, as he sacrificed that morning, the Southfayer often-times warned him to beware of daunger: For murderers were not farre off. And not long after hee tooke knowledge that OTRO was possesed of the \* Campe. And when most of those about his person perswaded him still to make what speed hee could and goe forward thither (for why? by his authority and preference hee might beare sway and prevaile) hee resolved to doe no more but keepe close within house: to stand upon his guard, and to fortifie himselfe with the strength of his legionario Souldiours, in many and divers places quartered. Howbeit, hee put on a good linnen (a) lack: although hee seemed to acknowledge, that in small speed it would stand him, against so many sword-points. But being borne in hand & seduced with rumours which the Conspirators had of purpose spread abroad to traine him out into the open street: whiles some few rashly affirmed, *That all was dispatched; The rebels &c. (seditions persons) defeated: and the rest coming in great frequency with joy & gratulation ready to do him all the obsequious service they could:*

V 2

He

\* Proprii  
verbi ordinis  
offensio.

\* To avert the  
baine prodigies  
notified  
thereby.  
\* Like a mourner.  
\* Omens the  
keene prefiging  
happily his be-  
lievable fate, i  
Or chaire of  
Estate.

\* Semper, or  
super 3. predicte.

\* Curia.

Hee to mee the went forth; and that with so great confidence as that unto a Souldiour who made his boast, *He had slain Otho*, hee answered, *And by whose warrant?* This advanced he as farre as into the Market-place. There, the Horsemen having commission and commaundement to kill him: When they had voided the common people out of the way, and put their horses forward through the Streetes, and espied him a farre off, staid a while: but afterwards, setting spurres to againe, fell upon him and flew him outright, forsaken as he was of all his traine and followers.

20

There be that report, How at the first upre, hee cried aloud: *What meane yee my fellow Souldiours?* I am yours, and yee are mine: and withall promised (to pay) the Donative: But, many more have left in writing, that of himselfe he offered them his throat, and willed them (since they thought so good) to mind that onely which they came for, even to strike and spare not. A strange and wonderfull thing it was, that of those who were there present not one went about to helpe their Emperour: and all that were sent for, reiected the messenger, faving onely a guidon of Germane Horsemen. These in regard of his fresh demerite (in that hee had tenderly cherished and made much of them being sicke and feeble) hastned to the rescue: Howbeit they came too late, by occasion, that beeing ignorant of the streetes and places they tooke a wrong way and were hindered. Killed hee was at the \* Lake *Cyprius*, and there left lying even as hee was; untill such time as a common Souldiour as he returned from foraging and providing of corne, threw downe his load and cut his head off. Now, because hee could not catch hold of the haire of his head (so bald hee was) hee hid it in his lap: and anone thrust his thumb into his mouth and so brought it to Otho: who gave it to the \* Scullians, Lackies & \* Varlets that follow the Campe. These sticking it upon a speare carried it, not without reproachfull sonnet all about the Campe setting up ever and anone this Note, \* GALBA, then lovely CUPID take thy time, and make use of thy fresh and young; but

\* The place, whereof sonnet: that lake was.

\* Or water: bearers and wood purveyors for the Souldiours.  
\* *Gaius, Cupido, yeeres:* Provoked they were, especially to such malapert trumps and floutes, because some daies before there ranne a rife report abroad, that unto one who commended that visage and person of his, as continuing still fresh, faire, and vigorous, he made this answere,

ἔτι μοι μένος ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἐστίν.

*I have yet still*

*My strength as will.*

\* *Homer, Iliad. 5*  
Dionides to Sthenelates.

\* *Patrobus,*

At their hands, a freed man of PATROBIUS NERONIANUS, bought the same for one hundred (a) peeces of gold, and flung it into that very (b) place, where, before time his \* Patron by the commaundement of GALBA, had beene executed. At length (late though it was) his Steward ARGUS buried both it and the trunk of his body within his owne private Hortyards in the way *Anrelia*.

21 Of full stature he was: his head bald: his eyes gray, and his nose hooked: his hands and feete by reason of the gout growne exceeding crooked; in so much as uneth he was able either to abide shoos on the one, or to turne over, or so much as hold his bookes with the other. There was an \* excrescence also of flesh in the right side of his body; and the same hung downward so much, as hardly it could be tied up with a \* truffle.

\* Or bunch,

\* Or swathing band.

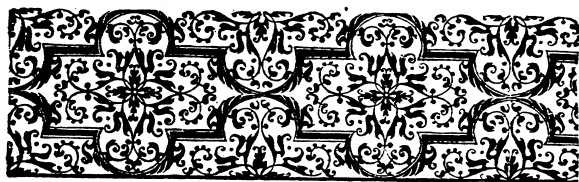
22 A great feeder and meate-man by report, he was. For in Winter time hee used to eate before day light: and at supper to bee served so plentifully, that the reliques and reverion of the board being gathered together into heapes, hee commaunded

maunded to be carried round about and distributed among those that stood waiting at his feete. Given he was over much to the unnaturall lust of Male-kind: but such chose he (and none else) for his Dearlyings, as were stale-thick-skins and past growth. It was reported that in *Spain* when LEBEUS one of his olde Caramikes brought him word of NERON end, he not onely received him in open sight with most kinde kisses, but intreated him without delay to be \* plucked, and so led him \* Made smooth at one side out of the way.

23 He died in the 73 yeere of his age, and seventh moneth of his Empire. The Senate as soone as lawfully they might, had decreed for him a Statue standing upon a Columne adorned \* with the Stemmes and beake-heads of ships, in that part \* *Rebrana* of the Mercate-steed of *Rome* where hee lost his life: But VESPASIAN repealed that Decree: as being thus conceived of him, That he had suborned and sent under hand out of *Spain* into *Jurie*, certaine of purpule to murder him.







# THE HISTORIE OF Marcus Saluius Otho, vvrit-

ten by Caius Suetonius Tran-  
quillus.



Chap. I

**T**HE Ancestors of Otho had their beginning in a towne called *Ferentinum*; extract out of an auncient and honourable family, even from the Princes of *Hetruria*. His grandfather M. SALVIUS OTHO having for his Father a Gentleman of *Rome*, and for his mother a woman of base condition (and whether shee was free-borne or no? it is uncertaine) through the favour of LIVIA AUGUSTA, in whose house he had his rising and growth, was made a Senatour, and exceeded not the degree of a Pretour. His Father, L. OTHO by his mothers side of right noble blood descended, and thereby allied to many great kinreds, was so deere and in face so like unto TIBERIUS the Emperour, that most men beleevied verily, hee was his owne sonne. The Honourable Offices within the Ciitie: the Proconsulship of *Asia*, and other extraordinarie places of Conduet and Com-

maund,

maund, hee managed most severely. Hee adventured also in *Ilyricum* to proceed so far, as to put certaine soldiers to death, for that in the commotion of CAMILLVS upon a touch of conscience they had killed their \* Captaines and provosts, as authors of the revolt and rebellion against CLAVDIVS, and verily this execution himselfe in person saw performed in the Campe (a) even before the *Principia*: notwithstanding that he knew they were for that service advanced to higher places by CLAVDIVS. By which act of his as he grew in glory, so hee decreased in favour. And yet the same he soone recovered againe, by detecting the perfidious plot of a Romaine Knight, whom by the appeachment of his own servants he found to have attempted the death of CLAVDIVS. For, both the Senate endowed him with an honour most rare and seldome seene, to wit his owne stampe created in the *Palatium*; and also CLAVDIVS when he ranged him among the Patritians, and in most honourable rearmes praised him added these words withall, *Hee is a man, than whom I would not wish I assure you to have better Children of mine owne*. Of ALBIA TERENTIA a right noble and gallant Lady he begat two sonnes, LVCIVS TITIANVS, and a younger forenamed MARCVS, and carying the surname of his father: a daughter also hee had by her, whom as yet not manageable, he affianced unto DRVVS the sonne of GERMANICVS.

\* Or his. i. C. a. millis,

i. Otho.

This OTHO the Emperour, was borne the 4. day before the Kalends of May, when CAMILLVS ARRVNTIVS and DOMITIVS ENOBAREVS were Consuls. From the very prime of his youth, hee was riotous, wild and wanton: in so much as his father (winding him well and fondly for it: reported also to use night walking; and as he met any one either feeble or cupshorten or overcome with drinke to catch hold of him, lay him upon a soldiers gaberdine, and so (b) to toss and hoist him up into the aire. Afterwardes, upon his fathers death, a certaine Libertine woman of the Court, a dame very gracious (because hee would make the more benefit by following and courting her as his mistress) he pretended love unto: albeit an old trot shee was in manner dotting for age. By her meanes winding himselfe into the favour of NERO, he easily obtained the chiefe place among his minions and favorites (such was the congruence of their humours and dispositions) and as some write by mutuall abusing also of one anothers bodie against kind. But so mightie hee waxed and bare such a side, as that in consideration of a great peece of money agreed upon, he presumed to bring into the Senate house for to give \* thanks, a man of Consular degree, who stood condemned for extortion, even before hee had fully obtained his \* restitution.

\* For pardon  
\* Restoring to  
his former  
state.

Being now, as he was, privie and partie to all the counsels and secret designes of NERO: he to avert all manner of suspicion, that very day which NERO had appointed for the murdering of his mother, entertained them both at supper with most exquisite, and the kindest welcome that might be. Semblably, Dame Poppaea SABINA, being as yet but the paramour of NERO, whom he had newly taken from her \* husband, and committed in the meane \* while unto himselfe upon trust for to keepe, under a \* colour of marriage hee received: And not content herewith that he alienated her hart from NERO and used her body, hee loved her so entirely, that he could not endure NERO himselfe to be his \* Corrivall. Certes, it is thought of a truth, that not onely the messengers who were sent to fetch her, that

\* Rufus Critus  
\* until he could  
put away Otho.

\* So writeth  
P. March But  
Tacitus differeth from this  
Narration.

\* Partner with  
him in love of  
that Mithras

came

came againe without her: but also that one time he kept NERO himselfe withoute dores standing there and cooling his heeles, with threats also and prayers intermingled, demanding his \*pawne which hee had left with him, but all in vaine. Whereupon after the said marriage broken and dissolved, sent out of the way hee was under a pretence of an Embassage into *Portugal*: Which course was thought sufficient for feare least his proceeding to any harsher punishment might have told \*tales abroad and marred all the play shewbeir as secretly conueied as it was, out it came and was made knowne by this Distichon.

*Cur Othe mentito sit quaritis exul honor?  
Fxoris Maechus ceperat esse sua.*

Exil'd in shew of Embassage was OTHO. Aske yee, why?  
With his owne wife begon he had to act (a) adulterie.

Having beene afore time in no higher place then Questour, yet governed hee a province for the space of x yeeres with singular \*moderation and \*abstinence.

4 As occasion at length and opportunitie of \*revenge was offered, he was the first that combined with GALBA in his attempts. At which very instant himselfe also conceived hope of the Empire & great the same was, no doubt; considering the condition and state of those times, but greater somewhat by reason of SELEVCVS the Astrologers words: who having long before wanted him that he should survive NERO, was then of his owne accord come unlooked for & promised againe that shortly also he should be Emperour. Omitting therefore no kind of obsequious office & ambitious popularity even to the very meaneft: looke how often he invited the \*Emperour to supper, he would deale throughout the Cohort that the warded, to every man a peece of \*gold: & no lesse carefull was he to oblige unto him one way or other, the rest of the soldiers. And when one of them went to law with his neighbor about a parcell of ground in the skirts and confines of both their lands, he being chosen Arbitratour, bought the whole land for the said souldier and enfeofed him in it. So as now by this time there was scarce one, but both thought and said that he alone was worthy to succede in the Empire.

5 Moreover he had fed himselfe with hopes to have beene adopted by GALBA & that looked hee for daily: But after that PISO was preferred and himselfe disappointed of his hope, he turned to plaine violence: pricked thereto, over and besides the discontentment of his mind, by occasion that he was so deeply indebted. For he stucke not to professe, *He was not able to stand, unless he were Emperour: And it skilled not whether he were overthrown by his enemies in the field, or fell under his creditours hands at the Barre.* Some few daies before, he had fetcht over one of CAESARS servants in a millene of Sesterces for the obtaining of a Stewardship: & with the helpe of this sum of mony, entraped he to great a proiect. At the first he committed the matter to 5, \*souldiers employed in *Especiall*: then to x, others whom he had brought forth with them, to wit every man twaine. To each one of these he payd in hand x thousand \*sesterces, & promised 50000 more. By these few the rest solicited, & those not very many: as making no doubt but presuming confidently of this that a number besides would be ready in the very action to second it.

6 He had minded once, presently after the adeption (of PISO) to seize their campe into his owne hands, and so to set upon GALBA as hee sat at supper in the Pallace: but that respective regarde hee had of the Cohort, which then kept watch and warde, hee checked this intent of his: for feare least the same should

should incurre the intolerable hatred of the world: considering, by the guard of that very Cohort, CAIVS had beene slaine before, and NERO perfidioussly betrayed afterwards. Moreover, exception was taken against the middle time betweene, partly vpon a \*superstition that hee had, and in part by direction from SELEVCVS. Well then, vpon a \*day appointed, after warning giuen aforesaid unto those that were privie to the conspiracie, for to attend him in the market place at the golden (a) *Miliarium* under the Temple of Saturne, hee saluted GALBA in the morning, and (as the manner was) being received with a kiss, was present also as hee sacrificed and heard the Soothsayers pted. Citons. Which done, a freed man of his brought him word that the Architects were come (this was the watchword agreed vpon between the) whereupon as if forsooth he were to look upon a house that was to be sold, he departed, gat him quickly away through the backside of the Pallace, and hied a pace toward the place appointed. Others say, that he feigned himselfe to have an ague, and willed those that stood next to him to make that excuse in case he were asked for. Then lying hidden within a womans \*Lidder, he hastened to the Campe: and for that the Lidder bearers were tired and faint, hee alighted on the ground and beganne to runne a foote: but by occasion that his shooes latchet was slacke, hee stayed & chinde, untill such time as without any further delay, he was taken up on mens shoulders, and by the raine and Company there present saluted Emperour; and so with lucky exclamations among drawn swords, came as farre as to the \**Principia* whiles every one all the way hee went adhered unto him, as if they had beene all privie and party in the conspiracy. There, after hee had dispatched certaine away to kill both GALBA and PISO, he to win the soldiers hearts by faire promises, protested before them all assembled together, *That himselfe would haue and hold no more, then in that which they would leave for him.*

7

This done, as the day drewe toward evening he entred into the Senate: and briefly laying before them a reason of his proceeding, as if he had beene carried away perforce out of the market place and compelled to take the Empire upon him (which he would administer according to the generall will and pleasure of the al), to the pallace he goeth. Now when as beside other sweet & plausible words deliuered by such as did congratulate and flatter him, hee was by the base comon people called NERO, he gaue no token at all that he refused it: nay rather as some haue reported, euer in his patents, graunts and missives which hee first wrote unto certaine presidents & gouernours of Prouinces, hee added unto his stile the surname of NERO. This is certain, hee both suffered his \*images and \*Statues to be erected againe in their own places: & also restored his Procurators & freed men to the same offices that they had enjoyed before. Neither, by his imperiall prerogative and absolute power subscribed he any, thing, before a warrant for fiftie \*millians of Sesterces to the finishing of (NEROES) golden house. It is said that the same night being affrighted in his sleepe hee groined very sore, and was by his seruitors that ran thick into the chamber found lying on the bare floore before his bed: al that hee assaid by all kind of prepetitatorie sacrifices and peace offerings to appease the \*spirit of GALBA, whom hee had seene in his sleepe, to thrust and drive him forth: Semblably, the morrow after as he was taking his \*Auspices, there arose a sodaine tempest whereupon hee

\*Scrupulosity.  
\* 15 January

\*Crete'se  
chair, wherein  
women use  
to be carried,

A.V.C. 833.  
\* A principall  
place within  
the Camp.

\* Which either  
were of wax, or  
gilded  
\* Commonly  
of brass stone  
or such solid  
matter.  
\* quingentus  
first of Sesterchs  
or

\* O Ghost.  
\* by observing  
the faced  
Birds:

\*pledge or  
pawne, to wit  
Poppes.

\*How Nero  
had beene ex-  
cluded & shut  
out of doores  
&c.  
\* i. j. Verba.

\*Without  
rigour  
\* Without pil-  
ling, polling &  
extort on.  
A.V.C. 831  
\* Of Nero.

\* Galba.  
\* 15. 5. 7. D.  
ob. English,

\* Specul. et tribus  
\* 100. Aureis  
very Aureis  
being 15. S.  
7. D. ob.

hee caught a grievous fall, and oftentimes hee mumbled this to himselfe.

*Τί ποτε μοι γὰρ ἡσυχασθὲν ἀνέλεον  
For, how can (a) I (whose blast is short)  
With these long haubtbores fully sort?*

8

And verily about the same time, the forces and Armies in (a) *Germanie* had sworne fealtie and allegiance unto VITELLIVS, which when hee understood, hee propounded unto the Senate, *That an Embassage might be sent thither, to acquainte ife that there was an Emperour chosen already, and advise them with all to peace and concord: yet, by entercourse of messengers and letters between, be made offer unto VITELLIVS to partake equally with him in the Empire, and accept of a marriage with his daughter:* But when there was no way but one and that by open warre: seeing that now a readie the Capitaines and forces which VITELLIVS had sent before, approached hee had good proofe what loyall and faithfull hart, the pretorian souldiers caried towards him, even to the utter ruine and destruction well neere of the most honourable degree of Senators. Nowe decreed it had \* beene, that by the Sea (servitours the \* armour should be conveyed over and sent backe (to *Ostia*) by shipping. And as the said armour was in taking forth out of the armorie in the Campe, at the shutting of the Evening, some (souldiers) suspecting treacherie and treason; raised a tumult and gave an Alarm: wherewith sodainly all of \* them without any certaine leader to conduct them, ranne to the Palace, calling hard to have the \* Senate massacred: and when they had repelled some of the Tribunes who assaid to repress their violence; and killed other of them, all embroined in blood as they were, and askeinge still where the Emperour was: they rushed in as farre as into his banquetting rowme, and never rested untill they had seene him. Then set he forward his expedition lustilie: and beganne with more hast then good speed; without any care at all of religion and the will of God: as having onely stirred and taken those sacred \* shields (b) called *Arculus*, and not bestowed them quietly againe in their due place (a thing in olde time held ominous and ever presaging ill lucke): Besides, the very same day it was, upon which the priests and ministrs of *Cybele*, the mother of the Gods, beginne to lament, weepe and waille: to conclude, when all signes and tokens, were as croffe as possibly they might be. For not onely in the beast killed for sacrifice unto Father \* *Dis*, hee found the Inwards propitious (whereas in such a sacrifice as that the contrarie had beene more acceptable) but also as his first setting out, staied he was by the inundation and swelling of the river *Tiberis*. At the twentieth miles ende likewise, hee found the high way choaked and stopped up against him with the ruines of certaine houses fallen downe.

9

With like inconsiderate rashnes, albeit no man doubted but that in good pollicie, the warre ought to have beene proroged, because the enimie was distressed as wel with famine, as the streight wherein he was pent, yet resolved hee with all speed, to hazard the fortune of the field and to trie it out by fight; as one, either impatient of longer thought and pensiveness hoping that before the comming of VITELLIVS most part of the businesse, might be dispatched, or else because hee could not rule his souldiers calling to hotely upon him to give battaile. Yet was not hee present in that conflict but staied behind at *Bryxellum*. And verily in three severall skirmishes

skirmishes, which were not great, to wit, upon the Alpes, about *Placentia* and as *Cassior*, \* (a place so called) hee wan the victorie: but in the last battaile of all, (which was the greatest) hee lost the day, and was by a treacherous practise vanquished, namely, when upon hope of a parly pretended, as if the souldiers had been brought out of the Campe to treat of conditions of peace: sodainly and unlooked for, even as they saluted one another, there was no remedie but fight it out they must. And straight wayes in a melancholy, hee conceived a resolution to make himselfe away (as many are of opinion and not without cause) rather for shame, than he would be thought to persevere in the maintenance of his soveraine dominion with so great jeopordie of the State and losse of men, than upon any dispaire or distrust of his forces. For still there remained a puissant armie whole and entier, which hee had detained with him for tryall of better fortune: and another poure was comming out of *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Mesia*. Neither verily were they discomforted so much daunted and dejected, but that, for to be revenged of this disgrace and shamefull foile, ready they were of themselves, and alone without helpe of others, to undergoe any hard adventure whatsoever.

10 In this warre served mine own father SVETONIUS LENIS, in qualitie of a Tribune of the thirteenth Legion, and by degree a Senator \* of the seconde rancke. Hee was wont afterwards very often to report that OTHO even when hee lived a private person, detested all civile warres so farre forth, that as one related at the table the ende of CASSIVS and BRUTVS, hee fell a quaking and trembling ther at. Also, that hee never would have beene GAIUS AGRIPPA'S concurrent, but that hee confidently thought, the quarrell might have ended without warre. Well then, upon a new accident incited hee was to the contempt of this present life, even by the example of a common and ordinary souldier: who reporting this overthrow of the armie, when hee could of no man have credit, but was charged one while with the lie, another while for his feare and cowardise (as who was run away out of the bar taile) fell upon his owne sword at OTHO'S feete. At which sight, hee cryed out aloud and laid, *That he would no more cast so brave men and of so good desert into danger.* Having exhorted therefore his owne brother, his brothers sonne & every one of his friends severally, to make what shift they could for themselves, after hee had embraced & kissed them each one, hee sent them all away: And retryng himselfe into a secret towne, two letters hee wrote full of consolation unto his sister, as also to MESSALLINA, NERO'S widow, whom hee had purposed to wed, recommending the reliques of his bodie and his memoriall. And looke what Epistles soever hee had in his custody, hee burnt them all, because they should breed no man any danger losse, or displeasure with the conquerour. And out of that store of treasure which hee had about him, hee dealt monie to his domestical servitours.

11 Being now thus prepared and fully bent to die, perceiving by occasion of some hurlyburly, which while hee made delay, arose, that those who began to slip away & depart, were (by his souldiers) rebuked as traitors & private detained. Let vs quoth hee, prolong our life yet this one night: Upon which words and no more, hee charged that no violence should be offered to any, but suffering his bedchamber (doore) to stand wide open until it was late in the evening, hee permitted all that wold to have access unto him. After this having allowed his thirst with a draught of cold water hee caught up two \* daggers, & when hee had eyed how sharpe the points of them both were, and layed one of them vnder his \* pillow, & so the dores being fast shut

\* Tacitus calleth it *Castrum*, or rather *Castrum* of *Calver* and *Polier*.

\* By the name of *Commissarius* in the *Germanie*, Some read in *Spica* *conspirationis* as they were in *conspirationis*.

\* Or Colonel, *Anglicanus*.

\* i. The Senate.

\* Or rapier  
\* Or beds-head

\* For *Felici* *Tullius* and *Annia* *Cassius* were come with a power out of *Germanie* into *Italy*.

\* By *Otho* & the Senate.

\* With which the *Th. coloratus* for out of the *Colonia* *Ostia* before to Rome should be armed.

\* The Pretorian or guard Souldiers.

\* Who to the number of four score, with many *Laticlavi* were at last perished with *Otho* and by the souldiers suspected to have plotted his death.

\* Or *Mars*.

\* *Gallus*.

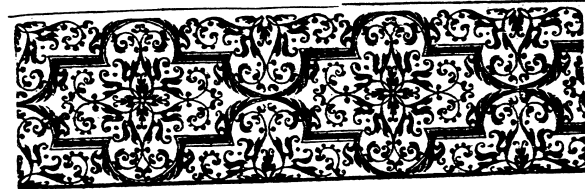
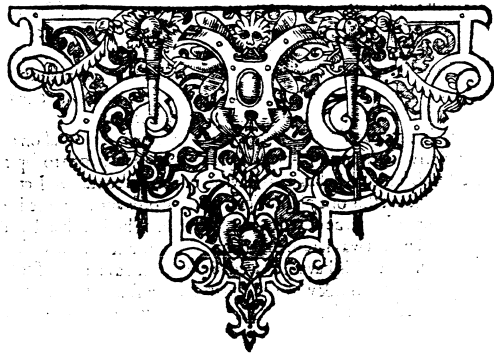
\* The infernal God so named *quid dicitur* rich as *Pluto*, of *Pluto* riches because all things arise out of the earth and fall into it againe.

he tooke his rest and slept most soundly. Wakening then at last about day light and not before, with one onely thrust under his left pap he stabbed himselfe. And whe at the first grone that he gave, his seruants brake in, hee one while concealing and another while discovering the wound, yielded up his vitall breath; and \* quicklye (according as he had given charge before) was brought to his funerall fire: in the yeere of this age 38. and the 95 day of his Empire.

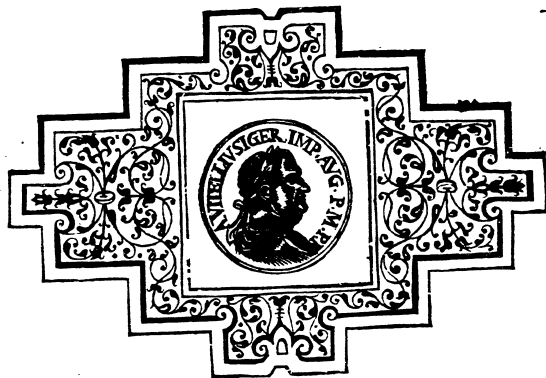
12 Vnto so great a mind & generous courage of OTHO, neither was his person habite answerable: For he was by report of a meane and low stature: feeble feet he had besides, and as crooked shanks. As for his manner of attire, as fine and nice he was well neere as any woman: his bodie plucked and made smooth; wearing by reason of thin haire a \* perrucke, so fitted and fastened to his head, that no man there was, but would haue taken it for his owne. Nay his very face he was wont euery day to shave and besmeere all ouer with (a) soked bread. Which devise he tooke to at first, when the downe began to bud forth, because he would neuer haue a beard. It is said moreover, that many a time hee openlie celebrated the diuine seruice and sacred rites of Ists, in a religious vestiment of linnen. VVhereby, I would thinke it came to passe, that his death nothing at all consonant to his life was the more wondered at. Manie of his fouldiers who were present about him, when with plentifull teares they had kissed his hands and feete dead as he lay; and comended him with all for a most valiant man, and the onely Emperour that ever was, presently in the place, and not farre from his funerall fire, killed themselves. Many of them also, who were absent, hearing of the newes of his end, for very greife of heart ran with their weapons one at another to death. Finally most men who in his life time cursed and derested him, now when he was dead highly praised him: so as it came to be a common and rife speech abroad. That CALPA was by him slaine not so much for that he affected to be Soueraine Ruler as because he desired to restore the State of the Republike, and recouer the freedome that was lost.

\* For feare his head should be severed from his body sic &c., A.V.C.822.

\* Or counter-fait cap of false haire.



# THE HISTORIE OF Aulus Vitellius, vvritten by Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.



**A**s touching the Originall and beginning of the VITELLII, Chap. 1  
some write this, others that; and all as contrary as may be: reporting it partly to be auncient and noble; and in part now start up and oblique, yea and very base and beggerly. Which I would suppose to have hapned by meanes of the flatterers and backbiters both, of VITELLIVS the Emperour: but that I see there is sometime variance and diversity about the very condition of that family. A little booke there is extant of one (a) Q. EULOGIVS his making, written unto Q. VITELLIVS, Questor to AUGUSTVS CESAR legatus, &c. wherein is contained thus much, That the Vitellij descended from FAUNVS K. of the Aborigines and Lady VITELLIA (who in many places was

was worshipped for a Godde(ss) reigned over all Latium: That the of-spring remaining of them, removed out of the Sabines Country to Rome, and were taken into the rank of the Patriij: That many monuments giving testimony of this race, continued a long time, to wit, the high way VITELLIA reaching from Janiculum to the sea: likewise a Colone of the same name, the defence and keeping whereof against the Equiculi, they in times past required, with the strength and puiſſance of their owne family: Moreover, that afterwards in the time of the Samnites warre, when a garrison was sent into Apulia, some of the Vitellij remained behind at Nuceria: and their progenie many a yeere after returned to Rome and recovered their Senator degree.

Contrariwise, more Authors there be, who have left upon record, that their Stock-father was a Libertine. CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others as well as hee, doe write That the same man was also a very Cobler: whose sonne having gotten more by chaffering (a) at a price for the confiscate goods of men condemned, and by games arising of (a) undertaking mens suites, of a common naughty pack, the daughter of one ANTIOCHUS a Baker, begat a sonne, who proved afterwards a Gentleman of Rome. This diffonance of opinions I leave indifferent for men to believe which they will. But, to the purpose; PUBLIUS VITELLIVS borne in Nuceria, (whether he were of that auncient linage, or descended from base parents and Grandfathers) a Romaine Gentleman doubtlesse, and a Procurator under AUGUSTUS of his affaires, left behind him foure sonnes, men of qualitie all and right honourable persons; bearing also their Fathers \* surname: and distinguished onely by their forenames, AULUS, QUINTUS, PUBLIUS and LUCIUS. AULUS died even when he was Consul: which dignity he had entred upon with DOMITIUS the Father of NERO CESAR: a man very sumptuous otherwise in his house and much spoken of for his magnificent suppers. QUINTUS was displaced from his Senator estate, what time as by the motion and perswasion of TIBERIUS there passed an Act: That such Senators as were thought insufficient should be culled out and removed. PUBLIUS a Companion and Dependand of GERMANICUS, accused and convicted C. N. PISO his mortall enemy, and the man who murdered him: And after the honourable place of Prætor, being apprehended among the Complices of SEIANUS Conspiracie and committed to the keeping of his \* brother, with a penknife cut his owne veines: and after that, not so much repenting that hee sought his owne death, as overcome with the earnest intreatie of his friends about him, suffred his wounds to be bound up and cured: but in the same \* imprisonment hee died of sickness. LUCIUS, after his Consulship being \* Provost of Syria, with passing finesights and cunning deuises trained and enticed forth ARABANUS King of the Parthians, not onely to parly with him, but also to worship and adore the Standard, of the Romaine Legions. Soone after, together with CLAUDIUS the Emperour, he bare two ordinarie Consulates, one immediately upon another, and the Censureship also: likewise the charge of the whole Empire, whiles CLAUDIUS was absent in the expedition of Britaine, he sustained: an harmlesse person active and industrious: howbeit blemished with a very bad name, for the love (b) he bare unto a Libertine woman: whose spetle mixed with honey he used as a remedie (and that not closely and seldome but every day and openly) washing therewith his \* pipes and throat. He was besides of a wonderfull glavering nature and given to flatteries. He it was, that first by his example brought up the order to \* adore CAIUS CESAR as a God, what time as being returned out of Syria, he durst not

come

come into his presence otherwise than with his head \* covered, turning himselfe about, and then falling downe prostrate before him at his feet. And because he would omit no artificiall meanes to curry favour with CLAUDIUS, a Prince so (b) addicted to his wife & freed men, he made suit unto MESSELLINA, as if it had beene for the greatest gift hee could bestow upon him, to doe him the grace that he might have the D'offing of her shoes: and the (c) right foote pumpe which he had drawne off, hee caried in his bosome continually betwene his gowne and inward clothes: yea, and many times would kisse the same. The golden images also of NARCISSEUS and PALLAS hee reverently honoured among his domestickall Gods. This was a word likewise of his, when he did congratulate CLAUDIUS at the exhibiting of the \* Secular plaies, Sep facias. i. Many a time may you this doe. He died of a (d) palsey, the very next day, after itooke him: leaving behind him two sonnes, whom SEXTILIA his wife a woman for her vertue highly approved, and of no meane parentage descended, bare unto him. Them he saw both, Consuls, and that in one yeere, yea and the same throughout; for that the younger succeeded the elder for like moneths: When hee was departed this life, the Senate granted unto him the honour of a publick funerall: a statue likewise before the Rostra with this Inscription, Pietatis immobilitas erga principem. i. \* Of constant ceo- vation and irremovable pietie to his Prince.

3 AULUS VITELLIVS the sonne of LUCIUS, and Emperour, was borne the \* eighth day before the Calends of October: or, as some will have it, the \* seventh day before the Ides of September, when DRUSUS CESAR and NORBANUS BER FLACUS were Consuls. His \* Nativity foretold by the Astrologers, his parents had in such horrour that his father endeavoured alwaies what he could, that no Province whiles he lived should be committed unto him: and his mother what time he was both sent unto the Legions and saluted \* Lord Generall, straight waies lamented as if then he had beene undone for ever. His childhood & flower of youth hee spent at Caprea among the Strumpets and Caramites that TIBERIUS kept there: Himselfe noted alwaies with the surname of \* SPINTRIA, was thought also by suffering the abuse of his owne body to have beene the cause of his fathers rising and advancement.

4 All the time also of his age ensuing stained as he was with all manner of reproachable villanies, so hee caried a principall sway above others in the Court, grown into familiar acquaintance with CAIUS for his love to chariot running, and with CLAUDIUS for his affection to dice-play: but in greater favour he was a good deale with NERO, both in the selfe same regards afore-said, as also for this especiall demerite, in that being president at the solemnity called Neronicum when NERO was desirous to strive for the prise among the Harpers & Musicians, but yet durst not promise so to do, (notwithstanding all the people called instantly upon him) and thereupon went out of the Theater: hee pretending that hee was sent Embassadour unto him from the people perswisting still in their earnest request, had called him back and so brought him in the end to be entreated.

5 Through the favourable indulgence therefore of three Emperours, being advanced not onely to right honourable offices of State, but also to as high Sacerdottall dignities, he managed after all these the Proconsulate of Africk, & executed the charge of surveying and supravising the publick works: but with mind and reputation both, far unlike. For in his Province he demeaned himselfe for two yeeres

X 2

together

\* Or cauley.  
\* An hill on the other side of Tiberius, adjoining to Rome by a bridge.  
\* B. the Romaine.

\* Sutorum veteramentarium.  
\* Or proflibed and cut-lawed.  
\* Sellionibus & reguturis.

\* Which as O. Mithras said, was Neros A.V.C. 785

\* Of Germanicus C. C. A.V.C. 773

\* Aulus, A.V.C. 788  
\* Or resistant of liberty and dureſſe. A.V.C. 788  
\* Or P. V. ident A.V.C. 787  
795  
800  
805  
797

\* A Collusion.  
\* Arterias.  
\* Or salute after a devout manner.  
\* Caligula.

\* Which be the reciter: gestures used in worshipping the Gods See, Plin. l. 38, cap. 2.

\* So called, because they were solemnized but once in an hundred, or a hundred & a yeeres A.V.C. 768

\* Sabauds (a man).

\* 24 September, 714, Of September.  
\* Or fortune by the Horoscope of his Nativity.

\* Of Emperour

\* A deuſer of new fashions & formes of filthy vncleanes

together with singular *innocencie* and integrity; as who after his brother succeeded in his stead, staid there still in quality of his Lieutenant: But in his office within the Citie, he was reported to have secretly stolen away, the oblations, gifts and ornaments of the Temples; to have embellished and chaunged some of them; yea, and in lieu of gold and silver to have soiled in Tinn and Copper.

6

Hee tooke to wife *PETRONIA* the daughter of one that had bene Consul, by whom hee had a sonne with one eye named *PETRONIANUS*, Him being by his \* mother ordained her heire upon condition that he were freed once out of his fathers power, he manumitted in deede: but soone after (as it was thought) killed: having charged him besides with parricidie, and pretending withall, that the poison which was provided to worke that mischief: hee upon remorse of conscience had dranke himselfe. After this, he wedded *GALERIA FUNDANA*, whose father had bene Pretour: and of her body also begat children of both sexes: but the male child had such an impediment of stutring and stammering, that little better he was than dumbe and tonguelesse.

By *GALBA*, sent he was contrary to all expectation into the Low-Countries of *Germanie*: furthered as it is thought by the voice and favour of *T. VINIUS* a man in those daies most mighty: and unto whom long before, he had bene wonne by favourizing the \* faction (a) unto which they both were equally affected: but that *GALBA* professed plainly, that none were lesse to be feared than those who thought of nothing but their victuals onely, and that his greedy appetite and hungry belly might bee satisfied and filled with the plentiful store that the Province did yeeld. So that evident it was to every man, that he chose him in contempt rather, than upon any speciall grace. This is for certaine knowne, that when he was to goe forth, he wanted provision for his journey by the way; and for the maintenance of his family was driven to those hard shifts and extremities, that muing up his wife and children (whom he left at *Rome*) in a little upper \* lodging that he

\* For in such, tenants dwelt, whereas the Lord himselfe kept beneath, \* Tooke for rent.

\* returned: and let out his owne dwelling house for the rest of the yeere: yea, and tooke from his mothers ear a peeble, which he laid to gage: and all for to defray the charges of that voiage. As for a number verily of his Creditours, who waited for him as ready to stay his passage: and amongst them, the *Sinecullan*es and *Formian*es, whose publick imposts, tollage, and revenewes he had intercepted and converted to his owne use, he could not be rid of; but by terrifying them with an action of the case: serving one of them, and namely a *Libertine* (who very eagerly demanded a debt) with proceesse upon an action of batterie, as if he had stricken him with his heele; and would not withdraw the suit before he had extorted from him fiftie thousand *Sesterces*. In his coming toward the Campe, the armie maliciously bent against the Emperour, and ready to intertaine any revolt and change of State, willingly and with open armes received him, as a gift of the Gods presented unto them from heaven above; the sonne of one thrice Consul; a man in the vigour and strength of his yeeres; of a gentle disposition besides, and of a frank and prodigall heart. Which opinion and persuasion, being of old conceived and settled in mens heads, *VITELLIVS* had augmented by some fresh proofes lately given of himselfe: kissing all the way as hee went along every meane common Souldiour that hee met: so courteous and affable above all measure, to the very multitudes and wayfaring passengers, in every Inn and baiting place, that he would

in

in a morning betimes aske them one by one, whether they had yet broken their fast? and shew unto them even by his belching, that hee had bene at his breakfast already.

8

Now when hee was entred once into the Camp, no suit denied he to any man: nay, of his owne accord hee tooke off their marks of ignominie who stode in disgrace; dispensed with those that were obnoxious to the Lawes for wearing poore and sullied garments; and forgave condemned persons their punishments. Whereupon, before one moneth was fully come and gone, without all respect either of day or time, when the very evening was now shooting in, suddainly by the Souldiours called forth he was out of his bed-chamber: and clad as he was in his domesticall and home-apparell, saluted by the name of *Imperator*, and caried round about through the most frequented and populous \* townes, holding in his hand the naked sword of *ULIUS* (Dictator) of famous memorie: which beeing taken out of the temple of *Mars*, was at the first gratulation presented by one unto him. Neither returned he into the \* Pretorium, before the dining room was on a light fire, by occasion of the chimney there, where it first caught. And then verily, when all besides were amazed and in great perplexity upon this adverse and ominous accident; *Be of good cheere*, quoth hee, *it hath shined faire upon us*: and no other speech at all made hee unto his Souldiours: After this, when the armie also of the higher Province, consented now by this time with the other, (that armie) meane which had revolted before from *GALBA* & sided with the Senate): the surname of *GERMANICUS* generallye offered unto him hee gladly accepted; the addition of *AUGUSTUS* he put off; and the stile of *CÆsar* hee utterly for ever refused.

A.V.C.811

\* *Vinea*, or street of *Colonia Agrippina* where all this was done, as some write. \* The *L. Generals* lodgings.

9

And soone after, when newes came unto him that *GALBA* was slaine; having settled the State of *Germanie*, he divided his forces thus; sending one part thereof \* before, against *OTHO*; and minding to leade the rest himselfe. Vnto the armie which was sent before, there hapned a fortunate and luckie signe: For on the right hand, all on a suddaine flew an Eagle toward them: and when shee had fetched a compass round about the Standerds and Ensignes, hovered softly before them as they marched on the way. Contrariwise, as himselfe removed and set forward, the Staves on horseback, erected in many places for him, all at once suddainly brake their legges and tumbled downe: and the gurland of *Lawrell*, which most devoutly he had done about (his head) fell from it into a running river. Within a while after, as he sate iudicially upon the Tribunal to minister Iustice at \* *Vienna*, a Cock first settled upon his shoulder, and anone perched upon his very head. Vpon which prodigious fights, ensued an event correspondent thereto. For the Empire which by his Lieutenants was confirmed and established unto him, he by himselfe was not able to hold.

\* Under the conduct of *Fabius Pictor* by the *Alpes* and of *Cæcina*, over the *Apennine*.

\* In *France* within the province *Narbonensis*.

10

Of the victorie before *BEBRIACUM* and the death of *OTHO*, he heard whiles hee was yet in *Gaul*: and without delay, whosoever belonged to the Pretorian Cohorts, hee by vertue of one edict called and discharged all, for the most daungerous precedent and example that they had \* given, commanding them to yeeld up their armour into the \* Marshalls hands. As for those hundred & twenty, whose

\* In betraying *Gallus* to *Severus*. \* Or *Tribunes*.

X 3

Supply.

Supplications exhibited unto OTHO hee had found, such I meane as claimed rewards for their good service in killing GALLA, hee gave commendement they should be sought out and executed every one. A worthy beginning I assure you, and a magnificent: such as might give good hope of an excellent Prince, had hee not menaged all matters else, according to his owne naturall disposition and the course of his former life, rather than respecting the maiestie of an Emperour. For no sooner put he himselfe in his iourney, but he rode through the midst of Cities in Triumphant wife: and passed along the great rivers in most delicate barges, garnished and adorned with Coronets of sundry sorts: Faring at his table most sumptuously and served with all manner of dainty Viands: observing no discipline either of household servitour or of Souldiour: but turning the outrages, villanies and licentious pranks of them all to aieft: who, not content with their ordinary diet allowed and provided for them in every place where they came at the common charges of the State; looke what slaves or Aliens it pleased them, they manumitted and made free: but paied as many as withstoode them with whipping cheere, blowes, knocks, bloudie wounds oftentimesyea, and otherwhiles with present death. When hee came into the fields where the \* battaile was fought: and some of his traine loathed and abhorred the putrified corruption of the dead bodies, hee stuck not to harden and encourage them with this cursed speech: *That an Enemye (saie) had a very good smell, but a Citizen farre better.* Howbeit to qualifie and allay the strong favour and sent that they cast, hee poured downe his throat before them all, exceeding great store of strong wine, and dealt the same plentifully about, \* with as much vanity as insolent pride. When he beheld the Stone, under which OTHO lay inered, with an Inscription \* in his memoriall: *Worthy was he of such a monument,* quoth hee. And the very same dagger wherewith he had killed himselfe, he sent to COLEIN for to be dedicated unto MARS. Certes, upon the top of the *Apennine hill*, hee celebrated a sacrifice, with a \* *Figū* all night long.

## II

At length hee entred the Citie with warlike sound of trumpet, in his coate-armour, and with a sword girt unto him, among \* Ensignes, Banners and Flags: his followers and dependants clad in militarie cackles, and the armour of all his fellow Souldiours discovered in open view. Thus neglecting more and more from time to time, all Law of God and man, upon the very disastorous day (a) *Allicusis*, hee was entailed in the Sacred all dignity of High Priest. Hee ordained, that the soleinne assembly \* for Election of Magistrates should be held every tenth yeere; and himselfe bee perpetual dictator. And to the end that no man might doubt what patterne hee chose to follow for government of Common-weale, calling a frequent number of the publick Priests about him in the middle of *Mars* field, hee sacrificed to the Spirit and ghost of NERO: and at a soleinne feast openly put the Harper in minde singing as he did to his great contentment, for to say somewhat also of \* DOMITIVS (b): And as he began to chaunt NERO'S Canticles, he was the first that leapt for ioy and clapped his hands withall.

## 12

Having in this manner begun his Empire, a great part thereof hee administered no other wise, than according to the aduise & pleasure of the basest Stage-players and

and chariotiers that could be found: but especially of ASIATICVS, a freed man of his owne. This ASIATICVS when he was a very youth had in mutuell filkinnes with him abused his owne bodie: and afterwards losing that abominable sinne, runne his way. Now, finding him once at *Puteoli* selling of a certaine drinke made of \* water and Vinegers first hee laied him by the heeles, and hung a paire of fetters at his feete: but forthwith \* loosened him and intertained him as his derling againe. After which a second time being offended with his contumacy & malapert \* stubbornnesse, hee fold him to one of these common fencers that went from market to market, and by occasion that he was upon a time put of to the last place in a sword fight for to play his prizes: at unwarres hee privily stole him away: and no sooner was hee gone into his province but hee manumitted him. The first day of his Empire, as hee sat at supper, hee dubbed him knight of *Rome*: and gave him the golden Ring: notwithstanding that the very morning before, when all the souldiers intreated in his behalfe, hee detested so foule a blot to disesteem and discredit the worthie full degree of knighthood.

## 13

But being given most of all to exceffiue bellie cheere and crueltie; hee devided repast into three meales every day at the least, and sometime into foure, to wit, Breakfast, Dinner, Supper and \* rere-bankets; able to beare them all very well, \* After supper: hee uled to (a) vomit so ordinarily. Now his manner was to fend word that hee would breake his fast with one (freind) dine with another, &c. and all in one day. And euerie one of these refectiōs, when it stood them in least, cost \* 40000 Sesterces. But the most notorious and memorable supper above all other was that, \* which his brother made for a welcome at his first coming (to *Rome*) at which by report were served up to the Table before him two thousand severall dishes of fish the most daintie & choicest that could be had, & seven thousand of foule. And yet, even this (as sumptuous as it was) himselfe surpassed at the dedication of that \* platter, which for the huge capacitie thereof beved to call the targuet of *Minerva*, and *ayida* *Πολυξ*, i. the theild of the Cities \* protectresse. In this hee hudled and blended together the livers of (b) \* Gilthead: the delicate braines of Phefants & Peacocks: the tongues of the Birds Phœnicopterrie: the tender small guts of Sea-lampries fet as farre as from the Carpathian sea and the straits of *Sparte*, by his Captaines over Gallies. And, as a man that had not onely a wide throat of his owne to devour much, but also as greedie a stomach to feede both unreasonably and also grossly of what ever came next hand, hee could not so much as at anie sacrifice whensoever, or in any iourney wheresoever forebare but amonge the altars snatch up by and by the flesh, the parched corne also and meale even from the very hearth, and eate the same: yea and at every vitualling house by the way side, fall to viands piping hote, yet reaking and not cooled one iote; and not spare so much as meats dressed the day before and halfe eaten alreadie.

## 14

Being forward enough to put to death and punish any man, what cause soever was pretended; Noble men, his schoole fellowes, and play-ferees in times past, (whom by all faire meanes & flattering allurements hee had enticed & drawn to the societie as it were of the Empire with him) by sundrie forts of fraud & trechery, hee killed & one above the rest hee made away with poylon, which hee raught unto him with his owne hand in a draught of cold water, that hee called for lying in a fit of an



\* As our Scri-  
uaries and At-  
turneys do, for  
euer men.

ague. As Vfurers, \* takers of bonds and obligations, and publicanes, who ever at any time had demanded of him either at *Rome* debt, or by the way as he travelled toll and custome, hee hardly spared one. And one of them, whom even as he came to salute him and doe his dutie, he had delivered over to the executioner for to suffer death, hee called straightwaies backe againe: and when all that were by, praised him for his clemencie, he commanded the said partie to bee killed before his face, saying with all, *That he would feede his eyes*. At the execution of another, he caused two of his sonnes to beare him companies for nothing in the world, but because they presumed to intreat for their fathers life. Ther was besides a gentlemā of *Rome* who being haled away to take his death, cryed aloud unto him, sir I have made you my heire. Him he compelled to bring forth the writing tables containing his last will: and so loone as he red therein that a freed man of the T<sup>l</sup>itarours was nominated fellow heire with him, he commanded both Maister and man to be killed. Certaine Commoners also, for this onely that they had railed aloud upon the faction of the \* watchet liverie, he slew: being thus conceited, that in daring so to doe, they had him in contempt and hoped for a day. Yer was he to none more spitefully bent than to the wifeards and Astrologers. Was any of them presented and enformed against? he made no more a do, but without hearing what he could say for himselfe, bereaved him of his life. Netled he was and exasperate against them, for that after an edict of his, wherein he gave commandement that all iudiciall Astrologers should depart out of *Rome* and *Italie* before the first of October: presently, there was a writing or libell set in open place to this effect, that the \* *Chaldeans* made this Edict, as followeth, *BONVM FACTVM EST. WE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS, VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDIS OF THE SAID OCTOBER, HE BE NOT \* EXTANT IN ANY PLACE WHERE SO EVER*. Suspected also hee was to be consenting unto his owne mothers death, as if hee had straightly forbidden that any food should be ministred unto her lying sicke: induced thereto by one \* *CATTIA*, a wife woman, (in whom hee relied as in an Oracle.) That then and not before, hee should sit sure in his Emperiall Throne and continue very long, in case hee overliued his mother. And others report, how his mother her selfe weary of the present state, and fearing what evil dayes were toward, obtained at her sonnes hand poison, and that without any great intreatie.

15

In the eight moneth of his Empire, the armies of *MAESTIA* both the one and the other, as also at *Pannonia* revolted from him: likewise, of the forces beyond sea, those of *Iurie* and of *Syria*, and some of them sware allegiance unto *VESPASIANVS* who was present among them. To retaine therefore the love & favour of all other men, he cared not what largesses he made both in publike & private, beyond all measure. Hee mustred also and levied souldiers within the City, with this covenant and faire condition, That all voluntaries should by vertue of his promise, have not onelie their discharge from service after victorie, but also the availes & fees due unto olde souldiers for serving out their full time. But afterwards, as the enemy came hotely upon him both by land and sea, on the one side he opposed his brother with the fleet and younge untrained souldiers, together with a crewe of sword fencers; on the other, what forces hee had

\* Of Chariot-  
rurs: venetia fac-  
tious.

\* Astrologer

\* Or first day,  
\* Or to bee  
se ne

\* Not in *Rome*  
and *Italy* only,  
as before hee  
denounced va-  
rio them.

\* Or by a wife  
woman of that  
country where  
the people  
*Catti* inhabit,  
in *Germanie*.

\* *Maestum* be-  
cause there  
was the high  
thelow.

\* Or offer.

had about *Bebricum* and the Captaines there: And in everie place, being their dis-  
cossed in open feild or privily betrayed, he capitulated & covenanted with *FLAVI-  
VS SABINVS* brother of *VESPASIANVS*, (to give up all) reserving his owne life,  
& a 100. millions of sesterces. And forthwith upon the vertues of the Palace  
professing openly before a frequent assemblie of his souldiers; how willing he was  
to resigne up that emperiall dignity which hee had received against his will, when  
they all gaine said it, hee put of the matter for that instant; and but one night be-  
tweene, even the next morning by breake of day, hee came downe in poore and  
simple array to the *Kolira*; where, with many a teare, hee recited the same words out  
of a little written skrow. Now, as the souldiers & people both, interrupted him a se-  
cond time and exhorted him not to cast downe his heart, promising also with their  
utmost endeavour, and striving a vie who should do best to assist him: hee tooke  
courage againe and plucked up his spirits: So that now \* fearing nothing at all hee  
came with a sodaine power and violently chased *SABINVS* and the rest of the  
*FLAVIANS* into the Capitoll: & there having set on fire the Temple of *IVPITER*  
*OPTIMVS MAXIMVS* vanquished & slew them: whilst himselfe beheld both the  
fight & the fire out of *TEBRIVS* his house, \* sitting ther at meat & making good  
cheere. Not long after repenting what hee had done, and laying all the fault vpon  
others, hee called a publike assembly: where hee swaie & compelled all thereto  
to take the same oth, *That he as they would respect nothing in the world before the  
common peace*. Then loosened he his \* dagger (d) from his side, and taught it first to  
the Consul, the upon his refusal to the other Magistrates; & anon to the Senators  
one after another. But when none of them all would receive it, hee departed, as if  
hee meant to bestow it in the Chappell of Concord. Now when some cryed out  
unto him, *That himselfe was Concord*, hee came backe againe, and protested,  
that hee not onely retained still the blade with him, but also accepted the surname  
of Concord.

16

Hereupon hee moved and advised the Senate, to send Embassadours together  
with the vestall virgins to craue peace; or else some longer time to Consult vpon  
the point. The next morrow, as he stood expecting an answer, word was brought  
unto him by his eysall, that the enemy approached. Immediately therfore shut-  
ting himselfe close within a \* bearing chaire, accompanied with two persons onely  
his \* baker and his Cooke, secretly hee tooke his way to the *Aventine* (hill) and  
his fathers house: minding from thence to make an escape into *Campania*. Soone  
after, upon a flying and headlesse rumour *That peace was obtained*, he suffred him  
selfe to be brought backe to the Palace, Where, finding all places solitary and a-  
bandoned: seeing those also to flinke from him and slip away who were with him,  
he did about him a \* girdle full of golden peeces of coine, and fled into the Por-  
ters lodge, having first tied a ban-dog (d) at the doore & set against it the bedstead  
and bedding thereto.

17

By this time had the Avantcurriers of the (*FLAVIANS*) maine armie broken  
into the Palace: and meeting not bodie searched as the manner is, everie blind  
corner. By them was hee plucked out of his lurking hole: and when they asked  
who hee was? (for they knewe him not) and where, upon his knowledge *VIT-  
TELLIVS* was: he shifted them off with a lye: After this beeing once knowne,  
hee

\* *Nihil tim-  
ere* some  
read, *metuenere*,  
to this sense,  
that hee chafed  
then fearing  
no such thing.

\* The fiction  
of *Flavius* *Ref-  
utatus*.

\* For ye must  
remember how  
much hee was  
given to *gours*  
brandie.

\* *Epigram* or  
epitaph: *augustin*  
*do qu a punctum*  
*poies quae cor-  
sim vulnera*.

\* O. Lister,  
that made his  
city passy  
works & sweet  
meats: meete  
groo is to be  
companye luch  
a luten

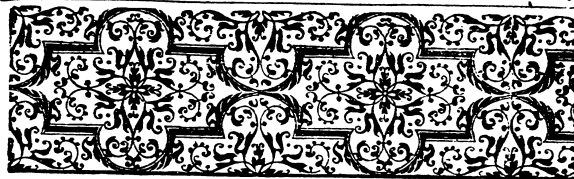
\* Or bar-deler  
\* 15 Shilling  
peeces and  
better.  
\* O: the vaward

hee increased hard (as if he had somewhat to deliver concerning the life and safetie of *VESPASIAN*) to be kept sure in the mean season, though it were in some prison: & delisted not untill such time as having his hands pinnioned fast at his backe, an halter cast about his necke, and his apparell torne from his bodie, he was haled halfe naked into the \* *Forum*. Among many skornefull indignities offered un to him both in deede and word throughout the Spacious street \* *facta via* from one end to the other, whiles they drew his head backward by the bush of his haire (as condemned malefactours are wont to be served) and set a swordes point under \* his chinne. And all to the end he might shew his face and not hold it down: whiles some pelted him with dung and durty mire, others called him with open mouth \* *Incendiarie* and \* *Patinarium*: and some of the common forrtwitted him also with faults and deformities of his bodie: (For, of stature hee was beyond measure tall: a red face he had, occasioned for the most part by swelling in wine, and a grand fat paunch besides: hee limped somewhat also by reason that one of his thighes was enfeebled with the rush of a chariot against it, what time he served *CATV* as his henxman at a Chariot running) and at the last upon the staires *GERMONT* as with many a small stroke all too mangled he was and killed in the end: and so from thence drawne with a drag into the River *Tiberis*.

18 Thus perished he with his brother and sonne together in the 57. yeere of his age. Neither falsified he their coniecture who had fore told him, that by the prodigious signe which befell unto him (as we have said) at *Vienna*, nothing else was portended, but that he should fall into the hands of some (a) Frenchman. For, dispatched he was by one *ANTONIVS PRIMVS* a Capitaine of the adverse party: who being borne at *Tolosa*, was in his childhood furnamed \* *Baccvs* which in the French tongue signifieth a Cockes-bill.



\* Or market place.  
\* *facta via*, reach th from the palace to the *Forum*.  
\* As a pag.  
\* Or firebrand because he burnt the Capitol.  
\* Or Platter Knight, for his gormandize & image platter afore said.  
\* *Calculus*. *A.V.C. 822*.  
\* Or Becce a beak in English, which may somewhat confirm the learned conjecture of him who guesseeth that by their ancient nation and language were extracted from *Gauls*.



## THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Vespasianus Augustus,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*  
*quillus.*



**T**He Empire standing thus a long time in doubtfull termes, unsettled & wandering (as it were) by occasion of the rebellious broils & bloody slaughter of three princes: the *Flavians* at length tooke into their hands & established: a house I must needs say, of obscure descent and not able to shew any pedigree and images of auncestours to commend their race; howbeit, such as the common weale had no cause to dislike and bee ashamed of; although it be well knowne that *Domitian* abidd condigne punishment for his avarice and crueltie. *TITVS FLAVIVS PATRONIANVS*, a burgesse of the free borrough Reate, and a Centurion, siding in time of the ciuill warre, with *POMPEIVS* (but whether he served voluntarie or was called forth and prest, it is uncertaine) fledde \* out of the battaile in *PHARSALIA* and went home to his house. Where afterwarde, having obtained his pardon and discharge from warre-  
fare,

\* *Galba, Otho, Vitellius.*  
\* Or, after the battaile, fled from him.

fare, he became a bailife under the Bankers and money changers to gather up their monies. This mans sonne furnamed SABINVS, nothing martiall nor skilfull in feates of armes (although some write, that he had beene a principall leader of the formost Cohorts: and others that whilst he led certaine companies, hee was acquitted from his militarie oth by \* occasion of sicknesse) came to be a \*Publicane in *Asia*, and gathered the custome or impost (the *Quadragesima* for the state. And there remained certaine Images which the Cities in that province erected for him with this title and superscription, *καλὰς τελευτήσας*. i. *For him that was a good and faithfull \*Publicane*. After this he put forth money to vsurie among the *Helvetians*, where he ended his life. leaving behinde him his wife *POLLA VESPASIA*, and two children which he had by her: The elder of which, named *SABINVS*, was advanced to the provostship of the Citie: the younger called *VESPASIANVS*, attained to the dignitie Imperiall: This dame *POLLA*, borne at *Nursia* and descended of worshipfull parentage, was the daughter of *VESPASIVS POLLIO*, one that had beene a \*militarie Tribune thrice, and \*provost Marshal of the Campe besides: and sister to a man of Senators degree, and promoted to the dignitie of Prætor. There is a place moreover even at this day sixe miles from *Rome*, (as men goe to *Spuletum* from *Nursia*) upon the hill top, bearing the name of *Vespasia*: where many monuments of the *VESPASII* are to be seene: a great evidence to prove the Noblenesse and antiquitie of that family. I cannot deny, that some have given out, how the father of that *PETROIANVS* came out of the \* Transpadane region, and was an undertaker by the great, to hire those labourers and hines which were wont yeerely to repaire out of *Vmbria* into the Sabines Countie for to till their grounds: how hee planted himselfe and stayed in the Towne *Reate* aforesaid, and there married a wife. But my selfe could never finde (make what searh I could) any signe or trace to lead me thereto.

\* *VESPASIAN* was borne in the Sabines territorie beyond *Reate* within a smal village named *Phalacrine*, the fifteenth day before the \* Calends of December, in the evening, when *Q. CAMERINVS* and *CAIVS POPPÆVS SABINVS* were consuls: five yeeres before that *AVGVSTVS* departed out of this world. His bringing up he had under *TERTVLIA* his grandmother by the fathers side, in the land and living that she had about *Casa*. Whereupon, when hee was Emperour hee both frequented continually the place of his birth and breeding, the Capitall hofe and manour remaining still as it had beene in former times, nothing altered (because forsooth, his eyes should have no losse nor misse of that which they were wont to see there) and loved also the memoriall of his grandmother so deere,ly, that on all solemne and festiuall, and high daies, hee continued ever drinking out of a silver pot that was hers and out of none other. After he had put on his \* vile gowne, he refused a long time the (a) Senators robe, although his brother had attained thereto: neither could he be forced to seeke for it at last but by his owne mother. Shee in the end wrought perforce so much from him, by way of reprochfull taunts more than by faire intreatie or reverent authoritie: whilst, ever and anon, shee called him in taunting wife, his brothers huisher. He served as Tribune: military in *Thracia*: and in quality of Questor had the government of *Crete* and *Cyrene*, provinces by lot fallen unto him. When he fied to be *Aedile*, & afterwards *Prætor*, he hardly attained to the former Offices (and not without some repulse) even in the sixth place:

\* Such he called  
Custome.  
\* Publicanum,  
or Publican,  
both to the  
same effect.  
\* Or custome

\* Or Colocel:  
\* Or camp  
maister,

\* Beyond the  
river Po in re-  
pect of *Rome*,

\* The Empe-  
rour,

\* 17,th Of  
Nouember,

\* In 17 th year  
of his age,

place: but presently at his first suit and with the formost being chosen *Prætor*, and upon displeasure taken, maliciously affected against the Senate, because he would by a ill manner of demerite win the favour of *CAIUS* the Emperour, he earnestly demanded extraordinary playes & games in honor of him for his victory in *Germanie*. and gave opinion in the Senate house, that to augment the punishment of certaine conspiratours (against him), their dead bodies should bee cast forth and left unburied. Hee gave him also solemne thanks before that right honorable degree, for vouchsafing him the honor to be a guest of his at a supper.

Amid these occurrents, he espoused *FLAVIA DOMITILLA*, the freed woman of *STATILIUS CAPELLA*, a Roman gentleman of *Sabracæ*, and an *Africane* borne, committed unto him sometime upon trust, and enfranchised in the freedom of *Latium*: but afterwards pronounced a gentlewoman born & naturalized a Citizen of *Rome*, in the Court of Iudges delegate, upon claime made by her father *FLAVIVS LIBERALIS* borne at *Ferentinum*, (a man that never rose higher than to be a \* Scribe to a Questour) who vouched her freedome. By her he had issew, *TITUS DAMITIANVS*, and *DOMITILLA*. His wife & daughter he overliued, and buried them whilst he was yet in State of a private person. After his forefild wives decease, he called home againe to cohabite with him in his house *CENIS* a freed-woman of *ANTONIA*, and her \* Secretarie, whom he had fauised in former time: and her he kept when he was Emperour, in steede of his true and lawfull wife.

Vnder the Emperour *CLAUDIUS*, by speciall favour of *NARCISVS*, sent he was into *Germanie* as Lieutenant of a legion: from thence being removed into *Britaine*, he fought thirtie battails with the enemy: Two most mightie nations, and above twentie towns, together with the Isle of *Wight* lying next to the said *Britaine*, he subdued, under the conduct partly of *A. PLAUTIUS* Lieutenant to the consul, and in part of *CLAUDIUS* himselfe, for which worthy acts he received triumphall ornaments, and in short space two sacerdotall dignities with a consularship besides which he bare the two last moneths of the yeere. For the middle time between, even until he was Proconsul, he led a private life in a retyring place out of the way, for feare of *AGRIPPA*, who as yet bare a great stroke with her \* sonne, and hated to the heart all the friends of *NARCISVS*, although deceased. After this, hauing the province of *Africa* allotted unto him, hee governed the same with singular integritie, & not without much honor & reputation: but that in a seditious commotion at *Adrumetum*, there were \* Rape-(a) rootes flung at his head. Certaine it is, that from thence he returned nothing richer than he was; as who not able to keepe credit, but grown almost bankrupt, was driven to mortgage all his houses and lands unto his brother: and of necessity, for the maintenance of his estate and dignity, went to low as to make gaines by hucksters trade pampering \* beastes for better sale. Whereupon he was commonly named *MULLIO* i. Multitier. It is said also that convicted he was for extorting from a young man 200 thousand sesterces, in consideration that by his meanes hee had obtained a Senators dignitie even against his owne fathers will. For which hee had a fore-rebuke. Whilst he trauielled through *Asia* in the traine and inward company of *NERO*, he incurred his heauie displeasure in the highest degree, for that

\* Or notarie,

\* Or Keeper of  
her books and  
accounts.

A.V.C. 804.

\* Nero

\* Or Tuffeys:

\* Mangonies  
quassus.

Which ex-  
tendeth also  
to slaves sold  
wares or thirp-  
Fetters.

whiles he was chaunting, either he made many starts away out of the place, or else slept, if he staid there still. And being forbidden not only to conuerse in the same lodging with him, but also to salute him publicly with others, he withdrew himselfe aside into a small chitte, and which stood out of the way: untill such time, as lying close there and fearing the worst, the government of a \*pro-  
 \*Turk.  
 \*Who then looked for their *Messias* & doe so full.  
 \*Or governour, *Salvus*,  
 \*Gallus.  
 \*i. The maine standerd.  
 \*Romaine.  
 \*these cornets and cohorts seeme to bee *Auxiliaries*  
 \*Titas.  
 \*Or Provinces rather in the East part  
 vince with the command of an armie was offered unto him. There had been spread throughout all the East parts an opinion of olde, and the same setled in mens heads: and constantly beleaved, *That by the appointment of the destinies about such a time there should come out of IVRY those, who were to be Lords of the whole World*: which being a prophesie (as afterwards the event shewed) foretelling of the Romane Emperour, the \*Iewes drawing to themselves, rebelled: and having slaine the \*President there, put to flight also the \*Lieutenant generall of Syria (a man of consular degree) comming in to ayde; and tooke from him the \*Egle. To repress this insurrection, because there was neede of a greater armie and a valiant Captaine, yet such an one, as to whom a matter of so great consequence might safely be committed; himselfe was chosen above all others, as a man of approved valour and industrie; howbeit no way to be feared for the meannesse of his birth, linage and name. Having therefore under his hand an addition to the former poure, of two \*legions, eight \*cornets of horse and tenne cohorts (offoote): taking also unto him among other Lieutenants, his elder \*son, no sooner arrived he in that province, but the other \*states likewise next adjoyning, he brought into admiration of him, for reforming immediately at his first comming the discipline of the campe, and giving the charge in one or two batailles with such resolution, as that in the assault of a castle, he caught a rap with a stone upon his knee, and received in his targate some shot of arrowes.

5

After NERO and GALEA, whiles OTHO and VITELLIUS strove for Sovereintie, hee had good hope of the Empire, conceived long before, by these presaging tokens (which I wil now relate) within a countrey ferme by the Citie side, belonging to the *Flavij*, there stood an olde Oke consecrated unto MARS, which at 3. childbirths of VESPASIA sodainly did put forth every time a several bough from the stock: undoubted signes fore-shewing the destinie & fortune of each one. The first was small and slender, which quickly withered (and therefore the girle at that time borne lived not one yeere to an end): the second grew very stiffe and long withall, which pretended great felicitie: but the third, came to the bignesse of a tree. Whereupon SARIUS the father (of VESPASIAN) being confirmed beside by the answer of a  
 \*One of these that pise into beastes bowels.  
 \*Terulla the Grandmother of *Vespasian*.  
 \*Emperour.  
 \*Southfayer, brought word backe (by report) unto his owne \*Mother, *that she had a Nephew borne who should be* \*CESAR: Whereat, (hee did nothing else but set up a laughter, merruailing that her sonne should have a cracked braine and fall a doting now, since that his Mother had her wittes still whole and found: Soone after, when CAIUS CESAR, offended and angrie with him, for that being *Ædile* hee had not bene carefull about sweeping and cleansing the streetes, had commanded hee should bee all bedawbed with mire that the Souldiours gathered up and threw into the lap of his embro-

dred

dred robe, some were ready to make this interpretation thereof, *that the common weale trodden one day under foote and forlorne by some cruell troubles, should fall into his protection and as it were into his bosome*. As hee was at his dinner upon a time, a strange dog brought into his dining room a mans hand and layed it under the boarde. Againe, as hee sate another time at supper, an Ox having bene at plough and shaken of his yoke, rushed into the parlour where hee was at meate: and when hee had driven the waiters and seruitors out, as if all on a sodaine hee had bene wearie, layed him downe along at his feete where hee sate, and gently put his necke under him. A Cypress tree likewise in his Grand-fathers land without anie force of tempest plucked up by the roote and layed along, the very next day following rose up againe greener and stronger than before. But in *ACHAIA* hee dreamed, *That hee and his, should begonne to prosper so soone as NERO had a tooth drawn out of his head*. Now it fortun'd, that the morrow following, a Chirurgeon that came forth into the court-yard shewed unto him a tooth of NEROES newly drawn. In *Iurie*, when hee consulted with the Oracle of the god (s) CARMEIUS, the answer which was given, assured him in these termes, *That whatsoever he thought upon and cast in his minde (were it never so great) it should so come to passe*: And one of the Noble men of that Countrey taken captive, named \*LOSEPHUS, when hee was cast into prison, vouched and sayde unto him most constantly, that hee should shortly be set at liberty even by him, but hee should be Emperour first. There were moreover significant tokens presaging no lesse reported unto him out of the very Citie of Rome: and namely, *that NERO in his latter dayes*, a little before his death, was warned in a dreame to take the sacred Chariot of IUPITER *Optimus Maximus* forth of the Chappel where it stooode, into VESPASIANs house, and so from \*thence into the Cirque. Also, not long after, as GALEA held the solemne election for \*his second Consulship, the statue of IULIUS, late CESAR offamous memorie, turned of it selfe into the (b) East. And at the field fought before *Bebricum*, ere the batailles joyned, two *Ægles* had a conflict and bickered together in all their fights: and when the one of them was foyled and overcome, a third came at the very instant from the sunne rising and chased the Victresse away.

6

Yet for all this attempted he no enterprife (notwithstanding his friends & souldiours were most preste and forward yea and urgent upon him) before that hee was solicited by the unexpected favour, of some, who as it fell out were both unknown to him and also absent. Two thousand drawn out of the three legions of the *Mesian* armie and sent to ayde OTHO, when they were upon the way marching (albeit newes came unto them that hee was vanquished and had layed violent hands upon himselfe,) held on their journey nevertheless as farre as to *Aquileia*; as giving small credit to that rumour s whereafter they had by vantage of opportunities offered, and vncontrolled libertie, committed all manner of robberies and outrageous villanies, fearing least if they returned backe againe, they should answer for their misdeameours, and abide condigne punishment therefore; layed their heades together, and consulted about the chusing and creating of an EMPEROVR. For, worse they tooke not themselves nor inferior, eyther to the

Y 2

armie

\*Who wrote the Jewish historie.

\*Inde in Circum  
 \*Vespasian.

armie in *SPAIN* that had set up *GALBA*: or to the Pretorian bands, which had made *OTHO*: or to the Germanic forces who had elected *VITELLIVS*, Emperours. Having purposed therefore and nominated of the Consular Lieutenants as manie, as they coule in anie place thinke upon: when they misliked all the rest, taking exceptions against one for this cause and another for that: Whiles some againe of that third Legion, which a litle before the death of *NERO* had been translated out of *SYRIA* into *MESIA*, highly prayed and extolled *VESPASIAN*; they all accorded thereto; and without delay, wrote his name upon their flagges and banners. And verily, for that time this project was smudged, the companies for a while reclaimed, and all brought into good order. But when the sayde fact was once divulged: *TIBERIUS ALEXANDER* \*Provost of *ÆGYPT* was the first that forced the Legions to sweare allegiance unto *VESPASIAN*, upon the \*kalends of *IVLY*, which ever after was celebrated for the first day and beginning of his Empire. After them, the armie in *Iurie* tooke the same oath before *VESPASIAN* himselfe, the \*fifth day before the Ides of *Iulie*. These enterprises were very much farthered, by the copie of a letter that went commonly through mens hands (true or false I wote not) of *OTHO* now deceased, to *VESPASIAN*, charging and willing him now at the last cast, of all love to revenge his death, and wishing him withall, to relieve the distressed state of the Common-wealth: by a rumour also spread abroad, That *VITELLIVS* upon his victorie ment fully to make an exchange of the legions winter harbours: namely, to remove those that wintered in *Germanie* into the \*East Provinces, as to a more secure service and easier warfare. Moreover, among the Governours of Provinces, *LUCIUS MUCIANVS*, and of the Kings, *Vologesus of Parthia*, had promised; the \*one (laying downe all grudge and enmitie which unto that time he openly \*professed upon a humour of emulation) the *Syrian* armie: and the \*other fortie thousand archers.

## 7

*VESPASIAN* therefore having undertaken a civill warre, and sent before him his Capitaines and forces into *Italie*, passed over in the meane time to *ALEXANDRIA*, for to be possessed of the frontier streights and *AVENUES* of *Ægypt*. Heere when he had voided all companie from him and was entred alone into the Temple of *Serapis*, after he had, upon much propitious favour of that god obtained, devoutly at length turned himselfe about; him thought hee sawe (a) *BASILIDES* one who was known to have had access unto no man, and long since for the infirmities of his sinewes, scarce able to set one foote before another, and withall to bee absent a \*great way off, to present unto him *Vergaine* and *sacred herbes* guirlands also and loaves of bread, (as the manner is in that place. And heereupon immediately letters came unto him, importing thus much, that the forces of *VITELLIVS* were discomfited before *CREMONA*: reporting besides, that himselfe was killed at *ROME*. The onely thing that hee wanted; (being as one would say, a Prince unlooked for, and as yet new come to the Empire) was Countenance, authority, and a kinde as it were of royall majestie. But even that also came on apace (by this occasion) It fortuned that a certaine meane commoner shalke

\*Or Governour.

\*The first day.

\*The 11 of July

\*No martialle then, if the armie there inclined to *Vespasian*.

\*Mucianus.  
\*Vnto *Vespasian*  
\*K. *Vologesus*.

\*The Palley.  
\*80 Miles hie  
pily, the same  
whom *Tacitus*  
reporteth to  
have been the  
Priest of *Cornelia*.

blind; another likewise with a feeble and lame leg, came both together unto him as hee sat upon the tribunall, craving that helpe and remedie for their infirmities which had beene snewed unto them by *SERAPIS* in their dreames: namely, *This \*he should restore the one to his sight, if he did but spit into his eyes: and strengthen the others legge, if hee unloosed onely to touch it with his heele.* Now when as hee could hardly beleve, that the thing anie way would finde successe and speede accordingly, and therefore durst not so much as put it to the venture: at the last through the perswasion of friends, openly before the whole assembly, hee assayed both meanes, neither missed hee of the effect. About the same time; at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, by the Instinct and motion of Prophets, there were digged out of the ground in a consecrated place, manufactures and vessels of antique worke: and among the same an linage, resembling for all the World *VESPASIAN*.

## 8

Thus qualified as hee was and graced with so great fame, hee returned to *ROME*: and after his triumph over the Iewes, hee added eight Consulships more to that which olde hee had borne. He tooke upon him also the Censureship: and all the time of his Empire esteemed nothing more deare, than first to establish and afterwards to adorne the Common weale, brought almost to utter decay, and at the point to fall downe. The souldiours, some presuming boldly of their victories, others in griefe for their shamefull \*diff-grace were grown to all manner of licentiousnesse and audacitie. The Provinces likewise and free states, yea and some kingdomes, fell to discord & seditious tumults among them selves. And therefore of the *Vitellians* he both cased and also chastised very many. As for the partners with him in victorie: so farre was hee from allowing them any extraordinary indulgence, that their very due and lawfull rewardes hee payed not but slackely. And because hee would not let slip anie occasion of reforming militarie discipline, when a certain gallant youth smelling hote of sweet balmes and perfumes came unto him, to give thanks for an \*Office obtained at his hands; after a strange countenance shewing his dislike of him, hee gave him also in words, a most bitter and grievous checke, saying, I would rather thou haddest stunk of garlick, and so revoked his letters patents for the graunt. As touching the mariners and sea seruitours, such of them as are wont to passe to and fro on foote, by \*turnes from *Olbia* and *Parcolito* to *ROME*; who were petitioners unto him that some certaine allowance might bee set downe for to finde them shoes: hee thought it not sufficient to sende them away without answer, but commanded that for ever after they should runne up and downe betweene \*unshod. And so, from that time they use to doe. *ACHAIA*, *LYCIA*, *RHODES*; *BIZANTIUM* and *SAMOS*, \*first disfranchised: likewise, *THRACIA*, *CILICIA* and *COMAGENE*, subiect untill that time to Kings hee reduced all into the forme of a province. Into *Cappadocia*, for the continuall rodes and incursions that the Barbarians made, he brought a poure besides, of Legions, and in lieu of a Romane knight, he placed there for Ruler, a man who had bene Consul. The Citie of *ROME* by reason of olde skare-

A.V.C. 823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832

\*In taking part against him.

\*Or charge.

\*Per vires, some reade per vires, along the towne, and villages.

\*Barefoote.  
\*Whereas they had been free State.

fires and ruines was much blemished and disfigured. Hee permitted therefore any man to feize as his owne all vacant plots of ground, and to builde thereupon, in case the owners and Land-lords were lacke in that behalfe. Him selfe tooke upon him the reedifying of the Capitoll, and was the first man that did set his hand to the ridding of the rubbish and rammell, yea and upon his owne necke caried some of it awaye: three thousand tables of brasse also which were burnt with the sayd Temple, hee undertooke to make and set up againe, having searched and fought out from all places the pattrens and \*copies thereof. A most bewtiful instrument and right auncient record of the whole Empire hee compiled and finished; wherein were contained from the first beginning well neere of the Citie, all actes of Senate, all decdes passed by the Community as concerning Leagues, Alliances and priviledges granted to any whatsoever.

\*For in them were engraven the publike evidences and words;&c

\*Clandius his wife.  
\*Vt deservisse compertus  
\*flum amplissimis  
\*Of Senators and gentlemen

Hee built also newe workes: the temple of peace, situate next unto the Forum: That likewise of CLAUDIVS late Emperour of sacred memorie, seated upon the mount *Calvus* which verily had bene begun by \*AGRIPPINA, but almost from the very foundation destroyed by NERO. Item a most stately Amphitheatre in the heart of the Citie, \*according as hee understood, that AVGVSTVS intended such an one. The two degrees wasted by sundry massacres and disfeined through the negligence of former times, hee cleansed and supplied, by a review and visitation of Senate and gentry both: wherein hee removed the unworthiest persons and tooke in the most honest that were to bee found, either of Italians or provinciall inhabitants. And to the ende it might be knowne, that both the said degrees differed one from another not so much in libertie as in dignitie; hee pronounced in the case of a certaine braule betweene a Senatour and a knight of Rome. *That Senatours might not be provoked first with foule language: mary to answer them with evill words againe, was but Civileitie and a matter allowed.*

\*The vacation during the Citie troubles;

\*Which pertained to the Centumvirs Court to wit, Civile causes between private persons, as probates of Testaments &c.

\*Vide Cicero. l. de Oratore.

\*Plantiffs & defendants.  
\*Sic ut in Sabellicis expoundeth it or, at large, carnally.

Wanton lust and wastfull expence, without restraint of any man had gotten a mightie head. Hee mooved the Senate therefore to make a decree: *That, what woman ever joynd herselfe in \*wedlocke unto another mans bondswoman, should be reputed a bondwoman.* Item that it might not bee lawfull for Vassallors to demanda any debt of young men whiles they were under their fathers

theirs tuition for money credited out unto them, mean, not so much as after their decaife. In all other matters, from the very first beginning of his Empire unto the end, hee was courteous enough and full of Clemencie.

12

His former meane estate and condition, hee dissimuled not at any time. Nay hee would often of himselfe profess: the same and make it knowne openly: Yea and when some went about to fetch the original of the Flavian Linage, from as farre as the founders of *REATE*, and the companion of *HARCULUS* whose monument is to be seene in the way \**Salaria*, hee mocked and laughed them to skorne for their labours. And so farre was he from desiring any \*outward ornaments in shewe of the VWorld, that upon his triumph day, being wearied with the slow march and tedious traine of the pompe, he could not hold but say plainly, that hee was well enough served and iustly punished; who being an aged man had so foolishly longed for a triumph: as if forsooth it had of right bene due unto his \*forefathers, or ever hoped for \*by him selfe. Neither accepted he so much, as the tribunes authority and addition, of *Pater patrie* in his stile, but it was long first. For hee had forlet altogether the custome of learning those that came in duty to salute him even whiles yet the Civill warre continued.

\*By which fault was brought out of the Sabines country to Rome.  
\*Extrinsicus: who were but of meane calling.  
\*Being the score of fage, & therefore past the ambitious desire of such glory.  
\*Libertatem which the greekes call *Patriarchan*.  
\*His friend.  
\*For he was the chiefe helper of him to the Empire.

13

The \*franke-speech of his friendes: the figurative termes and quippes of Lawyers pleading at the barre, and the unmannerly rudenes of Philosphers hee tooke most mildly. \**LEICIVS MUCIANUS*, a man notorious for his preposterous wantonnesse but (presuming confidently of his \*good deserts) not so respective of him as reverent duty would, hee could never finde in his heart to gird and nip againe but secretly: and thus farre forth onely as in complaining of him unto some good friend of them both to knit up all with these words for a conclusion, yet \*am I aman. When \**SALVIVS LIBERALIS*, pleading in the defence of a rich client was so bolde as to say. *What is that to \*CÆSAR, if HIPPARCHUS be worth an hundred millions of Sesterces?* him selfe also commended and thanked him for it. *DEMETRIUS* the \*Cynicke meeting him in the way after hee was come \*to his Sovereigne dignitie, and not deigning once to rife up nor to salute him, but rather barking at him I wote not what, he thought it enough to call (a) Cur-dogge.

\*Whatsoever you are noting him for that he was *Pachius* a Lawyer.  
\*Noting *Vespasianus*, as if he had a long eye after his wealth and therefore sought his condemnation.  
\*Philosophers *Epiphanius* *unum aliud natus*, after hee was condemned for *Vespasianus* had banished all Philosphers out of Rome & so finished this.

14

Displeasures to him done, and enmities, he never caried in mind nor revenged. The daughter of *VITELLIVS* his enemy hee married into a most noble house: he gave unto her a rich dowry withall, and furniture accordingly. Whereas, by reason that he was forbidden the Court under *NERO* hee stood in great feare, and was to seeke what to do or whetherto goe: one of the gentlemen his friends, whose office it was to admit men into the presence, in thrusting him out, had bidden him *abire* \**Domitianum*, i. to be gone in a mischief. When this fellow afterwards came to aske forgiveness, he proceeded no further in heat of anger but to wordes onely, and to quite him with just as many and almost the very same. For, so farre was hee from working the overthrowe and death of anye person, upon anye suspition or feare conceived: that

\**Demetrius* to an Iland *Xiphilium*.  
\*Or *Morbanum* according to which phrase we say, the foule ill rickes hee.  
The Greekes call it *Croacus*.  
The Latines call it *malum crucis* i. gobang

Y 4

that

that when his friendes admonished him to beware of MÆTIVS POM-  
 PONIANS, because it was generally beleaved that the Astrologers  
 had by the horoscope of his nativite assured him to bee Emperour another  
 day, hee advanced the same MÆTIVS to the Consulship, presuming and pro-  
 mising in the mans behalfe, that hee would be one day mindfull of this benefit  
 and good turne of his.

15

There is not lightly found an innocent person to have beene punished,  
 but when hee was absent and not ware thereof: or at leastwise unwilling  
 thereto and deceived. With HELVIDIVS PRISCUS who onely had fa-  
 luted him after his retume out of SYRIA, by his private name, \*plaine VES-  
 PASIAN: and being pretour in all his Edicts and Proclamations passed him o-  
 ver without any honour at all, or once naming him, hee was not angry and  
 displeased, before that he had, with his most insolent altercations made him  
 in manner contemptible and little better than an ordinarie person. Him also,  
 notwithstanding he was first confined to a place and afterwards commanded  
 to bee killed, hee would have given a great deale to have saved by all means  
 possible: as who sent certain of purpose to call backe the murderers: and saved  
 his life hee had, but that false word came backe that he was dispatched alreadie.  
 Otherwise he never joyced in the death of any but rather when malefactours  
 were justly punished and executed, hee would weepe and groane againe.

16

The onely thing, for which hee might worthily bee blamed was covet-  
 ousnesse. For, not content with this, To have revived the taxes & pay-  
 ments omitted by GALBA: to have laied unto them other newe and heavey  
 impositions: to have enhaunted also the Tributes of the provinces, yea and  
 of some dispayed the same: he fell openly to negotiate and deale in certaine  
 trades, which, even for a private person were a shame: to use: buying up  
 and engroffing some commodities for this purpose onely to put the same off,  
 afterwards at an higher price. Neither made hee it straunge to sell either  
 honourable places unto suiters for them: or abolutions and pardons, to  
 men in trouble, whether they were innocent or guiltie it skilled not. Fur-  
 thermore, it is verily thought that of his Procuratours, if any were greedy  
 and given to extortion more than other, his manner was to promote such for  
 the nonce to higher offices: to the ende, that when they were more enriched,  
 hee might soone after condemne them. And commonly it was sayd, that  
 those hee used as spunges, for that hee did wet them well when they were  
 drie, and presse them hard when they were wette. Some write that hee was by  
 nature most covetous; & that an old Neat heard upbraided him once therewith  
 who being at his handes denied freedom without paying for it (which hee  
 hubble craved of him now invested in the Empire) cryed out with a lowd voice  
 and said, *The Wolfe might change his haire, but not his qualities.* Contrariwise there  
 bee againe who are of opinion, that hee was driven to spoyle, to pill and  
 poll of necessitie, even for extreame want both in the common treasure and  
 also

\*Not Cesar  
 nor Augustus  
 nor Imperator

also in his owne exchequer: whereof he gave some testimonie in the begin-  
 ning immediately of his Empire; professing that there was neede of fortie  
 thousand Millenes to set the STATE upright againe. Which also see-  
 meth to founde more neere unto the truth. Because the monie by him ill got-  
 ten: Hee used and bestowed passing well. To all sorts of men hee was most  
 liberall. The (a) Estate and wealth of Senatours he made up to the full. To de-  
 caied men that had beene Consuls, hee allowed for their maintenance 500  
 thousand Sesterces by the yeere. Very many Cities throughout the World  
 by Earth quake or fire ruinate, hee reedified better then they were before.

17

Fine wits and cunning Artisanes hee set much store by, and cherished  
 them above all others. Hee was the first, that out of his owne coffers ap-  
 pointed for professed RHETORICIANS, as well in Latine as in Greeke,  
 an yeerly Salarie of an hundred thousand Sesterces a peece. Excellent  
 POETS, as also \*Actours he \*bought up. Semblably, upon the workman  
 who had repaired and set up againe, the Geantlike Image called COLOS-  
 SVS, hee bestowed an notable \*congratie, and endowed him with a great  
 stipend beside: to an Engineer also, who promised to bring into the Capitoll  
 huge Columns with small charges, hee gave for his devise onely no meane re-  
 ward; and released him his labour in performing that worke, saying withall by  
 way of preface, *That he should suffer him to feed the poore commons.*

\*Artifices, for  
 to live eter-  
 nally. \*Lad or et  
 his name, \*Age  
 flasters. \*Or  
 Ortyard. \*To  
 To allow, \*the  
 wages, their  
 painfull, \*bor  
 in such works  
 rather then to  
 have the same  
 done without  
 them: and as  
 we lay, to keep  
 poore people  
 at worke.

18

At those playes during which the stage of MARCELLUS Theatre newly  
 reedified, was dedicated: he had brought into request and use againe even the  
 olde \*(a) Acroames. To APOLLINARIS the Tragædian hee gave foure  
 hundred thousand sesterces. To TERPNUS and DIONORUS two harpers,  
 two hundred thousand a peece: to some one hundred: and to whom hee gave  
 least fortie thousand, over and above a great number of golden Coronets. Hee  
 feasted continually: and for the most part by making \*full suppers and those  
 very plentifull: for why? His meaning was to helpe the Butchers and such as  
 sold victuals. As hee delivered forth giftes unto men at the Saturnalia, so  
 hee did to Women upon the (b) Kalends of MARCH. Yet verily for all  
 this, could hee not avoide the infamous name of his former avarice. The  
 men of ALEXANDRIA termed him still CYBIOSASTES after the  
 surname of one of their Kings, given to most bale and beggerly gayne. And  
 even at his very funerals, FAVOR the Arch-counterfaist representing his  
 person, and imitating (as the manner is) his deeds and wordes whiles hee li-  
 ved, when hee asked the Procuratours openly, what the charges might bee  
 of his funeral and the pompe thereto belonging? No sooner hearde that it  
 would arise to tenne Millenes of Sesterces, but hee cried, Give mee one hun-  
 dred thousand, and make no more ado but throw mee into TIBER.

\*Eare delights  
 as Players Mu-  
 sicians, &c.

\*Feast in op-  
 position to,  
 solitude.

19

Of a middle stature hee was: well set: his limmes compact and strongly  
 made: with a countenance as if hee streined hard for a stoole. Whereupon, ne-  
 of



\*A roūd place  
of exerciſe be-  
loging to the  
baines, ſome  
would have it  
to be a tennis  
court.  
\*Naturall, 24  
hours.  
\*Or a ſeſſe be  
fore day, ſe  
notte vigiliat  
Sextus Aetilius  
writeth of him  
thath he watch-  
ed all night,  
Plinius alſo ſaith  
Nictē ut ſol-  
tum: ut diem  
aliis noctibus,  
et nocturnis di-  
ebus traiecerit.  
\*A ſecret, or ſe-  
tiring place

of theſe plaiſants came out with a pretie conceit. For when VESPASIAN ſeemed to requeſt the fellow for to breake a iek upon him alſo, as well as upon others, that I will quoth he, If you had done your buſineſſe once upon the ſeege. His health hee had no man better: although for the preſervation thereof hee did no more, but rub his owne chawes and other parts of the bodie to a certaine iult (a) number within the \*Sphæriſterium: and withall, monethly interpoſe abſtinentie from all foodes one \*whole day.

20

This courſe and order of life for the moſt part he held. While he was Emperour hee waked alwayes very early, and \*late in the night. Then, having red through all miſſives, and the Breviaries of everie office: hee admitted his friends: and while hee was ſaluted, he both put on his own ſhoos, and alſo apparailled and made himſelfe ready. After diſpatch of all occurrent buſineſſes, hee tooke himſelfe to (a) geſtation, and ſo to reſt: having one of his Concubines, lying by his ſide: of whom hee had appointed a great number in ſteede of CÆNIS decaſſed. From his \*privie cloſet, hee paſſed into his Baine and ſo to his reſection rounge. Neyther was he, by report, at any time fuller of humanitie, or redier to doe a pleaſure: And ſuch opportunities of time as theſe, his domeſticall ſervants waited for eſpecially, to preferre their petitions in.

21

At his ſuppers, and \*otherwiſe at all times with his friends being moſt pleaſant and courteous, hee diſpatched many matters by way of mirth. For given exceedingly hee was to ſkoffs, and thoſe to ſkurrelle and filthy, that he could not ſo much as forbear words of (b) ribaudrie. And yet there bee many right pleaſant conceited iekes of his extant. Among which this alſo goes for one. Being aduertified by MENSTRIVS FLORUS, a man of Conſuls degree, to pronounce \*Planſtra, rather than Ploſtra, hee ſaluted him the next morrow by the name of \* (c) FLAURUS. Having yeelded at length to a certaine woman enamoured of him, and readie as it were to dye for pure love, when ſhe \*was brought to his bed, and had given him fortie thouſand ſeſterces for lying with her, his Steward comes to put him in minde in what manner and forme hee would have this ſumme of money to bee ſet downe in his \*booke of accompts: marie thus quoth he, VESPASIANO adamatō i. Item given to (d) VESPASIAN beloved.

22

Hee uſed Greeke Verſes alſo in good ſeaſon and aptly applied: as namely of a certaine fellow, tall and high of ſtature, but (a) ſhrowde and teſtie withall, in this manner,

Μακρὸς βροδὺς ἠγαθὸν δὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχοντος,

and eſpecially of CÆRYLUS, his freed-man: upon whom, for that being exceeding rich, yet to avoyde a payment ſometime to his Exchequer, hee began to give it out that hee was free borne, and ſo changed his name and called himſelfe LACHES, VESPASIAN placed in theſe rearmes:

Ὁ Λάχης Λάχης, ἔπειν ἀποδίδεις,  
αὐτὸς ἐξ ἑσῶς ἀρχῆς εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι,

O LACHES, LACHES, wert thou once dead in grave:  
Thine olde name CÆRYLUS, againe thou ſhalt have.

Howbeit, moſt of all hee affected a kinde of dicacitie in his unſeemly gayne and filthy lucre: to the end, that by ſome ſkoffing cavill, hee might put by and doe awaie the enuie of the thing, turning all to merrie jeſts. A Miniſter and ſervitour about him, whom hee loved deerey, made ſuite in the behalfe of one as his brother, for a Stewardſhip. When hee had put him off to a farther day, hee called unto him the partie himſelfe, that made meanes for the thing: and having \*exacted ſo much monie at his hands, as hee had agreed for with the Mediatour aforeſayd, without more delay, he ordained him Steward. Soone after when the ſervitour interpoſed him ſelfe, *Go your wayes* quoth he, *ſeeke you another to be your brother: For, this fellow whom you think to be yours is become mine.* Suſpecting that his mulctier who drave his carrook alighted one time, as it were to ſhoo his Mules, thereby to winne ſome advantage of time and delay, for one that had a matter in lawe and was coming unto him: hee asked the Mulctier what might the ſhooing of his mules \*coſt: and ſo covenanted with him to have part of his gaires. When his ſonne TITUS ſeemed to finde fault with him for deviſing a kinde of tribute, even out of urine: the monie that came unto his hand of the firſt payment, hee put unto his ſonnes noſe: asking withall, *whether he was offended with the ſmell, or no,* and when he answered *No: and yet quoth he, it cometh of Urine.* Certaine Embaſſadours brought him word, that there was decreed for him at the common charges of the States a geantlike image, that would coſt no meane ſumme of money. He commanded them to reate the ſame immediately, ſhewing therewith his hand \*holiow. Here is the baſe quoth he and \*piedfall for it, ready. And not ſo much as in the feare & extreame perill of death forbare hee ſkoffing. For when as among ether prodigious ſignes the \*Mauſoleum of the CÆSARS opened ſodainly, and a blazing ſtarre appeared: The one \*of them he ſayde, did concerne IUNIA CALVINA a gentlewoman of \*AUGUSTUS (CÆSARS) race: the other had reference to the King of the Parthians, who ware his haire \*long. In the very firſt acceſſe alſo, and ſit of his diſeaſe, *He ſhinkes* quoth he, *I am \*a deifying.*

23

In his ninth Conſulſhip, after he had been aſſayed in *Campania* with ſome light motions and grudgings of his ſickneſſe, and thereupon returned forthwith to the Citie, hee went from thence to *Catilia* and the lands hee had about *Reate*, where every yeere hee was wont to ſummer, Heere, having (beſides the maladic ſtill growing upon him) hurt alſo his guttes and bowels with the uſe of \*colde (a) water, and yet nevertheleſſe executed the functions of an Emperour, after his accuſtomed manner, in ſo much as lying upon his bed, hee gave audience to Embaſſadours: when all of a ſodaine he fell into a looſeneſſe of the bellie, that hee fainted and was ready to ſwound therewith, An Emperour quoth he ought to dye ſtanding. As he was ariſing therfore and ſtreining ſtill to \*eaſe his bodie he dyed in their hands that helped to liſt him up, the 8th day \*before the Calends of *Iuly*: when he had lived threeſcore yeeres and nime. \*leven monthes and ſeven dayes over.

\*Or received;

\*The partie that came to ſollicite his owne cauſe.

\*For to receive the monie.

\*Meaning his hand.

\*Monumēt or Sepulchre.

\*The Mauſoleum.

\*Whereas himſelf was not of that line.

\*A blazing ſtarre.

\*Whereupon is called *Stella Crinita* &c.

\*In Greeke.

\*Am a dying, &c to grow to be a god.

\*Theſe waters of *Catilia* as Plinius writeth were exceedingly cold.

\*To avoid the order of the yeeres.

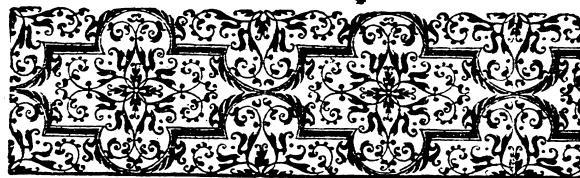
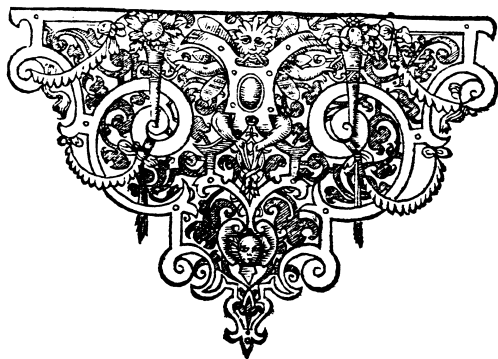
A.V.C. 831.

\*A 24. June.

\*Suetonius ſaith hee was 76 years old.

All

All writers agree in this, that so confident he was alwayes of his owne  
 \*Or nativitie, \*Horoscope and his childrens, that after so many conspiracies continually  
 plotted against him hee durst warrant and assure the Senate *that either his owne  
 Sonnes should succede him or none*. It is sayde moreover, that hee dreamed up-  
 on a time, How hee sawe a paire of skales hanging in the midst of the porch  
 and entrie of his house palatine, with the beame thereof even ballanced, so as  
 in the one ballance stood CLAUDIUS and NERO: in the other, himselfe  
 and his sonnes. And it fell out so indeede: for they ruled the  
 Empire of both sides so many yeeres, and the like  
 space of time just.



# THE HISTORIE OF Titus Flavius Vespasianus Au-

gustus, written by Caius Suetonius  
 Tranquillus.



**T**ITUS, surnamed as his Father was, VESPASIANUS, the  
 lovely dearling and delightfull ioy of Mankinde (so fully was  
 he, either endued with good nature and disposition, or enri-  
 ched with skillfull cunning, or else graced with fortunes fa-  
 vour; and that (which is hardest of all) in his Imperiall  
 State; considering that whiles hee lived as a private person  
 under the Emperour his Father, he could not avoid the very  
 hatred and much lesse the reproofe of the world.) This TITUS, I say, was borne  
 the \* third day before the Calends of Ianuarie: in that yeere which was remarke-  
 able for the death of CAIUS the Emperour, neere unto the (a) *Septimium*.  
 within a poore ill-favoured house, in a very little Chamber and darke with-  
 all: For it remaineth yet to bee scene. His Education hee had in the Court to-  
 gether with BRITANNICUS, trained up in the like Arts and Disciplines, under  
 the

\* 30 of De-  
 cember.  
 A.V.C. 794

\* Metoposcopia

\* Britannicus

\* Britannicus

2

\* Anthoniadis, which has the cal end mase-jazzm

3

\* Temperate behaviour

\* To undertake king causes of great importance

\* To entertain amatores whatsover. A V.C. 820  
\* Neer to the Lake Genes-rab

4

A.V.C. 821

\* In Paphia a city in the Isle Cyprus

the same teachers. At which time verily, men say, that a \* (b) Fortune-teller, whom NARCISSUS the freed man of CLAUDIUS brought to see BRITANNICUS, after Inspection affirmed in most constant, that by no means \* Hee, but TITUS who then stood hard by, should surely bee Emperour. Now were these two so familiar, that (as it is verily thought) of the same cup of poison whereof BRITANNICUS drank and died, TITUS also sitting neere unto him, tasted: whereupon he fell into a grievous discale, that held him long and put him to great paine. In memoriall of all which premisses, he erected afterwards for \* him one Statue of gold in the *Palatium*; as also another of Ivoire on horsebacke (which at the *Circian Games* is even at this day carried before in the Solemne pomp) he dedicated, and accompanied accordingly.

At the very first, even in his child-hood, there shone forth in him, the gifts both of body and minde: and the same more and more still by degrees as hee grew in yeeres: A goodly presence and countenance, wherein was seated no lesse \* maiestie than favour and beauty: A speciall cleane strength, albeit his stature was not tall: but his belly bare out somewhat with the most. A singular memorie: and aptnesse to learne all the Arts, in manner, as well of warre as of peace. Most skillfull he was in handling his weapon, and withall a passing good horseman: For his Latine and Greeke tongue, whether it were in making Orationes or composing Poemes, prompt and ready even to the performance thereof *extempore*. Neither was he unene in Musick as who could both sing and also play upon instruments sweetly and with knowledge. I have heard also many men say, *That he was wont to write with Cyphers and Characters* most swiftly, striving by way of sport and mirth with his owne Clerks, whether he or they could write fastest: to expresse likewise and imitate what hand so ever hee had seene: yea, and to professe many a time, that he would have made a notable forger and counterfaiiter of writings.

In quality of Tribune Militare, he served in the warres both in *Germanie* and also in *Britannie*, with exceeding commendation for his industrie and no lesse report of \* modestie, as appeareth by a number of his images and (a) titles to them annexed, throughout both Provinces. After this warfare of his, hee pleaded causes in Court, which he did rather to winne credit and \* reputation, than to make it an ordinarie \* practise. At which very time, he wedded *ARRICIDIA*, the daughter of *TERULLUS* a Gentleman of *Rome*, but Captaine sometime of the Praetorian Bands: and in the room of her deceased, he tooke to wife *MARTIA FLAVIA*: and from her when she had borne unto him a daughter, he divorced himselfe. After this, upon his Questureship, being Colonell and Commandour of a whole Legion, he brought under his subjection \* *TARICHEA* and *GAMALAI* two most puissant Cities of *Jurie*: Where, in a certaine battaile having lost his horse under him (by a deadly wound) within his flanks, hee monned another whose rider in fight against him had beene slaine and was fallen.

Afterwards, when *GALBA* was possessed of the State, being sent to congratulate his advancement: What way so ever he went, he turned all mens eyes upon him, as if he had beene singled forth to be adopted. But so soone as he perceived all to be full of troubles againe, hee returned back out of his very journey, and visited the Oracle of *VENUS \* PAPHIA*: Where, whilst he asked counsell, about his passage at sea, hee was confirmed withall in his hope of the Empire. Having attained thereto within short time, & being left behind to subdue *Jurie* throughly

in

in the last assault of *Hierusalem*, hee slew twelve enemies that defended the wall, with just so many arrowes shot: and wonne the Citie upon the very birth-day \* of his daughter, with so great joy and favourable applaus of all his Souldiours: that in their gratulation they saluted him Emperour: and soone after, when he was to depart out of that Province, detained him: in humble manner, yea and oftentimes in threatening wiselily calling upon him, To stay, or else to take them all away together with him. Whereupon arose the first suspicion, That he revolted from his father, and had attempted to challenge the kingdome of the East parts for himselfe. Which surmise himselfe made the more, after that in his way to *Alexandrea*, as he consecrated at *Memphis* the *Ox Apis*, he wore a (a) Diademe: Which he did in deed according to the custome & rites of the auncient religion there. But there wanted not some, who construed it otherwise. Making haist therefore into *Italie*; after hee was arrived first at *Rhegium* and from thence at *Puteols*, embarked in a Merchants ship of burden; to *Rome* he goes directly with all speed & most lightly appointed: and unto his father looking for nothing lesse, I am come quoth hee, father, I am come: checking thereby the rash and inconsiderate rumors raised of him.

5

From that time forward hee ceased not to carie himselfe as partner with his Father, yea and Protector also of the Empire: With him hee triumphed: with him hee jointly admitteth the Censureship: His Colleague hee was in the Tribunes authority: his Companion likewise in seven Consulships. And having taken to himselfe the charge well-neere of all Offices, whilst hee both ended letters and penned Edicts in his Fathers name: yea, and read \* Orationes in Senate, and that in the Questours turne, he assumed also the Captainship of the Guard, an Office never to that time executed but by a Gentleman of *Rome*. In this place hee demeaned himselfe nothing civilly, but proceeded with much violence: For ever as he had any in most ielousie and suspicion, he, by sending secretly and under-hand certain of purpose, who in the Theaters and Campe should require for to have them punished (as it were with his Fathers consent) made no more ado but brought them all to their end. As for example, among these, hee commanded *AULUS CAECINA*, a man of Consular Degree, and a guest by him invited to supper, when hee was scarce gone out of the banquetting parlor to bee stabbed. I must needs say, that driven he was to this violent proceeding upon an extremity of daunger: considering that he had found out his hand-writing bearing evidence of a conspiracie that he plotted with the Souldiours. By which courses, as he provided well and sufficiently for his owne security another day: so, for the present time he incurred very much displeasure and hatred of the world: In so much, as no man lightly, when so adverse a rumor was on foote, and that which more is, against the wills of all men, would have stepped to the Imperiall throne.

6

Beside his cruelty, suspected he was also for riotous life: in that he continued banquetting untill midnight with the most profuse and wastfull spend-thrifts of his familiar minions: For wanto lust likewise, by reason of a sort of stale Caramites & gilded Eunuchs that he kept about him: and the affectionate love that hee was noted to beare to \* *QUEENE BERENICE*, unto who also, as it was said he promised marriage. Suspicion there was moreover of this pilling & polling. For certain it was, that in the \* comissions & hearing of causes which his father held, hee was wont to let

Z 2

the \* Agnitiones,

\* 12 Trerug-natoc.  
\* 8th Of September, Joseph, lib, 77d. bello lucas.

A.V.C. 824  
825, 824  
\* 81st year  
A.V.C. 825  
825, 827, 828  
829, 830, 831

\* The sister as some thinke of Agrippa, & wife for a while of Palman King of Lyca, others say, she was the wife first of Aristionius after wards of Antiochus.

the decision of matters, and to make a game thereby. After this, men both reputed and also reported him to be even another NERO. But this name that went of him proved good for him and turned to his greatest commendation: considering that no grosse vice could be found in him, but contrariwise many excellent vertues. The feasts that he made were pleasant meriments, rather than lavish and sumptuous. He chose for his friends such, as in whom the Emperours also his successors reposed themselves, and whom they used especially as necessarie members both for them and also for the Common-wealth. As for Queene BERENICE, he sent her quickly away from the Citie of Rome; but full loath they were both of them to part a sunder. Certaine of his minions and dearlings whom hee favoured and fancied most, albeit they were such artificial Dauncers, that within a while after they caried the greatest praise and prise upon the stage, he forbore quite not onely to huggle and embrace long together, but to behold so much as once in any public meeting and assembly. From no Citizen tooke he ought: and from aliens goods hee abtained, if ever any did. Nay, he received not the very contributions graunted and usually paid. And yet, being inferior to none of his predecessours in munificence, as having dedicated an Amphitheatre, and built the Baines hard-by, with a great expedition, he exhibited a Spectacle of Sword-fencers, with all kindes of furniture thereto belonging in most plentiful manner. Hee represented also an avall fight in the old *Nauumachia*: In which very place he brought forth likewise his sword-fencers to play their prizes: and in that one day he put out to be baited 5000 wilde beasts of all sorts.

\* At which solemnity 5000 wilde beasts were killed.  
As Enchieves, Cornmagicians and Calistries.

## 7

Furthermore, being of his owne nature most kinde and gracious; whereas by a constitution and order that TIBERIUS began, all the CAESARS his Successors held not the Benefits graunted by former Princes good and in force, unless they also themselves made new graunts of the same againe: hee was the first, that by vertue of one sole edict, ratified and confirmed all that had passed before: neither suffered he any petition to be made unto him for them. In all other Suits and Requests, hee ever more held most constantly mens mindes at this passe, that hee would send none away without hope. And when his Domestical Ministers about his person, would seeme to tell him, *That he promised more than he was able to performe*: What! quoth he, *there ought no man to depart from the speech of a Prince, sad and discontented*. Calling to minde one time as he sat at supper, That he had done nothing for any man that day, hee uttered this memorabile and praise-worthy *Apophthegme*, *My friends, I have lost a day*. The people especially in general he intreated in all occasions, with so great courties, that having proposed a solemne Sword-fight, he made open profession, that he would see it forth, not to please him selfe but to content the beholders. And verily, even so hee did: for, neither denied he ought to them that would call for it: and of his owne accord, willed them to aske what their mindes stoode to. Moreover, shewing plainly, that hee stoode well affected to the manner of the Thracian-Swordfencers fight and their Armature, hee would many times even with the rest of the people both in word and gesture (as a favourer of that kinde) jest and make sport: yet so, as he kept still the majestie of an Emperour: and withall iudged with equitie indifferently. And because hee would pretermitt no point of popularity, sometime as hee bathed in his

\* Who were opposite to the Mirmillones, y were armed after the french fashion.

owne baines hee admitted the Commons thither unto him. There fell out in his daies certaine mischaunces and heave accidents: as, the burning of the mountaine *Vesuvius* in *Campania*: A Skar-fire at Rome, which lasted three daies and three nights; as also a pestilence, the like whereof had not lightly beene knowne else where at any other time. In these calamities so many and so grievous, he shewed not onely a Princely care, but also a singular fatherly affection: sometime comforting (his people) by his Edicts; otherwhiles helping them so farre forth as his power would extend. Forrepaire the losses in *Campania*, he chose by lot certaine Commissioners to looke thereto, even out of the ranke of those that had beene Consuls. The goods of such as perished in the said mount, whose heires could not be found, hee awarded to the reedification of the ruinate Cities adioyning. And having made publick protestation, that in the said skare-fire of the Citie, there was no losse at all but to himselfe: Looke what ornaments were in any of his owne Palaces and roya! houses, the same he appointed to the Citie buildings and the Temples: For which purpose hee made divers of Knights degree Supravivors, so the end that every thing might be dispatched with greater expedition. To cure the sicknesse and mitigate the furie of those contagious Dileates, hee used all helpe of God and man; having sought out what soever kindes of Sacrifices and remedies might be found: Among the adversities of those times, may be reckoned these Promoters and Informers, with such as under hand for them a worke, occasioned all by old licentiousnesse and impunitie. And those hee commanded to be whipped and beaten with cudgels ordinarily in the open Market place: and last of all, when they had beene brought in a Shew through the Amphitheatre, partly to be sold in port-sale for slaves: and in part to be caried away into the roughest and bleakest llands that were. And because hee would for ever reitrayne such, as at any time should dare to doe the like: hee made an Acte among many others, prohibiting, One and the same matter to bee sued by vertue of many Statutes and Lawes enacted in that behalfe; or to make inquisition as touching the estate of any man deceased, after the terme of certaine yeeres limited.

\* Where in there died ten thousand a day.  
Enjeu.

\* By the burning of Vesuvius which consumed many towns & much people.

\* In the Country, as Co-lunnes, statues painted tables, &c.

## 8

Having professed, that he tooke upon him the High-Priesthood in this regard, because hee would keepe his hands pure and innocent. hee made good his word. For, after that time, never was hee the principall Author of any mans death, nor priuie and accessarie thereto; (albeit hee wanted not sometimes iust cause of revenge) but sware devoutly, *That hee would rather die himselfe, than doe others to death*. Two noble men of the *Patritian* ranke, convicted for affecting and aspiring to the Empire he proceeded against, no farther than to admonish them to desist and give over, saying, *That Sovereigne power was the gift of Divine and Divine providence*. If they were Petitioners for any thing else, he promised to give it unto them. And verily, out of hand, to the mother of the one, who was then faire of (wofull and pensive woman as shee was) he dispatched his owne courtiers and foote-men to carie word that her sonne was safe: As for themselves hee not onely invited them to a familiar and friendly supper that night: but also the next day following, at the sight of Swords-fencers placing them of purpose neere about his owne person, the Ornaments of the Champions that were to fight, presented unto him, hee reached unto them for to (a) view and peruse.

\* As their armor, weapons &c.

\* Ascendens  
of their Nati-  
vity.  
\* Domitian.

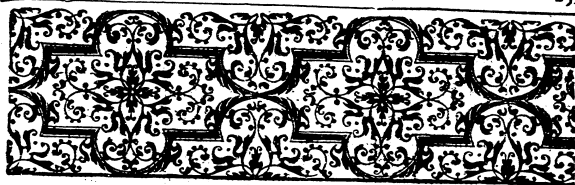
It is said moreover, that having knowledge of both their Horoscopes, he avouched that danger was toward them both and would light upon their heads one day, but from some other; as it fell out in deede. His owne \* brother never ceasing to lay waite for his life, but professedly in manner soliciting the armies against him: plotting also and intending thereupon to flie and be gone, hee could never endure either to kill or to sequester and confine, no nor so much as to abridge of any honour: but, as hee had alwaies done from the first day of his imperiall dignity, persecuted to testifie and declare, that Partner he was with him in the Sovereaign government, and his heire apparent to succceede him: otherwhiles secretly with teares and prayers beseeching, *That he would vouchsafe him yet at length, mutinall love and affection*

9 Amid this blessed course of life, cut short he was and prevented by death, to the greater losse of mankind than of himselfe. After he had finished the solemne Shewes and Games exhibited to the people, in the end and upshot whereof, hee had shed teares abundantly: he went toward the Sabines territorie somewhat more sad than usually he had becom: by occasion, that as hee sacrificed, the beast brake loose and gat away: as also because in faire and cleere weather (a) it had thundered. Hereupon, having gotten an ague at his first lodging and bairing place, when he was removing from thence in his Lister, it is said that putting by the Curtaines of the window, hee looked up to heaven, and complained very piteously, that his life should be taken from him who had not deserved to die: For there was no fault of his extant, of which hee was to repent, save onely one. Now what that one should be, neither uttered he himselfe at that instant, neither is any man able readily to guesse thereat. Some thinke, he called to minde the over-familiar acquaintance that he had with his brothers \* wife. But DOMITIA devoutly sware, That he never had such dealing with her: who no doubt would not have denied it, if there had beene any folly at all betwene them: nay, shee would rather have made her vaunt thereof: so ordinary a thing it was with her to glory in all naughtinesse and shamefull deedes.

10

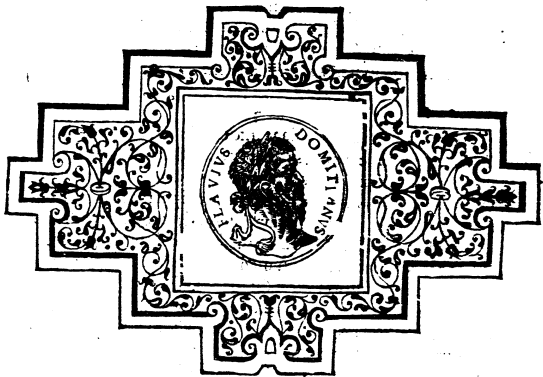
He departed (a) this world, in the very same Country-house wherein his father died before him: upon the \* Ides of September, two yeeres, two moneths & twenty dayes after that he succeeded his father, and in the two & fortieth yeere of his age. Which being once notified and knowne abroad, when all men throughout the Citie mourned no lesse than in some domestickall occasion of Sorow and Lamentation: The Senate before they were summoned and called together by any Edict, ranne to the Curia, finding as yet the dores fast locked: but when they were set open, they rendred unto him now dead so much thanks, and heaped upon him so great a measure of praises, as they never did before, at any time, whiles he was living and present among them.

\* 13 of Sep-  
tember,  
A.V.C. 838



# THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Domitianus, vvritten

by Caius Suetonius Tran-  
quillus.



**D**OMITIAN was borne the \* ninth day before the Calends \* 24. Octobris, of Nouember what time his father was Consul Elect, and \* A.V.C. 104  
to enter upon that honorable place the \* moneth ensuing Ianuarie.  
within the sixt regio of Rome Citty, at the \* Pomegranate: \* A place so cal-  
and in that house which afterwards he converted into the led like as be-  
temple of the FLAVIAN familie. The floure of his tender fore, ad capite  
yeeres and the verie prime of youth, he passed by report, in sature and ad  
so great pouerue & \* infamy withal, that he had not one peece of plate or vessel Gallus.  
or器物 to be ierued with. And ful well it is knowne, that CLODIUS POLLIO, \* For his im-  
a man of Pretours degree (against whome there is a Poem of NEROES extant, pure life,  
intituled

\* Orbi,  
\* Orabatur  
rather,

\* Betweene  
Vasilius & his  
father Vespasian:  
and their  
factions.

\* The Empe-  
rours sonne &  
heire apparant  
of the Empire.  
\* As being a  
young Prince  
and a Caesar.

entitled *Lvsctio* kept by him a \* skro of his owne hand writing, yea and other  
whales brought the same forth to be seene, wherein he promised him the \* life of  
his bodie one night. Neither wanted some who constantly voucht, that *DOMI-  
TIANVS* was in that sort abused, even by *NERVA* who soone after, succeeded him.  
In the Vitellian troubles he fled into the Capitol with his Vnkle *SARINVS*, & part  
of the forces which were then present. But when the aduerser faction brake in: and  
while the Temple was on fire, hee lay close all night in the Sextaines lodging and  
early in the morning disguised in the habit of a priest of *Isis*, and among the sacrific-  
ers belonging to that vaine superstition, after hee had passed over *Tiberis* ac-  
companied with one onely person, to the mother of a schoole fellow of his, hee  
lurked there so secretly, that a beir the serebers traced him by his footing yet could  
hee not be found. At last after victory obtained hee went forth and shewed him-  
selfe; & being generally saluted by the name \* of *CAESAR*, the honourable dignitie  
of the Citi Prator in the consular authoritie, hee tooke upon him in name and  
title onely: the iurisdiction whereof hee made over to his next Colleague. But in  
all power of \* Lordly rule, hee caried himselfe so licentious & without controulment  
that hee shewed even then betimes, what a one hee would prove hereafter. And  
not to handle every particular, having with unclean hands offered dishonour to  
many mens wives, hee fled away and married also *DOMITIA LONGINA* the  
wedded wife of *ÆLIUS LONGINVS*: and in one day gave and dealt above  
twenty offices, within the Citie and abroad in twayne provinces: in so much as  
*VESPASIAN* commonly said, *That hee marvelled, why hee sent not one also to succeed  
in his place.*

2

Hee enterprised moreover a voyage into *Gaule* and *Germanie*. Notwithstan-  
ding the same was needlesse, and his fathers freinds diswaded him from it; onely,  
because hee would equalize his brother both in \* workes and reputation. For these  
pranks of his rebuked he was: and to the end he might the rather be put in mind  
of his young yeeres and private condition, he dwelt together with his father: in  
a lister hee attended the (Curule) chaire of father and brother, whensoever they  
went forth of doores: and being mounted upon a white Courser accompanied  
them both, in their triumph over *Iurie*. Of 6 Consulships hee bare but one \* ordi-  
nary; and the same by occasion that his brother *TITVS* yeelded unto him his owne  
place and furthered him in his suite. Himselfe likewise made wonderfull semblance  
of modestie. But above all, hee seemed outwardly to affect Poetrie, (a studie which  
he was not so much unacquainted with before time, but he despised and reiected it  
as much afterwards) & recited his owne verses even in publike place. Yet neverthe-  
lesse, when *VOLOGESVS* King of the *Parthians* required aide against the *Alamers*,  
and one of *VESPASIAN*s two sonnes to be the Generall of those forces, he labou-  
red with might and maine, that himselfe before all others should be sent: and be-  
cause the quarrel was \* dispatched already to his hand, hee assaid by gifts and large  
promises to sollicite other Kings of the East, to make the same request. When his  
father was dead, standing in doubtfull tearmes with himselfe a long time, whe-  
ther hee should offer unto the souldiers a donative duploer to that of his brother  
*TITVS*, hee never fluckt to give out and make his boast, That left hee  
was to bee partner with him in the Empire, but that his fathers will was  
verie much abused. Neither would hee give over from that time forward  
both

\* *Oreivus*,  
decads and ex-  
ploits.

\* Which began  
the first of Ma-  
ny, in his  
owne right, &  
not in a vacante  
roome of  
others.

\* Peace con-  
cluded between  
the 3, nations

both to lay wait secretly for his brother, and also to practise openly against him,  
until such time as he gave commandement when hee was stricken with greivous  
sickenesse, that he should be left for dead before the breath was out of his bodie: and  
after he was departed indeed, vouchsafing him no other honour but his \* consecra-  
tion, he carped also at him many a time as well in glauncing figurative speeches  
as in open Edicts.

\* Canonization  
for a God.

In the beginning of his Empire his manner was, to retire himselfe daily into a  
secret place for \* one houre, and there to do nothing else but to catch flies, and with  
the sharp point of a bodkin or writing Steele prick the through: In so much, as whe  
one enquired, whether any bodie were with *CAESAR* within? *VIRIVS CRIS-  
PVS* made answer not impertinently, no, not so much as a flye. After this, *DOMI-  
TIANVS* his owne wife, who in his second Consulship had borne him a sonne, and  
whome two yeeres after he had saluted as Emperesse, by the name of *AVGVST-  
TA* her I say, falling in fanisie with *PARTIS* the stage player and ready to die for  
his love, hee put away: but within a smal while after (as impatient of this breach  
and divorce) tooke her home, and married her againe, as if the people had instantly  
called upon him so to do. In the administration of the Empire hee behaved him  
selfe for a good while variable, as one made of an equal mixture and temper of  
vices and vertues, until at length hee turned his vertues also into vices: being, (so  
far as we may conjecture) over & above his naturall inclination, for want covetous  
and greedie; for feare bloody and cruel.

4

Hee exhibited ordinarily magnificent and sumptuous shewes not onely in the  
Amphitheatre, but in the Cirque also. In which, beside the usuall running of  
Chariots, drawn as well with two steedes as foure. Hee represented likewise two  
battailes of horsemen and foote men both: and in the Amphitheatre a Navall  
fight. For, baitings of wild beasts, and sword fencers, he shewed in the very night  
by cresset and torch lights; and hee brought into the place not men onely  
to fight, but women also to encounter wild beasts. Furthermore, at the games of  
swordfight set out by the Questours (which having in times past been discontinued  
and forlet, hee brought into vfe againe) hee was alwaies present in person, so  
as he gave the people leave to choose two paire of swordfencers out of his owne  
schoole, and those hee brought in, royally, & courtlike appointed in the last place.  
And at all fights of sword players, there stood ever at his feet a little dwarfe arrayed  
in skarlet with a small head that it was wonderfull: with whome hee vied to talke  
and conferre otherwhyles of serious matters. Certes, over heard he was, when hee  
demanded him of what he knew? & what he thought, of the last dispose of the Provin-  
ces: and namely of ordaining *MATIUS RIVS* Lieutenant generall of *Ægypt*.  
Hee exhibited navall battailes performed in manner, by full fleets and compleat  
navies: having digged out a great pit for a lake, and built a stone wall round about  
it, neere unto *Tiberis*: and those he would behold in the greatest stormes & showres  
that were. Hee set forth also the Secular plaies and games making his computatio  
from the yeere, not wherein *CLAUDIVS*, but *AVGVSTVS* longe before had  
made them. During these, upon the daie of the Circensia solemnities, to the end  
there might be an hundred \* courses the sooner runne, hee abridged the races of  
every one, to wit, from 7. to 4. He ordained moreover, in the honour of *JUPITER*  
*CAPITOLINVS*, of 7. races.

\* Circumfrote

\* *Missa*, every  
of which ordi-  
narily consists  
of 7. races.

CAPITOLINVS, Quinquennall Games of three fold Maisters, musicke, horse-riding, & Gymnacke exercises: & in the same, rewarding victours with Coronets, more by a good many then now they be. Herein the concurrents strove also for the prize in Prose, both Greeke & Latin: and besides single harpers, there were Setts of whole also that played upon the harpe, yea and consorts of such as sung therto, in a quire. In the running place, Virgins also ran for the best games. At all these maisters and solemnities, he sat as president in his Parodies, clad in a robe (a) of purple after the Greekish fashion, wearing on his head a golden Coronet; with the Image of IUPITER IVO and MINERVA: having the priest of IUPITER and the Colledge of the religious, called FLAVIALES, sitting by him in like habit; saving that in their Coronets there was his Image also. Semblably, hee celebrated everie yeere upon the Albane mount, the Quinquatria of MINERVA, In whose honor he had instituted a Societie, out of which there should be chosen by lot, Maisters and Wardens of that solemnitie who were to exhibit peculiar and especiall Beasts baitings and stage playes, yea and contentions for the prize, of Oratours and Poets besides. He gave a \* largesse to the people thrice: to wit, three hundred sesterces a peece: & at the \* shew of the swordfight a most plenteous dinner. At the solemne \* Septimontiall sacrifice, hee made a dole of Vlands, allowing to the Senators and gentlemen faire large paniers: to the commons, final\* maunds with Cates in them: and was the first himselfe that fell to his meat. The next day after, hee\* skattered among the, \* Missils of all sorts: and because the greater part thereof, fell to the ranks of the common people, he pronounced by\* word of mouth for every skaffold of Senators and gentlemen, 50, tickets or tallies.

Manie buildings, and those most stately, which had beene consumed with fire, hee reedified: and among them the Capitoll which had been \* fired again: but all under the title of his owne name, without any memoriall of the former founders. Mary, he founded a new Temple in the Capitoll to the honour of IUPITER CVSTOS: also the Forum, which is now called *Nerva's Forum*: like wife the Temple of the FLAVIAN familie: a shew place for running and wrestling: another for Poets and Musicians to contend in, and a Naumachie for ships to encounter. Of the stone that was about which, the greatest Cirque of all was afterwards built, by occasion that both sides thereof had been burnt downe.

Expeditions hee made, some voluntarie; some upon necessitie: Of his owne accord that against the Catti: upon constraint one, against the *Sarmatians*. By occasion that one whole Legion together with their Lieutenant fell upon the sword: two against the *Daci*, the former, because OPPIVS SABINVS a man of Consuls degree was defeated and slaine: and the second, for that CORNELIVS FVSCVS, Capitaine of the Praetorian bands (unto whom he had committed the whole conduct of that war) lost his life. Over the *Catti* & *Daci* (after sundry feilds fought with varietie of fortune) he triumphed twice. For his victory of the *Sarmatians*, hee presented only IUPITER CAPITOLINVS with his Lawrel guirland. The civill warre stirred up by LVCIUS ANTONIVS governer of the higher *Germanie*, hee dispatched and ended \* in his absence: and

\* Or dappers.

\* Congularum  
\* Xibolin  
\* So, Called of  
the leaven his,  
whereupon the  
Came bread.  
\* Or Baskets.  
\* Or Sent.  
\* Gifts of tallies.

\* In Possessions  
dayes.

\* By Nerva's  
Appius who  
slew the said  
Antoninus.

and that by a wonderfull good hap: when, as at the very houre of conflict, the *Rhene* swelling and overflowing sodainly staid the *Barbarians* forces as they would have passed over to ANTONIVS. Of which victorie hee had intelligence by pre-  
bages, before the newes by messengers came. For upon that very day when the  
bataille was fought, an Eagle after a straung manner having overspread his statue  
at Rome and clasped it about with her wings, made a great flapping noise in token  
of much ioy; and within a little after, the bruit was blowne abroad so ripe and  
common, of ANTONIVS death, that many avouched confidently, they had seene  
his head also brought home (to Rome.)

Many new orders besides in matters of common use, hee brought uppe. The  
dole of Vlands given and distributed in little baskets in lieu of a publike supper, he  
abolished; and reduced the auncient custome of \* compleat and formall suppers:  
Vnto the \* 4 factions in former time, of severall crewes running with Chariots at  
Circen games, hee added twaine; to wit the golden and purple livery. Players &  
Adours of enterludes hee forbad the open stage: but within house verily, he granted  
free and lawfull exercise of their Art. Hee gave commandment that no males  
(should be goulded: And of such Eunuchs as remained in the hands of \* Hucksters,  
hee abated the price and brought it downe to a meaner. By reason one time of an  
exceeding plentifull vintage, and as much scarcity of Come, supposing that by the  
immoderate care employed upon Vineyards, tillage was neglected hee made an  
Edict, That no man in all *Italie* should plant any newe young Vineyardes: and that in  
(a) foraine Provinces they should cut them all downe reserving at the most but the  
one halfe. Howbeit, hee continued not in the full execution of this Act: Some of  
the greatest offices he communicated indifferently between Libertines & fouldiers.  
He prohibited, that there should be two \* Camps of the (b) legions. Item that any  
man should lay up more than a thousand sesterces about the (c) Camp-fignes.  
For that L. ANTONIVS intending rebellion in the wintering harbour of two Lo-  
gions, was thought to have taken heart and presumed more confidently upon the  
great summes of monie there bestowed in stocke. Hee added a fourth stipend also  
for fouldiers, to wit, 3, \* peeces of gold by the poll.

In ministring iustice precise he was & industrious. Many a time, even in the common  
place, sitting extraordinarily upon the Tribunal he reversed the definitive sentences  
of the Centumvirs, given for favour and obtained by flattery. He warned effectones  
the commissioners and Iudges delegate, not to accommodate the felues & give care  
unto perswasive and Rhetoricall \* Asserions. The Iudges that were bribed and cor-  
rupted with monie hee noted and disgraced every one, together with their Asses-  
sours upon the bench. Hee moved also and perswaded the Tribunes of the  
Commons to accuse Iudicially for extortion, and to force vnto restitution, a base  
and corrupt \* Aedile: yea and to call unto the Senate, for to have a Iurie empan-  
nelled upon him. Moreover, so careful was hee to chaffise as well the magistrates  
within Rome as the Rulers of Provinces abroad of their misdeemeanours, that never  
at any time they were either more temperate or iust in their places. The most part  
of whome after his dayes, we our felues have seene culpable, yea and brought into  
question for all manner of crimes. Having taken upon him the censuring and re-  
formation of manners, he inhibited that licentious libertie taken up in Theatres,  
of

Whereas com-  
parative vnder  
the publicke  
cane ad. p. m. n.  
s. m. d. n. l.  
\* White  
Blew  
Red  
Greene  
\* Who soulded  
pan piered and  
lett them out  
to sale.

\* Geminiari  
\* fra the greater  
and the lesse  
as we read in  
L. i. c. 10.

\* Every one  
about 15, 17 d.  
ob. Reeling.

\* Of such bond  
men, as against  
their Lords &  
basters Right  
chaired in Ro-  
dome & vied  
there in the  
plea of Ora-  
tors.  
\* He by taking  
in one v exerci-  
se his office  
otherwise than  
he ought.



of beholding the plays and games pell-mell one with another in the quater and ranks appointed for gentlemen. Diffamatorie libels written & divulged, wherein men and women of good mark were touched and taxed, hee abolished not with out shame and ignominy of the Authors. A man of Queitours degree, because hee rooke pleasure in Puppet-like gesturing and dauncing, hee removed out of the Senate. From women of dishonest cariage, hee took away the privilege and use of their Licters: hee made them incapable also of Legacies and inheritances. A gentleman of Rome hee raised out of the Roll and Tables of Judges, for receiving his wife againe into Wedlocke, whom hee had before put away and sued in an action of adulterie. Some of both degrees, as well Senatours as Gentlemen, hee condemned, by vertue of the law \* Scatinia. The incestuous whoredomes committed by vestall virgines; negligently passed over, by his father and brother both, hee punished after sundrie sorts: The former delinquents in that kinde, with simple death: the later sort according to the ancient manner: (d) For, having given libertie unto the sisters \* Ocellatæ as also to Varonilla, for to chuse their owne deaths, and banished those who had defouled them, hee afterwards commanded, that CORNELIA \* MAXIMILLA, who in times past had bene acquit, and a long time after was called into question againe and convicted, should be buried quick: and the parties who had committed incest with her, beaten with rods to death in the Comitium: except on alone a man of Pretours degree, unto whom whilst the matter remained yet doubtful, and because he had confessed and bewraight himselfe upon his examination by torture which was uncertaine, he granted the favour of Exile. And that no religious service of the Gods should be contaminated and polluted without condigne punishment, the monument or Tombe, which his freedman had built for a sonne of his with the stones appointed for the Temple of IUPITER CAPITO LINVVS, hee caused his souldiers to demolish: and the bones and reliques therein hee drowned in the Sea.

9 At the first hee abolished all bloudshed and laughter, so farre forth, as that (while his father was yet absent) callinge to remembrance this Verse of Virgil.

*Impia quam celsigens est epulata iuventus,*

*Ere godlesse people made their feasts*

With Oxenflaine, (poore harmlesse beasts.)

Hee purposed fully to publish an Edict, Forbiddinge to kill and sacrifice any Ox. Of \* Coverousnesse also and avarice, hee gave scarcely the least suspition; either at any time when hee led a private life, or a good while after hee was Emperour: but contrariwise rather, he shewed great profuses of tenderness, not of abstinence onely but also of liberalitie. And whosoever he had bestowed gifts most bountifullly upon those that were about him, hee laid upon them no charge before this nor with more earnestnesse, *than to do nothing basely and beggerly*. Moreover, one Legacie put downe in the last Will of RYSCUS QÆPTO who had provided therein, That his beire should give yearly unto every one of the Senatours, as they went into the Curia, a certaine summe of money, he made voyde. At those likewise, whoe suits had hung and depended in the Chamber of the Citie, from before five yeeres last past, hee discharged and delivered from trouble, Neither suffered hee them to be sued and molested againe, but within the compasse of one yeare and with this condition, that the accuser (unless hee overthrew his \* aduersarie by that time) should be banished for his labour, The Scribes and Notaries belonging to the

\* Against the filthie sin of Sodomitie.

\* As to loose their head.

\* Surnamed, of a lamie in Rome.

\* Or Maxima Sc. Pissalis, the chief of those Nuns at Lady Priests or Abbesses.

2. Georgicorum. This hath relation to the last word (Ante), in the verse preceding.

\* cupiditate quousque avaritiam. By covetousnesse hee meant the greedie desire of other mens goods, by avarice, in this place the pinching exercise of his owne.

\* Mainie.

\* Delinquent.

Queitours, who by an office custome, (but yet against the Law *Clodia*) used to negotiate and trade, hee pardoned onely for the time past. The old ends and canals of grounds, which after the division of lands by the \* Veteran Souldiours, remained here and there cut out, as it were, from the rest, hee granted unto the old owners and Landlords in the right of Prescription. The false information of maner, wherof the penaltie came to the Exchequer hee repelled: and sharply punished such Informers. And this (by mens saying) was a speech of his, The Prince that chuseth not Promoters, setteth them on to promote.

10

But long continued hee not in this traine, either of clemencie or of abstinence, And yet still hee somewhat sooner to cruckie than to covetousnesse. A Schollar of the cunning player and counterfeiter Paris, being as yet of tender yeeres, and at that time very sicke, hee murdered: for that, both in skill and also in countenance and feature of body he seemed to resemble his Maister. Semblably dealt he with HERMOGENES of Tarsus, for certaine figures \* of Rhetorick interlaced in his Historie: and withall, crucified the Scriveners and Writters that had copied it out. An (a) Houholder, for saying but these words, That the *Thracian* \* Fencer was (b) equal to the mirrillon; but inferior to the letter forth of the \* Game, hee caused to be plucked downe from the scaffold in the Theater, into the plaine beneath, and there to be cast before the greedy Multitudes, with this title, *Impie locustis, Parmularius*. The \* Parmularius (c) hath blasphemed. Many Senatours, and some of them which had bene Consuls, hee killed: Among whom CIVICUS CEREALIS, in the very time when he was Proconsull in Asia; SALVIDIENUS ORFITUS and ACILIUS GLABRIUS during their exile, he put to death: pretending that they practised Innovation in the State: all the rest every one for most slight causes. As for example, EPIPHANES, for certaine suspicious icsts (i must needs say) but such as were stale and harmlesse: namely, because unto DOMITIAN when (after he had taken from him \* his wife) he told a praising of her voice, hee said, I (d) hold my peace, HELEAS. As also, for that unto TITUS, moving him to a second marriage, he made answer, *Me kasu Gamel at Theles*: What! (and if I should wed another) would not you also marie her? \* SALVUS COCCIANUS, because hee had celebrated the *British dayes minde*, of OTHO the Emperour, his \* Vnkle: METIUS POMPEIANUS, for that it was commonly said, *Hee had the Horse scope in his Nativity of an Emperour*; and caused about him the Map or Geographical description of the \* world in certaine parchments; and withall, the Orations of Kings and brave Capitaines written out of TITUS LIVIUS; for imposing likewise the names of MAGO \* and ANIBAL upon some of his slaves, SALUSTIUS LUCULLUS Lieutenant generall of Britaine, for sisting certaine peeres of a new fashion to be called \* Lucullæ. IUNIUS RUSTICUS, for publishing the praises of \* PÆTUS THRÆSEA and \* HELVIDIUS PRISCUS; and calling them most holy and upright persons. By occasion of which criminal imputation (charged upon RUSTICUS) hee packed away all Philosophers out of the Citie of Rome and Italie. Hee slew also HELVIDIUS the \* sonne, for that in an Enterlude (as it were), and by way of an *Excoium* upon the Stage, hee had under the persons of Paris and Oenone \* acted the Divorse betweene

\* At Ironia and Anti. brasit, & whereby hee seemed to place a carkins. Who was armed with a buckle of otward sight. The favour of the armed fencer Thrax. above laide.

Dispositio longius. \* scem. nam, R. Lami, his voice as some expounding.

\* As if hee had uttered these words: This is more witty but I must say nothing.

\* Hee desired hee, and in the other following (the daye put to death).

\* For his father L. Salvius, Traianus was Othobes brother.

\* See. \* P. Titian. cap. 14.

\* Or carth. \* Two mozt renowned warriors of the Carthaginians, and mortall enemies of the Remains.

\* O. his owne him name.

\* Who being persecuted by Nero cut his owne maister voices. \* The sonne in lawe of Thræsea, even another Cato or Brutus and a man of most free speech in the behalfe of the Common wealth. \* For the rather, Vespasian had slain before, Trella, set, handled, a peace, taxed or reproved.

\* him and his wife. FLAVIUS SABINUS, one of his *germanes*, became upon the Election day of the Consuls, the *Crier* chanced to mistake a little, and before the people pronounce him (being Consul *Elect*) not Consul, but Enaperour. And yet, after his victory in the \* Civil warre, hee became much more cruell: For, many of the aduerser part, even such as *laying him a good while* were found out by those that were privie unto them, hee by devising a new kinde of torture made to confesse: namely by thrusting fire into the passage of their secret parts: Some also hee dismembered by cutting off their hands. And this is far certaine knowne: That two onely and no more, of the most notorious among them, to wit, a Tribune of Senatours degree, and a Centurion, were pardoned: Who the sooner to shew that they were unguilke, had proved themselves to have bene effeminate Caramites, and therefore could not possibly be of any reckoning, either with Capitaine or Souldiours.

## II

Now, in this Cruelty of his hee was not onely excessive, but also subtil and craftie: coming upon men when they looked least for it. A \* Controller of his owne, the very day before hee crucified him, hee called into his bed-chamber, and made him to sit downe by him upon a pallet or beds side: hee dismissed him light-harted and merie: hee deigned him also a favour and \* remembrance from his own supper. Vnto AETINUS CLEMENS, a man of Consuls degree, one of his familiar minions and bloodhounds to fetch in Booties, when he purposed to condemn to death, he shewed the same countenance, as before time, yea and more grace than ordinary: untill at last, as hee \* went with him in the same Litter, by occasion that hee espied the Informer against him, *How sayest thou*, quoth hee, CLEMENS, *shall wee to morrow beare this most errant knave and varlet; what hee can say?* And because hee would with greater contempt and disdain abuse mens patience, hee never pronounced any heave and bloudie sentence, without some preamble and preface of Clemencie: So that, there was not now, a surer signe of some horrible end and Conclusion, than a milde beginning and gentle exordium. Some that flooked accused of Treason hee had indued into the \* *Curia*; and when hee had premised a Speech, *That hee would make triall that day, how deepe hee was unto the Senate*, hee soone effected thus much thereby, That the parties should have their iudgement, to suffer \* *Mors maiorum*: And then, himselfe, affrighted as it were with the rigorous cruelty of that punishment, would *intercede*, in these words (for, it shall not be impertinent to knowe the very same as hee delivered them) *Permit my good LL. this to be obtained of your gracioues Piety (which I know I shall hardly obtaine) that yee would doe so much fauour unto these persons condemned; as that they may chosse, what death they will die: for, by this yee shall spare your owne eyes, and all the world shall knowe, that I was present in the Senate.*

## 13

Having emptied his coffers with expences of buildings and Games exhibited to the people, as also with that \* Stipend paid unto the Souldiours, over and above the former; hee assayed verily for easement of the charges belonging to the Camp, for to diminish the numbers and companies of Souldiours. But perceiving that hereby he was both in daunger of the Barbarians, and also never the lesse to seeke which way to be relieved from burdens: hee made no reckoning at all, but to raise booties, to rob and spolie he cared not how? The goods of quick and

\* Domitian,

\* Of the Flavians and Vitiellians.

\* Dedit lacrimas, per caritatem in refugium.

\* Alterum forum.

\* A dist of meate, &amp;c.

\* Smolgesiani.

\* Senate house.

\* To have their necks fast locked in pillory, and so to be beate with rods to death.

\* i. of 3. anni.

and dead both, were every where seized upon: who the Accusers were? or what the matter was? it skilled not. Sufficient it was, if any deede or word whatsoever, were objected against one, to make a high treason against the Prince. Inheri- tances, were they never so farre off and belonging to the greatest strangers, were held confiscate and aduised to the Emperours Cofters; in case but one would come forth and depole, *That hee heard the party deceased say, while hee liued, That CÆSAR (a) was his heire.* But, above all others the *Leues* were most grievously plagued in the Exchequer. Vnto which were pressed as many of them as either professed in Rome to live as Leues, or else dissimulating their Nation, had not payed the Tributes imposed upon them. I remember, that my selfe being a very youth was in place when an aged Jew, fourscore and tenne yeeres olde, was by the \* Procuratour in a most frequent Assembly searched, whether he were circum- cised or no? From his very youth nothing civil \* and loctable hee was: bolde of hart, audacious withall, and as well in words as deede beyond all measure excel- lence. Vnto CÆNUS his fathers Concubine newly returned out of *Isria*, and of- fering to kisse his lips (as her manner was) hee put forth his hand. Taking it hai- noully that his \* brothers forme in Law had attending about him his, Servitour, also, clad in faire white, hee cried out,

*There is no god Plurality  
in Lordship and in Sou'raintie:*

## 13

But when hee was mounted once to the Imperiall Seate, hee sticke not in the very Senate to make his boast, *That hee was who had given unto his father and brother both, The Empire, and they had but delivered it up to him againe.* Also when after Divorcement he brought home and remarried his wife, hee bashed not to give it out, that she was called to his \* facred bed. Moreover, upon the day when hee made a great \* Dinner unto the people, hee was well content and pleased to heare their acclamation throughout the Theater in these words,

*Domino et Domine, feliciter.  
All happines, to our Lord and Lady.*

Likewise at the Solemnity of Trying Mailiteries in the *Palatium*, when all the people besought him with great consent and one accord, to \* reitore PALFUR- tious called Pal- tious (one in times past degraded and thrust out of the Senate, but at that time crowned among the Oratours for his Eloquence) hee vouchsafed them no answer, but only by voice of the publike crier Commanded them Silence. With semblable arrogancie, when as in the \* name of his Procuratours hee ended any formall Letters, thus hee began, *Our Lord and God thus commaundeth.* Whereupon afterwards this order was taken up, that neither in the writing or speech of \* any man he should be otherwise called. No Statues sufficed he to be erected for him in the Capitoll, but of gold and silver; and the same of a certaine weight, iust. As for two-fronted IANI and ARCHES with their foure Steedes, together with the Ensignes and Badges of Triumph, hee built them fately and so many in every quarter and Region of the Cittie, as that in one of the saide Arches there was this Mor in Greeke written, *αἰς (a) ἡ*. It is enough. Hee tooke upon him severeteene Consulships, more than ever any man before him. Of which, those

\* Or Master of the Exchequer.  
\* But proud & scornfull.

\* Who married Titus his daughter Julia.  
\* An Hermit- chum out of Homer Iliads.  
\* Plurimodum  
\* Hee thought I like not to  
\* Many Caesar

\* Palfur is said as if he had bene a God: for their Gods and Goddesses they bestowed in certaine bed- lotts called Pal- tious. \* Du- ring y<sup>e</sup> solemn Games exhibi- ted vnto them.  
\* To his Sena- turs place.  
\* Or befall.  
\* Common talke

\* Ponderis certū, Seditiones rean- dunt censurā, of an hundred pounds accord- ing to Statute Papias of Do- mitianus libere Syri, De Ca- pitoli: a certain felibus utrum

\* Not above 4 months.  
\* Not a fortnight full.  
\* Over the Calends and Ides.  
\* September.  
\* O. b. ber.

14  
\* Minions.

seven in the middle, hee bare continually one after another; and in manner all, in name and title only: but none of them beyond the \* Kalends of May; and most, to the \* Ides onely of Ianuarie. Now, after his two \* triumphs, having assumed into his stile the Addition of GERMANICUS, hee changed the Denomination of the moneths September & October; calling them after his owne names GERMANICUS and DOMITIANUS: for that in the \* one hee entred upon his Empire, and was borne in the \* other.

In these courses that hee rooke, being both terrible and odious also unto all men, surpris'd he was in the end, and murdered by his \* friends and freed men that were most inward with him; who together with his wife conspired his death. The last yeere and day of his life, the very houre also and what kinde of death he should die, he had long time before suspected. For when he was but a youth, the Chaldean Astrologers had fore-told him all. His Father also one time at supper, when hee saw him foretore to eate Mushtromes, laughed him to scorne as ignorant of his owne destinie, for that hee did not feare the sword rather. And therefore being alwaies timorous and stricken into his pensive dumps upon the least suspitions presented, hee was beyond all measure troubled and disquieted: In so much as it is credibly reported, that no other cause moved him more, to dispense with that Edict which hee had proclaimed for the cutting downe and destroying of Vineyards, than certain Pamphlets and Libels scattered abroad with these verses.

\* Alluding to the like verses of the Poet Evropa: which Ovide reciteth to express. *Evropa in Læritius, Rode caper vitum, tam in hac cū frōbu ad aras. Latina quad spargi verum possit, et*

\* Κάμ με φέρεις ἐνί θύραις, ὅπως ἔτι καρποφοροῖς, ὅσον ἐν ἰοπτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγρίῳ θυμένῳ.

*Eate me to roote, yet fruit will I beare still and never misse,  
Enough to pounce on CÆSARS head whiles sacrific'd be is.*

In the same fearefullnesse hee refused a new honour and that which never was devised before, offered by the Senate unto him, (though otherwise most eager and greedie of all such things) whereby they decreed, *That so often as hee was Consul, the Gentlemen of Rome, as if sell by lot to their turnes, should in their rich and gay coats and with military Lances march before him among the Licitors, and other Sergeants and Apparitors.* When the time also of that danger drew neere which he suspected, he became perplexed every day more than other: and therefore hee garnished the walls of those galleries wherein hee was wont to romch himselfe and walke, with the stone *Phengites*; by the images rebounding from the brightnesse whereof he might see before his face whatsoever was done behind his back. The most part of prisoners and persons in duresse, hee would not heare but being alone and in a secret place, taking holde first of their chaines in his owne hand. And because he would perswade his household servitors, that no man should be so hardy as to lay violent hand upon his owne Patrone to kill him, no though much good might ensue thereof; hee condemned EPAPHRODITUS the Secretarie of NERO, for that it was thought, his Lord & Maister (after he was forlorne and forsaken of all) had his helping hand to dispatch him out of the world.

15

To conclude, his Vnkle sonne (a) FLAVIVS CLEMENS (a man for his lither-nesse and negligence most contemptible) whose sonnes being yet very little ones, hee had openly ordained to be his Successors: and abolishing their former names, commanded the one to be called VESPASIAN and the other DOMITIAN, he killed sodainely upon a slender & small suspicion, even when he was scarce out of his Consulship. By which deepe of his most of all, he hastened his owne end and

and destruction, For 8 moneths space together, so many lightnings were seene & reported unto him, that he cryed out, *Now let mine strike whom he will!* The Capitol was smitten and blasted therewith the Temple also of the FLAVIAN Linage: likewise his owne house in the Palatium, and vie bedchamber. Moreover, out of the bafe of his triumphall Statue, the \* Tide being driven by force of a storme, feldown into the Sepulcher next adioyning. That tree which being laid along had risen up againe when VESPASIAN was yet a private person, fell sodainely then a seconde time. The Image of fortune at \* *Prencesse*, which all the time of his Empire, when hee recommended unto her the new yeere, was wont to give him an happy answer & alwaies the same, now in this last yeere, delivered one most wofull, and not without mention of blood. He dreamed, that (b) MINERVA, whom hee worshipped superstitiously, departed out of her Chappell, and said, *She could not protect him any longer*, for that shee was by IVPITER disarmed. But with no one thing was hee so much disquieted, as with the answer of ASCLETARIO the Astrologer; & the accident that chanced unto him thereupon. This ASCLETARIO being enformed against, and not denying that hee had delivered what by his art and learning he foresaw, he questioned with and asked, what his owne end should be? & when he made answer & affirmed, *That his destinie was to be torne in peeces with dogs*, & that shortly after; he caused him presently to be killed but to reprove the rashnes and uncertainty of his skill and profession, he commanded with all, that he should be buried with as great care as possibly might be. In the doing whereof accordingly, it fortune that by a sodaine tempest, the corps being cast downe out of the funerall fire, the dogs rare and rent peecemeale, when it was but halfe burnt and the same happened to be reported unto him among other \* tales and newes, of that day; as hee sat at supper, by LATINVS the player and counterfeite iester, who as hee passed by, chaunced to see and marke so much.

16 The day before his death, when hee had given commandement that certaine Mushtromes set before him should be kept against the morrow, hee added moreover, it I may have vie of them & turning to those that were next him he said; *The day following it would come to passe, that the Moone should embrace her selfe with blood in the signe Aquarius, and some act be seene, whereof men should speake all the world over.* But about midnight, so \* kared he was, that hee started out of his bed. Hee upon in the morning betimes hee gave hearing unto the Soothsayer sent out of *Germanie*, who being asked his opinion about the lightning, had foretold a change in the state: and him hee condemned. And whiles hee scratched verie harde at a wett in his forehead which was festered and growne to before, seeing blood run out of it, would God quoth he, this were all. Then asked he what was a clocke: and instead of the \* 5 th. houre which hee feared, word was brought for the nonce that it was the 6 th. Being ioyous hereupon that the danger was now past, and hastening to cherish his body and make much of himselfe, PARTHENIVS his principall Chamberlaine turned him an other way; sayinge there was one come who brought tidings (I wot not what) of great cōsequēce, & of a matter in no wise to be deferred. Voiding therefore all persons from him, he retired into his bedchamber, and there was hee murdered.

17 As touching the manner how he was forlaide and of his death, thus much (in manner) hath beene divulged. Whiles the conspirators were in question with themselves and doubtful, when, and how, they should set upon him: that is to say, whether hee bathed or sat at supper? STREBEN the procuratour of \* Domitilla, & at the same time in trouble for intercepting certaine monies, offered his advice and

\* Jupiter or God.

\* Or Pied shoule.

\* Or Iudicium.

\* Where was Oracle.

\* Fabulas narrations to make Princes merry

\* Hee dreame haply that Iam as Rusticus whom hee had killed came vpon him with a naked sword.

\* 11 O' clock

\* Whom Enobarbus reporteth to haue beene seene by the sight of Flavius, as Clemens and a Christian, therefore commanded to stand I am told.

helping hand, who having for certaine dayes before bound up and enwrapped his left arme (as if it had bene amisse) with wool and swadding bandes, thereby to auert from himselfe all suspicion, at the very houre interposed fraud and made a lie. For professing that hee would discouer the conspiracy, and in that regard being admitted into the chamber, as DOMITIAN was reading of a bill which hee preferred unto him, and therewith stood amazed, hee stabbed him beneath in the very thare neere unto his priue parts. When hee was thus wounded and begonne to struggle and resist, CLODIANVS<sup>a</sup> Comicularius, and MAXIMVS a seditious man of Parthenius, and SATVRNVS the Deane or Decurion of the Chamberlaines with one out of his owne swordfencers schoole, came in upon him, gave him seven wounds, and killed him out right. A youth and page of his, who stood by (as his wonted manner was) because he had the charge of his bedchamber (C) L A R E S, and was present at this murder committed, made this report moreover, that DOMITIAN, at the very first wound given, immediately bad him reach the dagger, that lay under his pillow, and to call in his ministers and seruitors: but at the beds head hee found nothing at all thereof save the haire onely: and as for the doores besides, they were all fast shut. Also, that DOMITIAN in this meane space, tooke hold of STEPHEN, bare him to the ground and wrestled with him a long time: That he one while assaied to wrest his sword out of his hands, another while (albeit his fingers were hurt and mangled) to plucke out his eyes, VVell, killed hee was, the 14th day before the Kalends of October, in the 45th yeere of his age, and the 15th of his Empire. His dead body was caried forth upon the common bierre by the ordinary bearers: and PHYLLIS his nourice burned it in a funerall fire, within a country manour of his owne neere unto the Citie, situate upon the high way Lari-na. But the reliques thereof shee bestowed in the Temple of the FLAVIAN family, and blended the same with the ashes of IULIA the daughter of TITVS, whom she had reared and brought up.

Of stature he was tall, his countenance modest, and given much to (a) redness: his eyes full and great, but his sight very dimme: Besides, faire he was and of comely prefence especially in his youth: well shaped all his body throughout, excepting his feet: the toes wherof were of the \* shortest. In proccesse of time, he became disfigured and blemished with baldnesse, with a fat grand panch and slender thanks: & yet they grew to be so leane upon occasion of a long sicknesse. For his modesty & shame facednesse he so well perceived himselfe to be commended, that one time before the Senate he gave out these words, *Hitherto certainly ye have liked well of my minde and of my countenance.* With his bald head he was so much yrked, that hee tooke it as a reproach unto himselfe, if any man els were either in bord or good earnest twitted therewith: albeit in a certaine little booke, which hee wrote unto a friend of his, concerning the nourishment & preferuation of the haire of the head, hee by way of consolation both to that friend and also to himselfe, inserted thus much.

ὅχι βλάπτει καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

*See if thou not yet how big and tall  
How faire I am and comely with all*

And yet quoth he, my \* destinie and fortune will be to have the same defect of haire: & with a soute heart I endure, that the bush of my head waxeth olde in my fresh youth. And this would I have you to know, that nothing is more louely, nothing more fraile and transitorie than beutie and fauour.

19 Being impatient of all labour and paines taking, he was not lightly seene to walke in the Citie. In any expedition and march of the army seldome rode he on horse-

horsebacke, but was caried in a \* listout. No affection had hee to beare armes or wield weapons: but delighted he was especially to shoot arrows. Many men have seene him exercis. during his retiring abode at *Alma*, to kill with shot an hundred wild beasts of kindrie sorts at a time: & of very purpose to stick some of them in the head, so that with two shoots hee would set his shafts in their fronts like a paire of homes. Sometimes he would drive his arrows point blanke so iust against the palme of a child's right hand, standing firme and holding it forth stretched open for a marke, as they should a' directly passe through the voide spaces betweene the fingers, and do him no harme at all.

20 All liberall studies in the beginning of his Empire he neglected: albeit hee tooke order to repaire the Libraries consumed with fire, to his exceeding great charges: making search from all parts for the copies of bookes lost, and sendinge as farre as to \* ALEXANDRIA, (a) to write them out and correct them. But never gave he his minde to know histories; or to have any skill in verbe, or to write ought, though necessitie so required. Except it were the commentaries and acts of TIBERIUS CAESAR, hee never used to read any thing. For his Epistles, Orations and Edicts, hee employed the wits of other men to draw and frame them. Howbeit, his ordinary speech was not unelegant; and other whiles you shold have him come forth even with mirable sentences and Apophthegmes. As for example; *World God quoth he, I were as faire and well favoured, as MARTIUS thinks himselfe to be: And seeing ones head \* patty coloured, with yellowish and white silver haire intermingled: Hee said it was \* snow and mede mixed together. His saying it was, that the commision of Princes was most miserable, who could not be credited as touching a conspiracie plainly detected, unlesse they were slaine first.*

21 Whensoever his leisure served, hee solaced himselfe with dice play, even upon the very worke daye, and in morning houres: Hee banished \* by day time, and made his dinner to liberall to the fill, that seldome for his supper hee tooke any thing, unles it were a \* Matium Apple, and a smal supping or potion out of a narrow mouthed and great belled glasse. Hee feasted often & that very plentifully, but his feasts were short and after a snatching manner: Certes, hee never sat past sunne setting, nor admitted any reare bankets after supper. For, towards bedtime, hee did nothing, but in a select chamber walke by himselfe alone.

22 To fleshly lust he was over much given. The ordinary ufe of VENUS, as it were a kind of exercise, hee named Clinopale, as one would say, bed-wrestling. The report went, that him selfe used, with pinfers to depilate his concubines, and to swim among the commonest naughtie packes, that were. His brothers \* daughter offered first unto him in marriage whiles she was yet a maide, when he had most resolutely refused, by reason he was entangled and overcome with the marriage of DOMITIAN: not long after when she was bestowed upon another, of his owne accord hee solicited, and was naught with her: even verily whiles his brother TITVS yet lived. Afterwards when she was bereft of father and husband both, hee loved her with most ardent affection, and \* that openly: in so much, as that hee was the cause of her death, by forcing her to miserie and cast away the untimely \* fruite, wherewith she went.

23 That he was killed the people tooke it indifferently: but the souldiers, to the very heart: and forthwith went about to canonize him a God, and to call him \* DIVVS: ready enough also to revenge his death; but that they wanted heads to

head

\* Certaine few  
die were lo  
rearmed,

\* Or rapier

\* 17. of Sep-  
tember,

\* Refrictions  
drawn inward

\* Homer Iliad  
21. Lycan the  
Sonne of Pri-  
mus vnto Achil-  
les.  
\* Eadem me ma-  
nent some read  
(11).

\* Upon mens  
shoulders.

\* In Accep.

\* Of two cow-  
lours.  
A kind of  
delicate drinke  
among the  
Romains,

\* De die.  
It tooke the  
name of one  
Matius who  
loved an horse  
very well, like  
as Apiano and  
Scaptina made  
of Appius and  
Scaptina.  
\* Italia.  
As this wed-  
ded wife.  
\* Conceivd as  
son: Gay by  
her former hus-  
band: others,  
by Domitian in  
her widow-  
head, and here  
to accordeth  
Iovena. Quam  
tor abertius, &c.  
Italia vulgum  
Solueret, &c. va-  
trius similes ef-  
ferunt offe al-  
\* A Saint or of  
sacred memo-  
rie.

\*Parvus et  
Parvus et  
Sunt, dicitur.

\*Cortes of  
ancient,

lead them. And yet within a while after they did it, and calling most instantly and  
sorely giving eye for the authors of this murder to be executed. Consensu scilicet,  
the Senate so much rejoiced, that being assembled in great frequentation within  
the Curia, they could not rule themselves, but striped away stones and threw them  
now dead with the most insatiable and bitterest kinds of (a) exclamations  
that they could devise: commanding ladders to be brought in, his sketches &  
Images to be taken down in their sight, and then there in place to be thrown and  
dashed against the hard floor: In the end that all titles whereof ever bearing his  
name should be rased and scraped off, and his memorial abolished quite for ever.  
Some few months before he was murdered, there was a Crowe in the Capitoll  
spoke these wordes plainly by *Phyl. T. dicitur: hinc, i. All shall be well: And there wanted*  
not one, who interpreted this strang Prodigie thus.

*Nuper Tarpeia qua sedes culmine carnis*

*EST BEN ENSA potuit dicere, dixit ERIT.*

The Crow which lately sat on top of Tarpeie newes to tell  
Tis well when as she could not lay, said yet, it will be well.

And reported it is that DOMITIAN himselfe dreamed, how hee had a golden  
excrecence rising & bunching behind his necke, & knew for certaine, that thereby  
was portended and foretified unto the common wealth, an happier state  
after him. And so it fell out, I assure you shortly after: such was the  
abstinence and moderate cariage of the (b) Emperours  
next ensuing.

F. I. N. I. S.



## ANNOTATIONS VPON

*C. Julius Caesar Dictator.*

(a) **VCIVSC** **CAESAR**,  
hæc died suddenly at  
Pisa in Italy, as hee  
put on his shoes in a  
morning, when hee  
was newe risen. *Plin.  
Natur. Hist. Lib. 7. c. 53.*  
(b) **FLAMEN**  
**DIALIS**, i. the great  
Priest of IUPITER.  
Three **FLAMENS** there were at Rome, by the first  
Institution. **DIALIS** of IUPITER, **MARTIALIS**  
of MARS, **QUIRINALIS** of ROMVLVS;  
and these were the principall: unto whom (in pro-  
cess of time) more were adjoynd, attending all  
upon several Gods and Goddes. *Carol. Sig. de ant.  
Iure Rom. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

(c) **REPUDIARE**. In the ciuill Lawe, we observe a  
difference between **Repudium** and **Divortium**. **Repudi-  
um**, when the man rejecteth and casteth off the wo-  
man betrothed only unto him before marriage in this  
forme, *Conditione tunc non utor*. And in this wife **CAE-  
SAR** and **COSSVTIA** parted before. **Divortium**,  
when hee putteth her away after thee is his wedded  
wife, with these solemne words: *Res tuas tibi habere, or  
Res tuas tibi agere*. Howbeit, in this place **Repudiare** is  
to be taken in this latter sense, for **CORNELIA** was  
his wife, and had borne him a daughter. *Paul. Mod-  
estin. Celsus.*

(d) I take it, that he meaneth such inheritances, as  
are not *Testamentarie*, but *Legitime*: i. Which when one  
dieth inheriteth, fall unto the children, first and for de-  
fault of them, to the *Agnati* and *Genitiles*: to the next  
of kinne, and to the name. These are called with us,  
the *Right heires* as common Law. *Vide. car. Sigon. de Iudi-  
cij. lib. 2. c. 4. De antiquis iur. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

(e) The principall of them was, **CORNELIUS**  
**PRAGIAS**, a Freed man of *Sulla*, unto whom  
**CAESAR** gave two talents, for to escape his hands.  
See cap. 7. 4. and *Plutarchum*.

(f) It belonged vnto these *Volatres* and *Nunnes*  
of *VESTA*, to goe betweene parties offended, and  
make reconciliation. See more herof *Alex. ab Alex-  
andr. Genial. dicit. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

(g) *YOUNG* gentlemen of noble blood, the better  
to be trained up to martiall feats, & the knowledge  
of any Province affaires, were wont to attend the L.L.  
Deputes there, & to be entertained with them in the  
same pavilion, as familiar companions. *Cic. orat. pro  
Cato & Plancio.*

(h) *Libertines* were such properly, as of bondmen  
were manumitted and made Free, although *Sueto*,  
elshere, to wit in *CL. Caesar*, nameth the children of

such *Libertines* by which it appeareth that hee con-  
foundeth them with *Ingens*. i. Freedborne.

(i) *Clients* have a relation to their *Patrones* and  
as the were *Patris* and Nobles, so the other were  
Commoners. And such a mutual and reciproall en-  
tercourse of dutie was betweene them, that as the  
*Patrons* were ready to instruct in the knowledge of  
the lawes, to defend and protect their *Clients*,  
who had put themselves into their patronage: so  
these were bound to attende their *Patrons* when  
they went abroad, into the city & returned home, to  
relieve the with their purse in the bestowing of their  
daughters &c. And lawfull it was for neither of them  
to enforce, to depose, to giue their voices, or to side  
with adversaries, one against another, without the  
note and guilt of treachery and perfidious proditi-  
on.

(k) Made of oken branches, or of *fleus*, or *Efulus*,  
bearing staff in defect of the *Oleis* for saving the life  
of a citizen. Although Generals of the field were ha-  
noured therewith, in other respects.

(l) Who being Confall with **Q. CATVLLVS**  
**LYCTATVS**, went about to repeale and annul all  
the Actes of **SVLLA** late deceased, and so handled  
a newe ciuill warre.

(m) By the death of **L. SPIDIVS**, whom his *Col-  
leagus* **Q. CATVLLVS** drave out of Italy into *Sardinia*,  
where he dyed, as some write, of a violent  
Rheume, or as others, with a deepe thought that he  
took, upon intelligence that he had of his wifes adu-  
ltery, in which melancholy he pynd away *Plin. lib. 10.*

(n) These *Tribunes Militaris*, call them Colonels  
ouer a thousand footmen, wheresome they worke  
that name first, to wit, when the *Romanes* Legion  
consisted of 3000. according to the three ancient Tribes,  
*Rhamnusium*, *Lucerum* & *Tatinum*: or High Marshals,  
as **BYDÆVS** would haue them to be, considering the  
execution of their office in the campe, not much un-  
like to our *Kn. Marshals* in these daies: Some by ver-  
ue of an Act or Lawe preferred by **RVTLVS** **RV-  
FVS**, were chosen in the Armie by the L. Generall, &  
named **RVTVLI** or **RVFVLI**, others by the  
voices of the people in their publick assemblies for  
Elections called *Comitia*, and for distinction sake, an-  
named *Comitiani*. And such a Tribune militaris was **CAE-  
SAR** in this place.

(o) *Regatione* *Ploria*. A bill preferred, and the  
same as a Lawe not yet enacted, was called *Regatio*,  
(as one would say) *Interrogatio*: for that the people  
were demanded and asked their opinions in this  
forme of words. *Velisne, iubeasne, Quiritis* &c. Is it  
your will and pleasure, yee citizens of Rome, that such  
a thing should passe, or no? And of him who propo-  
sed









most bountifull and most powerfull : wherein it is observed that Bountie goeth before Power: because as M. TULLIUS writeth, it is better and more acceptable to doe good unto all, then to have power over all.

(c) In Egypt: A renowned Citie, builded by King ALEXANDER the great: for the pleasant life much commended; and therefore might bee affected by CAESAR: at which, there is no day almost through the yeare, but the Inhabitants behold the Sunne shining cleare upon them: And which AMMIANVS calleth *Forticum omnium civitatum*, i. The chiefe of Cities.

(d) *Ilium*, a Citie where Troy stood: The Citizens whereof, as STRABO writeth, CAESAR in memoriall of his progenitors from thence descended, and namely, from IULIUS or ASCANIUS the Sonne of AENEAS, had indowred with many franchises and immunities, and therefore it carried some likelihood, that he meant there to make his abode.

(e) These *Quindremviri*, or fiftene men, were instituted in the daies of CORNELIUS SYLLA with this addition *Sacerum*: unto whose charge it appertained to see that Sacrifices and Divine service, that supplications, and processions, expiations, & ceremoniall rites should bee duly performed, as also to peruse the bookes and prophecies of SYBILLA: At first they were but two, called *Duoviri*, afterwards x. under the name of *Decemviri sacris faciendis*. *Alex ab Alex. lib. 3. Genial. dierum. cap. 16.*

(f) *BONVM factum*. A forme of preface which in olde time they use *boni omnis causa*, before their Edictes and decrees. &c. so commonly, as that these two Capital letters B. F. did betoken the same as ordinarily, as S. C. stand for *Senatus consultum*. It had the same use, as *In nomine Dei* with us.

(g) Some take these *Brachae*, whereof *Brachata Gallia*, a part of *Transalpine*, *Gauls* tooke name, For frize rugges striped with fundrie colours, which may resemble Irish mantles; but I suppose them to be a kinde of coarse breches, much like to the Irish trousses, but that they are more full.

(h) By rising up unto him, and shouting or applauding as he passed along.

(i) *Vincum rivieris*.

(j) *Brutus quia Reges ejecit consul primus factus est: Cicer, quia consules ejecit, Rex postremo factus est.*

(k) Certaine bridges there were for the time made, upon which the Tribes passed when they gave their voices in *Lempus Martius*, at their solemne Leets and assemblies for Election of Magistrates.

(l) Some take it to bee the same that REGVLVS, or TROCHILVS. Thought to be the Wren, and is likewise named King of Birdes, in the Greeke *Εωλες*; OMINOVS therefore unto CAESAR, looking to be king.

(m) This is diversly reported by authors the occasion of which varieth: arising upon the affinitie of these names CASSIUS and CASCA. For as there were two CASSIUS at this action, so likewise were there two SERVILIUS brethren, both surnamed CASCA. By ALTER CASSIUS or CASCA therefore, you may understand one of the two brethren, or the second of them. For some write, that the one CASCA gave him in the necke a wound, but not deadly, whereupon CAESAR caught hold of his dagger crying out, *Sclerate CASCA quid agis?* i. What meanest thou, O wicked CASCA; and then CASCA called unto his brother CA, and then CASCA called unto his brother for helpe, who came in, and gave him his death wound, in the breast under the channell bone, PIUTARCH.

(n) *Altera Graphium* doth signifie a writing punch, (or stile or wirt), otherwise called *Stylus*, wherewith they wrote in hard matter, as wood, or bakke, before the use of our parchment and paper, as also our pen made of a quill or other substance, as brasse, &c. in which sense it is taken in that verse of OVID. *Amor. lib. 1. Eleg. 111.*

*Quid dignis opus est graphium lassare tenenda?*

And probable it is that CAESAR sitting in councill was not without such a writing instrument: yet both DOMITIUS MARIUS upon the forehead verse, and PERDREVS also the author of CORNYCOPIA, expounding this place of SVETONIUS, takes *Graphium*, for *pignunculo*, i. A little poynard, poyard, or pocket dagger. And happily therewith CAESAR wounded CASSIUS or CASCA (whether you will) being more readie at hand, hanging at his girdle, than the stile or Steele store-hid, which by all likelihood was yet in the case or sheath, called *Grapharium*, considering CAESAR was but new set. But I leave the exposition of this place, in *medio*.

(o) VALERIUS MAX. under the title of VERECUNDIA, commendeth this mayden-like modestie of CAESAR, who notwithstanding that he was marked with 13. wounds, for manhood sake forgot not to hide his nakednesse, and to die in decent manner: but as EURIPIDES writeth of the virgin *Ladie Polixena*.

*quod non videtur tunc de corpore nudum.*

Where, by the way it may be noted, that the *Romans* wore not trusses or breches, as we doe, to cover those inferior and secret parts.

(p) This may have reference to that which is reported before, how in his youth, he beloved SERVILIA, the mother of this BRUTUS. For his age falleth out to agree fittly with that time: in so much as he was commonly thought to be a sonne of his. And yet this attribute *Fili*, may sort well with the familiaritie that was betwene them.

Some read *scire* for *scire*, i. And art thou one of them?

(q) VIRIN;

83 (a) VIRGINI *Pepelia Maxima*. That *Nem* or *Pepelia* virgin, who in age and dignity excelled herself, and was the Mistress as it were, and governess of them, they called *MAXIMA*: much like unto the *Ladie Abbe* or Prioresse in our daies.

(b) The argument wherof was the deciding of the contention betwene AJAX and ULYSSES, a-bout ACHILLES ARMOES.

84 (c) For some of these who took part with POMPEIUS, he had perished.

(d) *Quosdam prope ad marem adierat*. Others read, *ad marem adierat*: understanding thereby those

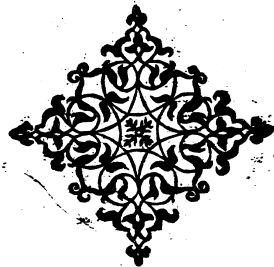
places which they brought as offerings to his Ghost, and be called *Isurie*.

(e) Which is counted one of the Climate-rich years, in which it falleth out that 7. is multiplied by 8. which two numbers, as CICERO hath observed, 6. doth be complete. A revolution had to SCIPIO AFRICANVS the younger to VIRGIL also and PLENIUS.

(f) ASPRIAN writeth, that it was in a fadisme up-rore of the people bountie to the ground.

(g) To signifie, that upon that day, The father of his country was killed.

ANNO



*Octavius Augustus Cæsar.*

(5) Here maneth: C I C E R O, as appeareth by an Epistle of D. B R Y T V N I O C I C E R O in these words: *Restat mihi scripsitum Casarem. (Augustinus) nisi. Iste non de te quiescit nisi dormi quies dixerit. te dixisse iudicet.*

(b) A coast-town of Italy affronting Sicile, from whence it is a very short cut over the sea so called by the Greekes, as if even there a breach was made by the sea, dividing

heretore a verre Snake or Adder is deadly, may be eaten safely, how ever the fting is deadly: and if whiles it lyeth ankled or benumbed (the call wherof these *Mont-banjos* or jugglers have by means of certaine medicines) one put his finger into the mouth thereof, and be not bitten or stung withal, there is no sperile or slimie humors there to doe harme. So that a whoreson elfe, by example of this myllithal fooke a whorcel and indicted by a Serpent, shall doe it safely, and cure besides, the party that the fmall doe. Provided alwaies, that hee have no fore ulcer, in gummies, palate, or any part of his

(4) THE Roman Army consisted of Legions, who were all Romans, and of *Auxilia*. *Auxilia* were of Allies and confederate nations.

(b) This day, was *Ante diem quartum*  
= Sextil. i. the second day of August.  
which was also that very day of the month,  
whereas

wherein the Romans in times past suffered the disastrous overthrow at Cannæ.

(a) By which the people of Rome wonne their immortal fame, and conquered the whole world: as *Cæsar* faith: *Pro Marcæ*.

(b) December, Ianuarie, and Februarie.

(c) Theurbishing them for being invincible soldiers.

(d) These Publicanes, so called for that they farmed their Cities, revenues, Customs, Tolls, in posts, &c. were likewise Knights, or Gentlemen of Rome, and by being so earnest to buy out one of their own sort, were thought to favour him; and minded presently to disfigure him at liberty: which was contrary to his intent.

(e) For his Vnkle and Predecessor IULIUS CÆSAR, had taken up that familiar term of COMITATIONS, by occasion of so many troubles that followed him, and therefore was devised to pacifie his Soldiers tame.

(f) *Liberatus* were those who having bene bond were made free or manumitted: and these were not capable of *Militia Romana*, but in time of great extremity and desperate cases.

(g) It seemeth by this, that these *Vallæ* and *Marell* coronets were made of some other matter than Silver and Gold. Yet *Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 6.* writeth that both these, as also the *Cornæ*, were of gold. Now, the *Vallæ* or *CASTRENSIS* coronet, (not they were both one) resembled *vallis*, i. the Rampiers a palisade about a Camp, made of *vallis*, i. stakes or pales sharpened at the head, wherewith the banke or mure was the better fortified: and hee received it as an honorable reward, who first mounted the said palisade, and entered the Camp of his enemies. The *Marell* was fashioned like to the battlements of a wall, given likewise unto that souldier, who approached the enemies wall first, scaled, and climbed over it into the Citie. As for these *Phalæreæ*, altho they be commonly taken for the ornaments or trappings of horses; yet it appeareth that they be the ornaments of the men themselves: And as well they as *TORQUES* were, *Prædæ militum dona*, i. Ordinarie and common gifts bestowed upon good souldiers. See *Terent. Supp. act. 1. Pl. 1. Plautus comæ*, & *Terentius senex*.

(h) Such as he called before MANIPULARES and GREGARIOS: although in other authors, *Caligari* stand for all manner of souldiers.

(i) In Latin *Festina lente*; much to this sense in our English tongue. *Ne more hasti than good speed*. For *The first make swiftness*. This proveth the same AVOGUSTVS expressed also in his coins, wherein hee stamped together with lightning or a thunderbolt, the God TERMINVS, representing by the one, Celeritatem; and by the other, Stayedness. Like as *T. IVLIVS VESPASIANVS* the Emperour joynd an Anchor and a Dolphin together in his coin, to the same purpose.

(f) A verse of EURIPIDES, in the Tragedie *Phærmia*, i. A Warre Captaine is better than a venturous.

(c) It was the Apophthegme of CATO. *Some are never wise, till they are dead*.

(a) By the Law *Scænia*, that L. IVLIUS, or

VILLIUS rather promulged, required it was, that a Consul should not be under the age of 45. Yet for their worthiness and demerits, some came to that dignity, under 30.

(d) Like unto this was the speech of that Centurion, who being sent by IULIUS CÆSAR, *Dilecti*, for to haue the use of his government and conduct of an Arme in the poore estate proroged, standing before the doore of the Senate house, and taking knowledge that it would not be granted, shooke his sword with his hand and said, *the springe is lost*. Thus then shall prorogue it.

(e) THREE such Halles there were in Rome, wherein Iudiciall courts were held, and causes pleaded. 1. *Remanum*, which was so much frequented with Lawyers and their Clients, that CATO CENSORIUS delivered his opinion, that that should be paved with *strepitus*, to keepe out that rable which haunted it. 2. *Cæsarum*, That CÆSAR DICTATOR built, and adjoynd thereto the Temple of VENUS GENETRIX. 3. AVGVSTVS, whereto was annexed by him one Temple of MARS REVERENS. For another he erected in the Capitoll, after hee had seganated from the *Partianis*, the Roman Standards and military delignes, which they wonne from CRASSVS.

(f) An Apothecater, and a Theater, differ as the full Moone from the halfe, or a consular robe from a femerale.

(g) PLINY writeth, that Rome was deviated into fourteene Regions, or wards, and into more than a thousand streets.

(a) Augurs were certaine Priests employed about the observation of Birds, and from them out other learning gave directions. In number at first they were but three belonging unto the three ancient tribes of Rome. In proceesse of time there was a Colledge or covenent of them to the number of 32, namely, in the daies of SYLLA DICTATOR: So that I doubt not but among these were some appointed for this ministration either about the Goddesse SATVRNVS, i. Health or safety, unto whom there was likewise a Temple built, or die in the name and behalfe of the people, *Capite Augurum salutis*, which as DIO maketh report, was in this manner: That they should call unto God for safety, if he would permit: as if it were not lawful to crave it at the Gods hands, unless they first granted it. And one day every year was chosen for this business, in which no Arme did set forth to warre: no man warre against itself, nor take weapon in hand to fight. A thing which could not be, during the late troubles and civill warres. *Ne more vellet* therefore, if this function being forerit, was now taken up againe by AVGVSTVS, when by occasion of peace, he did finish the Temple of IANVS, and as this function was called *Augurium*, so I see no reason but the very *Augurium* or *Sacerdotall dignity* is selfe in this place might be named *Augurium*, in the same forme, that presently after, the *Flaminship* or Priesthood belonging to IUPITER, is named *Flaminium*: And thus I take to be the meaning of our Author.

(b) Which were solemnized once in an hundred, as some say, an hundred and ten years.

(c) By which addition, there were in the year 230. Law daies or pleadeable.

(d) MORE majorum ordained it was, that a Patrician, should first beate with rods, and then loved

toeall within a lether male or budge together with a dog, a coze, a viper, and an Ape, and so throwen into the fire, or some running water.

(b) Whereof CORNELIVS SYLLA was the Author immortall, & selfe, or *Testamentaria*.

(c) MARYS lawes were made the title *Sumptuaria*, to repress the immoderate expence in apparel, and belly-cheere especially: as namely, *Famæ, Dicitur Oppio Cornelia, imitæ*, as well *Cæsaribus Augustis*. But in the time of TIBERIUS CÆSAR, notwithstanding hee did what he could to keepe them in force, yet they were all abrogated.

(d) *Lex Julia, Cæsaris et Augusti, de Adulteriis et Pudicitia*. For albeit the law of *Scæstina*, provided against the later, to wit *Pederestie*, yet the penalitie therof by vertue of the said law was but *Peramaria*, i. a money matter. Whereas by *Julia* it was *Capitalis*, i. worthe of death. And, that AVGVSTVS established and enforced this law against Incontinencie, it may appeare by this, That *Senatus Aulianus* reprooved him: because hee had himselfe given to lasciviousness, yet he was a most severe and shaple chastiser of that vice: as also that answer of a young man, who for committing adultery with his daughter Julia smote with his owne hands. Who therupon cried out *Nisi tu visum* *Kaisar*, i. *Thou hast made a lawe* O CÆSAR, &c. Now as touching the foresaid *Lex Scæstina*, it was so called (as VALERIUS MAXIMVS writeth by occasion of one *Lex Scæstina* a Tribune of the commons, who against kinde had abused a sonne of MARCELLVS, and was therefore condemned accordingly.

(e) *De ambitu*. Of which there were divers, namely *Actus, Calpurnia, Aspidia*, *Belia*, *Amilia*, *Cornelia*, *Furina*, *Maria*, *Pompeia*, *Petilia*, *Tullia* and *Iulia*, *Cæsaris et Augusti*.

(f) *Lex papia poppea, de maritandis ordinibus*, wherof there were many branches and chapters, not onely respecting this conjunction of the Gentrie and commons: but also concerning penalities to be laid upon those that neglected marriage, and rewards due to such as lived in wedlocke and began children, &c.

(g) The badges that distinguished Senators from others, were either Robes purified or embroidered with broad furs of purple like naile heads, called therupon *Laticlavii*, and those with peakes resembling the horned tops or pointed ends of the moone, named therefore *Calcei lunati*, in token of their ancient Nobilitie, as some interpret it.

(h) These solemn feastes at which Senators were allowed to be present, were *Epulæ* or otherwise called *convivia* *Dialis* within the Capitoll: Likewise *Convivia* *Prætorialia*, and *Augustalia*, i. the sumptuous suppers to the honour of IUPITER, as triumphs, given by the Pontifices and Augurs.

(i) The first day of every month. The 13 of March, May, Iuly, and October, the 15 of the rest.

(a) A judiciall court there was at Rome called *Centumviri alia Massa*, for that it consisted of certaine Commissioners or Iudges named *Centumviri*, i. The Hundred-men. Before whom were debated civill matters and causes betwene citizen and citizen, of no great importance. Cholen they were out of every Tribe three: And those were in all 35, which

number doth anke to 105. but in round reckoning they went for an hundred.

(b) What these ornaments and badges were. T. LIVIUS reporteth in the 30 booke of his Roman historie: to wit, *A crown of Gold, and a faire golden Ball: A curule, i. twoe chairs, with a staffe likewise or scepter of Ivory: A long Robe embroidered of fawndie colours, and a rich coat of Æolia worke representing the Date tree*.

(c) This solemn shew or Riding of Roman Gentlemen, was upon the Ides, i. the 15 day of *Quintilis* iulij yearly: Invented first by FABIVS RULLIANVS in the honour of CÆSAR and POLLVS, who appeared unto the Romans, at a battell neere the Lake *Regillus*, what time they achieved a noble victorie. They rode from the Temple of Honour, as some write, or as others, of *Alia* without the walles, toward the *Forum*, and by the Temple of *Cæsar*, up into the Capitall, dight with chaplets of Olive branches, as PLINIUS writeth *lib. 15. Natur. Hist.*

(d) By this it appeareth, that ordinarily hee might not be a Tribune of the commons, who was not a Senator: For albeit this be a Plebeian Magistrate, yet might a commoner be a Senator.

(e) Whereupon, SVIDAS thinketh, *Annus* to take their name, *quasi anni* *Novus* *destinatus*, i. because come was wont to be dealt among the people, upon the Nones of every month, namely, the seventh day of March, May, Iuly and October, and the fifth of the rest: Whereas indeed *Annus* is derived of *anno*, i. the year, *quasi annalis* *allemus*, i. the years provision of food.

(f) It seemeth that AVGVSTVS held of two Tribes: to wit, *Scæstia*, unto which the *Ostervij* belonged, and wherein he was borne: and *Fabia*, by his adoption into the familie of the Iulij.

(g) For, howsoever the Romans habie the *Gowne*, yet permitted were they, upon needfullie, namely to save the said gowne in foule weathers, or to defend themselves from cold, to cast over it a cloake in any frequented place of the Citie, as were the *Forum*, i. The common pleading court, ward, or Market place, and the *circus*, i. The Shew place.

(a) For the ordinarie Roman Gownes were white and faire peeces.

(b) Of these spectacles and games, some were *Mæstivæ*, some *Meridianæ*, and other *Peramidianæ*: according as they were exhibited, In the morning, at Noone, and after-noon.

(c) These were called likewise sacred Games, as Stage-plays, *Gymnicæ* Exercises, and *Mæstivæ* in NEROVS time.

(d) They took that name of a spacious Gallerie or walking place, called *Xylus*, wherein they were wont to exercise in winter time.

(e) COLONIÆ, were Towne-ships in Italy and other Provinces planted with Romane Inhabitants. In which, *Decuriones* as one would say Aldermen, had the same authoritie as Senators in Rome.

(f) *HEREDUPON*, some Provinces were called *Cæsaræ*, or *Prædialia*: namely which were ruled by the Emperours sole appointment, and had strong Garrisons placed in them: others, *Populi*, and



at a becke, or at his command, as if the same were ruled by AUGUSTVS CAESAR, who was forced for that abominable filthiness. And in this latter sense did the people of Rome expound the said verse, and apply it unto him.

(a) Of twelve Gods and Goddesses together: Alluding to those false sects Gods, & as many Goddesses whom antiquity in heathenish benightedness above the rest: whose names ENNIUS the Poet comprised in these two verses,

*Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jupiter, Neptunus, Plutonus, Apollo.*

Answerable to which number hee entertained five young women attired like Goddesses, & six boys (*Latinus*) in habit of Gods, as his guests at this Supper.

(b) I doubt, the first verse of this *Harastion* is not perfect, for, I do not please my selfe in the translation of it.

(c) Neyther is it certaine what this *Malitia* should be: Some read *Malitia*, as if it were the name of a chamber within the Lassetell or Citadell of the Capitall, which this banqueting place of his did counterfeite, and then we must admit the figure *Protes*. Others take *Malitia* to be the name of some wound, impleied in the furnishing & letting out of such a supper.

(d) For AUGUSTVS not onely late here among the rest in the person of *Apollo*, but also would sometimes be thought *Phaebus*, otherwise *Phaon* his sonne.

(e) For, it is not unknowne what adulteries the Poets traffick, betweene *Isipiter* and *Armenia* etc. betweene *Mars* also and *Venus*.

(f) No marvelle, if *Iupiter Capitolinus*, with other Gods and Goddesses, being before possessor of the Capitall, abandoned their shrines and chapels, when they saw such in place.

(g) Whereto Tormentors whips and scourges were to be sold: and there-upon hee tookke that name of Tortour (like as before hee is furnished *Sandalarius*, and *Trogades*) which, AUGUSTVS seemed now to vertise in himselfe, whipping and scourging the people with hunger, as hee did.

(h) In which month the feast *Saeralia* was kept, and much libertie tolerated of gaming, feasting and reveling.

(i) In this came called in Latine *Lusus talorum*, or *Talorum*, there is some resemblance of our dice, but that the *Tali* have but foure faces or sides, and therefore yeld foure chaunces and no more. Of which the first is named *Cautus* or *Camela*, answring as foure of our Ace, and is the worst of all. The opposite unto it, they termed *Forma* or *Forma*, and is accounted the best, as which may stand for our six. The third bare the name of *Hum*, proportioned to Trey with us, and the last *Sine*, and is as much as *Quatre*. For in these *Tali* or cockall bones there is no chance of Deux or Cinque.

(k) *Quinquaginta* or *Quinquaginta*, were certaine festival holidays held for five daies together in the moneth *March* to the honour of *Minerva*. See *Orid. de Fast. Par. Macro. Ant. Cell.*

(l) For pleasure therein hee called it *Syracuse*, comparing it to that beautiful Citie in *Sirily*, and because it served his turne for meditations and inventions, hee gave it the name *Syracusae*.

(a) Employed, as if it were some in his civill waies. Certain soldiers there were sturged up on the Prince under the name of *Isidors*, whose service hee used, in spying and listening, in Greece such were named, *Cassius, Cassius* and *Cassius*. Also in doing execut. upon condemned persons, and in sending of letters unto the Senate, as *Isidorus Terentius* hath observed verie well in his Annotations upon *Caius Caligula*.

(b) *Sabbatus Ieiunium servat*. If Sabbats be but for weeks, as the manner of the Jewes was to keepe, according as the Publicane faith in the Gospell after Saint Luke, *reservat die in Eubaeis*, and as it appeareth in other places of the Evangelists, true it is, that SYLTONIVS or AUGUSTVS reporteth of the Jewes, as also it by Sabbats are meant other of their feasts, as also it by Sabbats is altogether untrue, and to be imputed unto the stout and ignorance of SYLTONIVS and the Romans, in the Jewish rites and ceremonies. For seeing them religiously to keepe the laid seventh day or Sabbath, wherupon they were common, called *Sabbataris*, and observing withall their fasting exactly it was thought of straungers that they taied upon the Sabbath. Also for their deour fasting against the feast of the Passover, called by themselves sometime the great Sabbath, as also by forerunners, as it appeareth by *Horat. lib. 1. sat. 1. cap. 1. in*, in this pece of verse *Isidorus, Salicatus, etc.* they imagined that the Jewes fasted even Sabbath. And in truth, reckon from September (at which month the Jewes in one computation begin their yeare) 30 weeks forward, you comeneto their *Passa*: According to which time wee Christians also doe celebrate our feast of Easter. This onely is the difference betweene us and them, for that they observe the *Nyumenia* or new moone at the spring *Aequinox*, and solemnize their passover in the next full moone, and wee, the Lords day or Sunday after the said full.

(c) If it seemeth, hee tookke but a light repast: not putting off his shoes, as the manner was at full meals.

(d) Some copies have, *estis Isidorus*, making (re) to be *Isidorus*, as if he meant, verie well covered (contrarie to the use of that word *regere*, which otherwise signifieth, to uncover) like as *recondere*, i. to lay up verie safe and sure. Others, *recondere*, i. with his feete somewhat drawn or pulled up to him; in the same sense as CORNELIVS CELSVS writeth *paucum redoluit, quifere jacens in balneo est*, as hee saith, which is the ordinarie forme of lying, when as men be in health. Lastly, some read, *recondit*. Let downe or stretched out to the full length.

(e) CASABONVS interpreted, *Isidorus lacubratorum* [?] apollor or low bedde made for the nones, to rest and studie upon.

(f) By whole report, hee wanted not much of the full height of man, wit, rare fire foot, according to *Virgilio*. Above which, *Statue* the growth is somewhat giantlike.

(g) And *Impetiginis formam*. The second kinde whereto, as CORNELIVS CELSVS writeth, for willingly do I often cite him as the Roman *Galenus*, in explanation of a Roman writer *Varus figurat habere*, i. resembleth many and sundre formes, *lib. 5. cap. 18.*

(h) This

(b) This infirmity of his was a kinde of gout, which the Greeke writers call *Ischia*, and is commonly named *Serena*. As for the remeedy or palliative cure rather (but education or paine) with land: it may be meant either of some tomentations with linnen bagges wherein was laid, For *Corneilius Caesar* writeth, *Tha Mili: sed, salt, and sand*, or any of them put within a linnen cloth, and to be applied to the affected place, cure the said disease: or of walking in sand by the sea side, or else of tumbling and wallowing therein: which remeedy *Qu. Serenus Sammonius* in this verse: *Nec non ex tepidis convolvere corpus ardens*, etc. hath preferred and experience verified.

(c) CATO in his Husbandrie, and PLINIE *lib. 17. cap. 20. lib. 20.* maketh mention of curing the *Serena* with a clift of agreen cane or reed, but there must be first cut off, a charne go with all, and so, it repossesseth articulations or bones out of ioyne: Indeed, both *Diocorides*, and also *Galenus*, attribute vnto the rinde or bark of Cane notes, and to their ashes a efficacie verue: Whereby, they are found good for such dislocations, and to may cure the Articular disease likewise, called *Serena*, which differeth not much from a dislocation, of the huckle-bone.

(d) PLINIE reporteth 3. *cap. lib. 25.* That the stone in the bladder, and especially the Strangurie, a pecking drop-meale, occasioned by grauell, (which it is here to be meant) is of all others most dolorous.

(e) THIS is accordeth to an observation of *Cornelius Celli*, *Qui fecundis aliando frustra curantibus: ob contrariis aliquando restituitur*. I. The patient whose cure deviled by art, and according to the rule of Physicke, sometime speedeth not well, recovereth otherwise by a course of meanes quite contrarie.

(f) Which the Greekes call *Periodicall*: As the *Quartane* Ague and other intermitten fevers be fostered because their rise returne vpon certaine daies. The falling sicknes likewise, keeping time with the moone, wherupon some name it *Lunaticus*. And gout, which are most busie in the spring and the fall, &c.

(g) Toward the end of September. An unequal season of the yeare, when commonly the mornings and evenings be cold, and the Noone tides hotte, whereby many diseases are occasioned. But as touching the Birth-day here mentioned, *Palermus Max* and *Plinius* report, that *Antistius Sidonius* the Poet veyre yeare upon the day of his Natiuitie: onely felt the accession of Ague. Whereof hee died in the end, after hee had liued to a great age.

(h) No mortuall in cacochymical bodies, such as his was, the humors which lay still and quiet all Winter, began to spread and swell in the spring, causing *Dysenteriam* and *Emphysem*: especially in that place where they were gathered and laid up as it were in store, to doe a mortuall when the time came.

(i) PAENINIA ALLEVS *ex tribulatione*. In Steele of our Preches and Stockings, the Greeks and Romans, used in those daies certaine loose cloathes in manner of swathing bands to cover and lap their nakednesse, and long it was, cruetly rooke to anie suchlike it were upon occasion of some disease. Vntill the reue of PETER King of Macedonia

who as PLYTARCH, when hee saie in Port sale of accursed slaves or captives, was admonished by one of them to let downe his uppermost garment for to hide his shame IULIVS CAESAR also humbled, being deadly wounded, was careful to let fall the lap of his countercoat to cover his priuie parts: when he should fall. In proceesse of time they rooke to wear the cloathes abroad in hon of *Brutus*. Brethren, which the French and other barbarous Nations used: but they did in Winter onely. For otherwise they went ordinarily in those parts without trusses: covering all as mannerly as they could with their loose upper garments, which upon a small occasion were ready to flie open.

(b) Partly, to make a noose, and so to procure sleepe, and in part to refresh and coole the Ayre.

(c) As well to coole him as to drive away gnats, for want of curtaines or a canopy, which therof tookke the name in Greeke *κατακλις* or *κατακλις*. Now the manner of this window or making wind for the better and daintier sort, with plumes, or peacockstales, much like to the Iannes of feather used in these daies as well as in old time, but for the meane, with beaile tails.

(d) From Rome to *Transre* or *Tibur*, is about one hundred *Stadia*: then, you reckon 125. paces to a *Stadium*, it cometh to 12. miles and an halfe. CATO CENSORIVS was of another mind, who said hee Repented when soeuer he went to any place by water if hee might, by land.

(e) The abstinence wherof in some measure is good for those that have feeble joynts, and be remembered otherwise with any gout, as AUGUSTVS was yet a thing, that Physicians in old time could hardly bring their patients vnto, so ordinarie it was in those daies to both.

(f) Which, the warron and delicate Ladies of Rome, as PLINIE writeth, used of silver.

(g) AD PILEM. Whereas there were diuers kinds of balls to play with, it seemeth, that hee meant in this place that play, which of all other was least and hardest, as being stuffed with haire, wherupon it tookke the name: the same no doubt that our Tennis Ball is lent to and fro with the Racket. Named likewise it was *Trigonalis*, of a Tennis court within the baies, three square walked: from which wall the ball did rebound. Of this ball, and the exercise thereof, GALENUS wrote a Treatise.

(b) *Fellelimum*. By *Fellelimum* is meant a kinde of wind hand ball covered with leather: having within it a bladder pulled up with wind, the softest & lightest of all others, fustien, not with a racket as the others, nor with the paim of the hand, as that which they called *Pagania*, filled with woole. Bocks or yams, but driven with the dutech fist, wherupon it tookke the name *PEGILLATORIA*.

(c) So TVRNVVS expoundeth it. But ISACCVS CASABONVS understandeth thereby, *Seyffius* or *Seyffium*, in Greeke *εὐσφῆριον*, a light blankeet or quilt.

(d) By this, is meant a play, that children used, and not that game of hazard resembling dice, as which, hee laide before, they played *τετάρτα*.

(C) For ought that I can gather out of the history conjectures of expeditious, these *Scythi* made of silver or Iron, resembling the game of young Gentlewomen called of some *Trot-Madams*: or else that pastime of boys named *mad* holes.

(A) Besides the poetic allusion unto the fabulous history of *Atax*, *Torrentius* hath observed in the word *Spongia*, a double significancy to wit, a sponge called *Dactylis*, which writers had at hand, cyther to wipe and wash out what smulked them; or to blurre and blot the same, according to thide of the Poet *AVONIVS*.

*Aut cunctis pariter versibus oblitas  
Primum lall color spongia spicem.*

Whereupon *Martialis* saith of it,

*Pisilius hanc quoniam scripta uerare roles.*

and also a sword. Which addeth the better grace unto the conceit considering that *Atax* fell upon his owne sword. But in this latter sense, I have not yet found *Spongia* taken in any approved author.

(C) *AVGVSTVS* taxed *MAECENAS* for being *Cavetius*, and found as much fault with *TIRANNVS*, because he was *Antiphrasticus*.

(B) By these words *antiphrasticus*, *Cincinnes* *AVGVSTVS* noteth the affectate forced phrases, and curious unkeborne termes asiwere, of *MAECENAS*, *Cicinus uerba*, as *SENeca* reporteth of him *Epist. 94. equis soluta offit ac ipsi desinunt*. His manner of stile might be compared to those haire of a wit, curled with crisping pins & belmed with odorous oiles, which *CICERO* called *capillus calami stratus et delibatus*. Neither do I think that *AVGVSTVS* reprehended *MAECENAS* for using these words, *antiphrasticus* *Cincinnes*, because it is his owne manner in writing to encrease Greeke with Latin, & besides, *Cavetius* is therein to be found. But his over curious termes and new devised phrases he fo catcheth, for that *MAECENAS* was wont in trimming and trucking up himselfe to be somewhat womanish.

(C) *AVGVSTVS* in a certaine Epistle unto *Maecenas* by expelling his owne nice and delicate phrases, after a fort derideth them, and dehorteth him theroon, in these words, *Pale mel grammum Medullis chor et Meturra, lafer Arretinum, adamas superas, Zibetum Maragranum, Cinnamum Smaragde, lappi figurum, Berylle Perennae, carbunculum Italia, qui in vitrum murea lappi, hoc Maecherum*. In which words, as in a mirror he might see himselfe.

(A) As if he should say, *Neper a barrel better berying*. There was neither of them better than other, as offending both waies. The Asiatick Orators were *Ciceli*, *Cumbr Atticus* and *Phanias*, *antiphrasticus*. So that, it was meere folly & vanitie to make any doubt, whether of them to imitate, being all alike great.

(C) This *STANLEY* was a deep Scholler & great Humanian as we speake, and whom the Greekes call *Philologus*. Under him *AVGVSTVS* became *polymathus* i. skilfull in historie, Antiquities &c. like as, under *ARVS* he learned Philology.

(B) The principall Authors whereof *HERATVS* is compiled in this verse,

*Enpilis aut Cratinus Aristophanesque poeta.*

In this manner of Comedie the vices of men and women were represented and taxed upon the stage over-bodily and bravely to their discredit. For which

it grew to be offensive, & was laid away a long time.

(C) Who was *Censor* in his time, and perished in his orations that all men of what degree lowest he could be compelled to marrie for procreation of children.

(A) *PINUS lib. 2. cap. 55. Quae Hist.* writeth, that it never lightness above five foot within the ground. Fearfull persons thurte, shunke such deepe caves most fast.

(B) BY this custome and gesture, as the Argument and circumstance of the place naturally importeth, he thought to imitate the goddesse *Nemesis* for to spare him: *Nemesis* I say, whom the Heavens assigned to attend with an envious eye, upon all excessive prescriptioe. To avoid therefore aduise after-claps, which this spacefull goddesse might bring upon him, unlesse they were pacified, *AVGVSTVS* thus debated humilite superstitiously, and in some sort, seemed to abridge his owne felicitie. Much after the manner of *POLYCRATES* that rich tyrant who to be excused from this *Nemesis*, flung into the sea a Jewel, with a precious Stone of unestimable price.

(C) *NYNEDINAE* among the Romans were those daies in every month. Whereon they kept fyres and markets. It should seeme therefore, that he held the day after them envious and of unlesse presage, as we say in our proverb, *A day after ill lucke, or else because he had sometimes not lived very well, when as he did set out in his journey upon such a day.*

(A) *Nemesis*, *quasi*, *non it*, which literally off as much as, *you go on*. Much like to that in *Plinius 15. lib. cap. 9.* When *M. Caelius* was ready to embark in that infortunate expedition into *Parthia* where he was slain, a fellow cried certaine sigs to be sold with this note *Cannas, Cannas* (for that of kinde were those sigs) which offed thus much unto him, as if in short speech he had cried *cave ne cas*, *cave ne cas*, I Take heed you go not this voyage.

(A) An Idoll resembling an Ose, which the Egyptians worshipped as a God for *Serapis*.

(B) He did this, as it should seeme in policy, because he would not be thought addicted to the Jewish sect. For otherwise it appeareth as well by his gracious Indulgences granted unto them, as his own testimony in Edicts & commissiōes, wherein he giveth unto their God (the true & onely God) the attribute of *patris*, and instituted for ever certain *Holocausti*, or whole burnt offerings, to wit, new lambs and one bul, to be offered unto that soveraigne most high Deity.

(C) SOME have expounded this of our Saviour Christ, King, not of Rome only, but also of all the world, who took our nature upon him, and was borne in the daies of *Augustus Caesar*.

(B) The like conception by a serpent is reported of *Olympus* the mother of king *ALEXANDER* the great, of *POMPONYA* likewise the mother of *SCIPIO AFRICANVS*.

(C) This broad scale, wherewith were signed letters Patens and other publick Instruments, carried a stamp representing the Citie of Rome and being thus put into his bosom, prefigured that he one day should have the government of the state & commonwealth.

(A) Symbolizing thereby, that the Citizens of Rome, who before time might not lawfully be scourged were in danger to lose their liberty in that bealfe.

(C) Or

(A) Or, when he showed the first time for to be Consul. For, the manner was of the *Candidati* or Competitors of the Consulship, the night before the Election day to be without the Citie abroad in the open ayre: and afterwards early in the morning to sit in a chaire made of one entire peece with in the precinct of a certaine place therefore appointed (which theroupon was called *Templum*) and there, to waite and expect untill some God presented unto them a good and fortunate figure.

(C) *CVM auguri bovis impers affert.*] The manner was of the *Pannini* if they could not speed of their Gods favour at the first sacrifice, to kill more bealls full, untill they saw some tokens thereof: which in the Southerly learning was called *Livus*. Thus did *PAVLVS ANILIUS* for 30 together, and obtained no warrant of happy successe before he had slain the one and twentieth. Yet some write, that Sacrifices are then said *auguri*, when together with the bealls, there is use of *salsa mola*, i. meat & salt. Which kind of Otes be called *Macta*, *quasi*, *munus acta*.

(B) Significant names both, and effects of vicissie. *EVANGELVS*, importeth Luckie or Fortunate: *NECVS* Victour or Conquerour.

(C) This solemnitie of purging the Armie everie five yeares was instituted by King *SERVIVS TIVIVS*, and celebrated with the Sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheepe and a Bull, named there upon *suovetaurilia*. Hereupon, the revolution of five yeares, they called *Lustrum*. This function or office belonged afterwards to Generals of the field: like as the Expiation and purging of the people unto the Centours. And this manner of *Lustrum* is here meant, *Carol. Signa Affert*.

(B) Writings or Instruments signed, concerning the said voyes: whereby they bound themselves, as it were, by obligation to pay and performe the same. Oftentimes also they fastened them with waxe unto the knees of those Gods or Idols unto whom they uncapacitated those voyes, according to that verse of *Iuvenal. Satyr. x*

*Propter quae sacri genua iunctare Deorum.*

(C) *Propter consuetudinem.*] *SVETONIUS* seemeth here to forget himselfe, writing that *Augustus* contrary to his old wont embarked by night, having reported before, that it was his manner so to doe. *Tertullianus* would have all, expounding it thus, that his hasty and long journey (for it was a good stretch from *Astura* to *Beneventum*) was contrary to his wonted manner. But to speake, what I thinke, his journey now by night, was occasioned by a gale of winde that served well for *Beneventum*, and hath no reference at all to his accustomed travails. Some would read, (*pro consuetudine*) i. after his usual manner, but they respect not the scope of our Author, whose purpose in this place is to put downe certaine particulars that were ominous and prefiging his death. Among which, this may be reckoned for one, *That he did a thing now*, repugnant to his ordinarie guise. A point, I was, observed too much even now a daies by those that are superstitiously given. Although, I am not ignorant, that of this observation, in ierke ioke, there may be a naturall reason rendered out of *Phisicke*.

(A) *De novo alexandrina*. By *Novus* he meaneth as I suppose, *Caesii* (by the trope *Synecdoche*) i. the

whole fleet, like as by the same figure, *clausi* significeth a ship. For one vessel alone arrived not into that haven of *Paros*, fraught with merchandise, considering that the same is by other writers named *megaron* *rota*, and *comenata*. Yes, and by the figure *Caesariensis*, *Martialis* called is *Niliensis campus*, which properly belongeth to the fleet when it is arrived. Neyther is it like that *Martius* and *Passingens* out of one ship ponly saluted *AVGVSTVS* in this wise.

(C) *Quadragesimo aurore*. Every such peece was worth fifteene shillings sterling and better, unvaluable to our Spurre *Roads*.

(C) These commodities were thought to be Drugs and Spices of all sorts, webs or clothes in *Say*, Books, Papers, Glades of fundre fashions, ware of flaxe, herbs, or Tow, findall or fine linnen, twisted yarne and threed of divers colours, Babylonian and Egyptian cloath, well favoured bondlaves, and of good education, &c.

(C) *Primum capreis insulam*. Yet some read otherwise, *Primum capreis insulam*. The Island *Capreae* nere adjoining, as if *AVGVSTVS* had abode all this while in the skirt and coast of *compansia*, or in some other of the neighbour lands. But I incline rather to the former exposition.

(C) The Citie of *Eale* and *Idleneffe*.

(F) This *MASABARA*, seemeth by his name to have beene an Africaine, whom *AVGVSTVS* had made Consable as it were of that place, and ruler over a Companie, that he sent thither to dwell, after he had purchased it of the *Nepolitanus*. And for that *AVGVSTVS* had in nirth given him the name of *Founder*, he was so repected, and his yeares minde after his death solemnized accordingly.

(C) *Mambo varians*. I take it, he meaneth that which *Calpis* called *Alyum varians*, and other *Physicians* *Egglestus varians*, namely when in a fluxe the excrements & humors be of divers colours, an argument that nature is not able to concoct them being so irregular, and therefore, *fontaines* a deadly figure. Or, it may be expounded thus, *That when whiles he seemed to be better and on the winning hand, and theroupon more victorious*. Then he said, *After he varians* *lucens*, &c.

(C) Celebrated every five yeares after the *Gracian* manner, and called *Gymnicus*, because the manliness therein, were performed by Champions for their better agilitie will neere naked.

(C) This was a speciall honour and indulgence granted by a singular privilege, for otherwise it was against the custome & lawes of the Romans to bring a dead bodie into a sacred place, or into the Citie, for feare of polluting and profaning it.

(C) The Senators and Gentlemen of Rome were rings of Gold, the Commoners of Iron.

(C) The chiefe Colledges & Societies, at this time were compted four, that is to say, The Pontifics or chiefe Priests, the Augures, the *Septem-viri*, or seven wardens called *Epulones*, for that to the belonged the charge of providing the sacred feasts, the sumptuous suppers of the Pontifics, named *Cena publicola*, as also the statefy Tables, in the honour of *Jupiter* and other Gods, and fourthly, of the *Quindecimviri, sacris facundis*, i. Fifteene overseers of the Sacrifices. Afterwards adjoynded there was to these a fifth, *Augustianum Sodaliū*, erected by order from *AVGVSTVS*, and others in proceesse of time by his precedent.

(C) This



(4) This *Refra* was the publicke pulpit for Orations, standing in the common Market place, called *Forum Romanum*: so called for that it was beautified with the beake-heads of ships (named in Latine, *Refra*) which in a memorable fight at Sea, the Romans wonne from their enemies. Neere vnto which were certaine shops called *Tabernæ*: and absolutely *viciæ*, for distinction of others, known by the name of *Nova* i. the new shops. Yet some are of opinion, that in this place our Author meant *Refra veteris* i. the olde pulpit: to put a difference betwene it and another named *Nova* i. the New.

(5) You must thinke, That the dead body to be burnt in a funeral fire, was set therein for, as the ashes and bones thereof remained a part by themselves from the rest. Otherwise, the ashes of wood, the bones likewise of horses and other beasts sometimes burnt therewith, should have the honour due unto the laid dead corps. Some are of opinion that it was lapped in a linnen sheete of the flaxe called *sephora*, which would not bee confused with fire.

(f) The sumptuous Tombe that Queene *Attia* built for her husband *MANSOLVS* King of *Cetia*, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, was called *Manifolium*, after his name. Whereupon, at such costly and stately monuments are so named; and more particularly, that of *AVGVSTVS*. Of which you may read more. *5. Gergastii Straboni*, for the better explanation of this place.

(g) *DEPOSITVM apud fr.* Some read, *apud seculum regium vltimis*, as if five of these Vestall virgins had the custodie thereof, or at leastwise brought the same forth, being committed to them all. and the seventh, named *Maxima*, the Prioreesse as it were, and governeesse of the rest, were left behinde.

(h) This hath a reference unto the *As*, or pound weight Romaine consisteth of 12. ounces, which standeth for the bala and rule of many other things; and namely here for the entire inheritance that *AVGVSTVS* disposed of by his last will and Testament. For, two third parts of 12. he gave unto *TIBERIVS*; and another third part unto *LIVIA*, which made vp the whole.

(i) That against the law *Scævia*, which expressly provided, That no man should endow a woman in more the fourth part of his goods. So that if a man died seized of one hundred thousand pounds, his wife might not enjoy the third, but only 25000 pounds and no more. Howbeit *AVGVSTVS* had a speciall Indulgence and dispensation for this Lawe.

(k) *Albit Tiberivs* had beene long before adopted his sonne, and thereby may be thought to have assumed the names of his civil father, in whose file; yet this surname onely of *AVGVSTVS* would not be communate with him, but left as hereditary after his decease; as appeareth in *Tiberius*. As for *Livia*, after *Augustus* his death the was commonly called *Livia Augustæ*; how ever some writers retain her olde name *Livia*; and others againe in *Augustus* his life name her *Livia*; by the figure *Prolepsis* because the carried that name after he was dead.

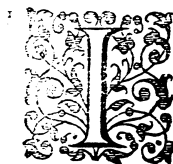
(l) In most copies of *SVETONIVS* you find this reading, *Legens populo ad æquum quadringentes, tribusdecies quingentes*, in which words there may be thought a Tautologie. For that the people of *Rome* and the Tribes (which were in number 35) be all one. Therefore, some learned men have thought good to leave out the later clause wholly, or at leastwise, the word *Tribulus*. Others againe would have here two legacies to be implied, the one of *four* milles given generally in common to the whole bodie and people of *Rome*, the other of three milles and one halie, to be distributed among the Tribes in particular, or to the poorest persons in every Tribe according to the discretion of their *Precætoribus*. And these, put a distinction betwene *populus* and *plebs*, which *plebs* is better understood under the name of *Tribulus*. But I leave it indifferent; although I am not ignorant, that sometimes *Populus* and *tribus* be confounded and put the one for the other, as also that *tribus* stand of the vulgar and mean sort of the people onely, expressly distinct from *populus*, *Equites* and *Senatores*, which the Poet termeth *Viri boni tibi tribum*; and *T. LIVI* vs not unspely, *legimus capitis*.

(m) Which amounteth by the computation of *BYDÆVS* to three thousand and five hundred *Myriades*.

Anno-



# ANNOTATIONS VPON *Tiberius Nero Caesar*



It seemeth that in his owne Native country, where the Inhabitantes, before time were defended from the Greeks, he had to name *Atia Clavus*: and being once incorporate among the Romans,

changed it into *APPIVS CLAVDIVS*. Now, *Atia* avoweth of the Greeke word *Αττις*, which in going, not to let the sole of the foote firmly upon the ground, but rather lightly to tread as it were, as *Πηχον*. Heccepsus, as *FESTVS* noeth, they that have that imperfection in their feete, whereby they can go no better, be called *Atia*. Which was the occasion, that one of the laid house took that name first, and so his posterity after him. Like as among the Romans, or another accident, arose the name *Atropia* first. For that one was borne into the world with his feete forward. And these additions, whether they were surnames or surnames in the beginning, it is left not. For surnames in continuance of time came to be for names, and contrariwise.

(b) If you have recourse unto the Originall, *Nero* is as much as *Nervus*, or *Nervus* is *Nervatus* or *Nervatus*; that is to say, well compact of nerves and sinewes; and such are strong.

(c) *SENECA* reporteth in his booke *De brevitate vite*, that this *CLAVDIVS* perswaded the Romans first, to go to sea, and embarke: Whereupon he was styled *Cæsar*, which in our Latine is as much to say, as the framing, and joining together of many plants or ribs of timber, which is the very Description of a Ship.

(d) One of his predecessours who had a fundition there, gave it that name, as having built likewise a Forum or Hall of Justice there, whereupon the Inhabitantes of it and the territory thereabout, owing service to that court, as *Clientes* & dependents to that Fundition, afforded this *CLAVDIVS* a meete place for him of Innovation and usurping unlawfull covetison.

(e) Observing Iguis from Birds, by their feeding, living or other wise, that might give him warrant to go forward with the favour of the Gods, in his Enterprise.

(f) Adoptions by order of Law, should follow the course of Nature, whereby the sonne, cannot be elder than the Father. The cause why he sought thus extraordinarily to bee, adopted a commoner, was that he might be chosen Tribune of the Law.

(g) The double name of *Nero* was, that those

persons who were arrested for criminall causes, during all the time of their trouble and trial, should change their apparell, and in stead of gownes which were tawie and white, put on others sullied and roule, thereby to move merisie and compassion of the people. Whereupon such, he were called *Sordidulus*.

(h) These Tribunes of the commons as may appear in *T. LIVIUS* were called *Sancti*, i. Unviolable, and such as no violent hands might bee laid upon.

(i) So called, of *Sæines*, the salt pits or salt houses. For being, *Seniores*, i. set an imposition upon the commons, thereby augmented the revenues of the State, little to the benefit or contentment of the people.

(j) For the manner was, that Governours of provinces, who (as they were) so would be counted also, more courteous than others, should unquestioned allow some of their lectors unto all Roman Senators that repayed unto them, for to doe them honour: *Cicero ad Caristulum*.

(k) I am token of his nativitie there, which as they gave out, was borne to the good *Atia & orbis*, i. Of *Rome* and the whole world besides, for so, by way of flatterie they magnified their Princes.

(l) Some read, *Lucius* as a sorrowfull, in regard of many hurts and dangers.

(m) When a chariot is drawn by a teeme of fourre steeds all in one ranke or affront, as we may see them pourtraied upon divers coines, it must needs bee that the two middle steedes yoked or yoked as it were to the spire pole running betwene them, and these be called *medii*. The other two then are without, the one on the left, and the other on the right side, called *externi* in Greeke, and in this place by our Author *Funales*, because they are guided and ruled by a cord or some reines or chaine in lieu thereof. And say, that these quadrigij or fourre steeds drawe two by two in files, one paye before the other: those which be next unto the chariot be aptly called *interni*, and those before them beyond the spire, *Funales*, of which *TIBERIVS* rode upon one and *MARC'CELVVS* upon the other.

(n) ACCORDING to the vulgar speech, *Nervus* familiarly is said *paris contemptum*.

(o) These daies were called *Falæ*, because first they used with such cockall bones named *Falæ* to play: but afterwards they were made of Ivory, gold, &c. Among many sorts of sorceries and divinations, one there was by these bones or dies, and the wisard that professed their cunning in it, were termed *Actus* or *Augures*.

(p) For the greater light to this place, and better proofe of *Atia*'s skill, *Dion* reporteth, that when *TIBERIVS* intended verily to throw him downe headlong,

headlong, he perceived him by his countenance to be much troubled and disquieted in minde, whereupon he demanded the cause thereof, and then *Thyestes* answered, that by speculation of the Stars he foretold some present danger to himselfe, and so *Thyestes* durst not proceede to execute this intent of his.

(c) *SERTA*, was a place in *Mars Field* called about as first like a sheepe Pen: whereupon it was called *Ovidia*. But afterwards mounted with Marble stone, beautified also with stately galleries and walks, within which cloykture and precinct, the people of offences affeable about Elders of Magistrates and other publicke affaires: yea and with warres which were there set out to be sold. As *Alex* ad *Alexandria* witnessed.

(d) Some read *Bractes*, of which name there is a nation, as well as of the *Romaine* in *Gauls*. Others, *Reters*, as if he meant one of those bohemians or riders in Germanie, which at this day be called *Reters*.

(e) A long robe embroidered and gardea with purple, a cassoche branched with Date tree worke, a rich mantell of lundry colours. A chapter of Laurell, a staffe & chaire, both of Ivory. *Liv. lib. 30.*

(f) By this enigmatical speech, *AVGVSTVS* compareth the State of the people of *Rome*, unto the miserable case of one, whom some savage and cruel beaust hath gotten betwix his teeth, not devouring and dispatching him at once, but there holdeth and cheweth him along while in exceeding paine: alluding to the secret malice, and dreameing nature withall of *TIBERIUS*.

(g) It should seeme that in adopting him, he used the very words, *Hoc Reipub. causa fecim.* i. This doe I for the common-wealths sake.

(h) Alluding to this verse of *Ennius* in the commendation of *Q. Fabius Maximus*,

*Paus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*  
One man alone by fage delay  
Restor'd our state fall'n to decay.

(i) In the tenth booke of his *Iliads*, where *Dionysius* in making choice of *Protes*, to exploit a peece of service with him, giveth him this praise.

(k) The Tribunes of the commons had power to call a Senate, but not whensoever they would, without a speciall Decree granted by the Nobles.

(l) The cohort or band of Souldiers which were of the Princes Guard, were called *Prætoriani*, taking that name of *Prætorum* which signifieth the Lord Generalls Pavilion in the campe, his Royall Pallace in *Rome* and clie where. As also the Lord Deputies house of Estate in any Province. Now those Souldiers that gave attendance and served in this place about the Prince or Governour, were intainted in better condition than the rest, because their wages were greater, and the time of their service shorter. For *AVGVSTVS* had set downe their terme twelve yeares, whereas the rest, before they could be discharged, were to serve fixtente.

(m) It may be thought, that *Germanici* as well by the Grammaticall Analogue of the letter, as by some circumstance of this verbe place, import a reference unto *Germanicus* the son of *Dryas* discussed.

Like as *Pittinius*, *Flavianus*, &c. But the learned observe, that as an Arme lying encamped or in Garrison, in Germanie, is properly in Latin called *Germanicus*, so the Souldiers of the said Arme befitly named *Germanici*.

(n) These solemnities were exhibited about the middle of November, whereas the other, named *Remones*, were held in the beginning of September.

(o) It is to be noted, that the name of *Imperator* in the Roman Historie is taken three waies: First, for him, who by commission or warrant from the State, hath the conducting of an Arme, And in this sense, it hath relation to Souldiers. And is also one, with Lord Generall of the field, or a commander, &c. and the same that *Prætor* was in olde time. Secondly, for a Victor or Conqueror, namely when such a Generall or chieftaine hath by naturall preceit achieved many valiant exploits, & put to sword such a number of enemies, as the law setteth downe. For then the souldiers were wont to salute him by the name of *Imperatoris*. Conquerour. Lastly for a Sovereigne Prince, King and Monarch. In the first acceptation, it is a meere Relative In the second a surname. In the third and last, the forename of all the Romaine Emperours, to wit, from *VLTIVS*, *CAESAR* forward. Who although they were not the Crowne and Diademe, were nevertheless absolute Princes, Sovereignes, Kings and Monarchs. The want of this distinction may breed some trouble in the readers of the Romaine Historie.

(p) Made of Oke branches, or in default thereof, of some other tree bearing mast: which gallow, by the first institution, was given to that soldier, who in battell had rescued a Citizen of *Rome* and layed his life. And afterwards, it together with the Laurell, beautified the gates of the *CAESARS* Palaces, although some of them were bloodie Tyrants, & made no spare of their citizens and Subjects lives.

(q) This manner was, if Prince or Senator were carried in his Litter, usually supported by eight bond-servants, and thereupon called *displumari*, to have a companie of Citizens in their gownes going before, and accompanying him by his side, as also certaine servitors to carie his curule chaire of Ivory behinde.

(r) This free embassage, called *libera legatio*, was granted many times to such, as being desired either to travell and see certaine countries, or to fly, for avoiding of dangerous troubles at home thither to be better entertained abroad, and with the more honest colour, to conceale the occasion of their departure, & absence as if they were sent from the state, about the affaires onely of Common-wealth.

(s) It was not ordinary with the Emperours to accompanie the corpses unto the funerall Fire: but onely to vouchsafe their presence at the funeral Oration in the *Forum* or common place. This therefore may be attributed unto *TIBERIUS* his civil humaneitie.

(t) It appeareth by *Dion*, that they had omitted to subscribe the clause which went in this forme, *Pate facimus pro te, Imperator* i. We make our vowes (and pray) for thee O Emperour.

(u) *CAESARES* were heard judicially, and Justice administered, either from a luxurious place as the Tribunal

banall, or beneath upon the even and plaine ground, as *Pompey*, as the Lawyers speake, so that there were a Chaire or seat for the judge to sit upon. And the last place of Iustice where heever, either *pro tribunali*, or de *plano iussu filius*, is properly called *latus*; as *Cicero* *de officiis* hath observed, *lib. 2. cap. 7. de iudicio*. Whereupon cometh the usuall phrase, *In ius vocare*. It seemeth therefore, that *Tiberius* would come into the *Curiam* or Hall of Iustice, and take his place, sometime within the Tribunal (for it was a spacious rowme) or else sit in his Curule chaire of Ivory beneath, as a moderator, which is expected hence by the terme of *latus*.

(a) As Marchpanes, Tarts, Gingerbread, Custards, Sugred Bisket, and generally all manner of pasticke-concoits, wrought with bonie or sugar. The workeman is called *Dolcarius*, and the things, *Bellaria Mellaria*, or *Pannaria*. Toyes not onely needfull, but buttall all to the bodie, according to that in *Aulus Gellius*, *lib. 12. cap. 11. Næq. Attilæ, et varum Bellaria, ea maxime sunt mellea quæ melleis non sunt*. Or digestion: *Tullius* *cap. 17. facies infelix*. i. such unlikes for not well with & Concoction.

(b) Diverse Statutes there were sharply punishing the adulterie of Matrones or married wives. An Act likewise passed in the Senate, that no Person of Knights degree or above, should play upon the stage, performe sword fight, or combat with wild beastes for hire. Providing all to preserve the honour of wildbeeste centre, and to maintaine the reputation of Knightsdome and Nobilitie. Those flametle dantes therefore, of whom *Sextus* writeth in this place, either because they were so, or thought themselves to be reckoned within the censure of Law, or as *TACITVS* writeth, deemed to have shidden punishment enough in making profession of so base a trade and life. These lewde persons likewise, and unrelibled unthrifits satisfying themselves thus to appeare noted with infamia, and that upon record, made accompt both the one and the other not to be obnoxious or liable unto the statutes & acts aforesaid.

(c) The manner was at *Rome*, for Tenants to remove and flout out of one house into another, upon the first day of Iulij, like as with us, at the feastes of Saint Michael, and the Annunciation of the Virgin *Maries* which are the old Iannic reeve daies.

(d) *IOSEPHVS* *lib. 18. Antiquit. Iudeæ*. writeth that *Antony* sent some of them unto *Sardinia*, an Island in Summer time especially, verie intemperate and unwholesome, as may appeare by that pretie Epigram of *Martiall*, wherein he opposeth the healthie Citie *Tiburi*, to the pestilent *Isle Sardinia*.

*Quillo fata locis tibi excludere, cum mors*  
*Proerit, in Medio tibi Sardinia est.*  
No place exempt from fustall death, for when our time it comes,

Mid *Tiburi*, will *Sardinia* be found of all and some.

(e) This is *Callistus*, who gave occasion of this By-word, was famous Stage-player, or one of the *Bravos*, count-raising other mens gestures, as *Benedictus* saith: see *Petrarch* in *Josephus* *Lament.*

(f) *BIVS* *cap. 1. de calidia*. i. here. *Altera de Mercurio*, a frownging. A venegant Apomnination: whereby was shewed, that he loved to drinke wine boe, which might delight, & yett good wine more merry

(g) The Italicke Amphor cometh neeth 48. *Sextarius*, every *Sextarius* 10 ounces *Menfuralis*, which is a wine pinte and halfe of our measure with the better. By which reckoning he drinke at one meale a runder of ten wine gallons well merite.

(h) A Bird that feedeth upon grapes and figges especially, whereupon is made the name. In Antiquitie or the latter end of Summer it is called: as other times *Melanophrys*, or *Attagilla*, of the blacke cop, or half like feathers that it carrieth upon the head.

(i) Of this Bird for the dawning flesh of it *Martiall* made this Epigram.

*Inter aves, turdas, si quis me iudice carere,*  
*Tuor quadrupedi, gratia prima Lepus.*  
Of feathered fowles, if I may iudge, the blackbird is the best.

(k) To invent and devise new pleasures.

(l) *ALFABING* *cap. 1. de vita*. *Cap. 1. de vita*. and in parts either to *Cypri* in *Lat. n. a. post. or to* *hægæ* in *Greek*, a wild bore, and that member. *Quæ vari formæ,*

(m) *Sextus* reporteth thus, *lib. 2. de senect. cap. 17. Quætor milites spectatum suum vidit*. i. He saw of his owne, 400 millions of *Sextenses*.

(n) Provided it was by an ancient Law, and the same revived by *IVL. CAESAR DICTATOR*, that no person should in silver or gold possesse a boue so *superbia*, that is, three score thousand *Asse*. This also may have a relation to that order set downe by him a little before, That auncie men and vianders should lay out two third parts of their stocke in lands and houses, &c.

(o) As we say, to make him third part of *Quætor*, &c. For the *decuries* of Iudges were their *Quætor* names, were written in the Commission Roll.

(p) The *Greek* verbe is read thus, *Εἰς τὴν τρεῖς, δι' αὐτῶν, ἀδελφῶν, ἡμεῶν, ἢ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, &c.*  
(q) *Scalia Germania*. A place at *Rome* upon the *Avventine hill*, into which the dead bodies of malefactors were dragged and thrown with shame.

(r) *THEY* speake the *Greek* language generally throughout all *Greece*, yett not after one manner. For in divers parts were different kinds of *Greece* called *Dialects*, to wit, *Atticæ*, *Ionicæ*, *Chææ*, &c. Likewise with us in Great Brittain a common English tongue goeth well knowne throughout the whole Island: albeit there is a diversity perceived betwix the Scot north or Northern English, and the Southerne, betwix the Cornish and the Kentish, &c.

(s) In so doing the bodie must needs be bared & some shame discovered which being an Impietie before the sacred Images of the Gods, was made *Traditio* also before the Emperours Statues, unto whom diuine honours were exhibited.

(t) The last Hexastichon or 6 verses, seemeth to make one entire Epigram by it selfe. Every *Difficill* before, carith a severall Verse. And as for the first two, they seeme to have a reference to the time, whilst he shode in *Rhodes*, before he was *Sen. Iann.*

(u) As at which time, both among the *Greekes* and *Romans* also, the manner was to forbear Execution yeas and to ease prisoners of their yrons.

(v) As if upon his person he had offered abuse unto the Emperour *Tiberius*.

(w) He would say, The courage and generosity of the *Romans* died with them, leasg that once at one

to recover their liberties oppressed and trode under  
foote by this Tyrant *Tiberius*.

(4) Rather, two hundred and twentie. For *Tiberius* lib. 6. *anual. report*, that all the suspected  
complices of *Sejanus* were killed *facinus immense* *frago-*  
*rum, omnis facinus omnis etas effecit*.

(5) The like hypocritical Religion was practised  
during the bloody persequition in the *Trinavitare*.  
A young Gentleman nobly borne, because he might  
not be killed lawfully, *procuravit* i. under age,  
and wearing full his embroidered garment *prostrata*, hee  
commanded to run on his virile gowne, and so he  
was nourished. *Applan. Dia.*

(6) For wonderfully addified he was to the stu-  
die of Mathematics, and such curious Arts.

(7) His full stature of men in *Italy*, was six foot  
wanting two yatches, if men grew higher than six  
they were accepted exceeding tall, if to le-  
ven, (and to that height men may grow, as *Fe-*  
*rris, Gellius* and *Salmus* doe write) they were for Gi-  
ants. So that in Multers young men were chosen fol-  
dours, five foor high and ten yatches, which was  
called *Infra stature*.

(8) Some read *subilis*, and not *subilis*, to signifie  
that such pimples continued not, but arose and felt  
at times, much like to those that the Physicians call  
*Hydrae, Sudamina*, or *papulas sudorum* according to  
*PLINIVS*, proceeding of heat or sweat, if the hu-  
mours be tharpe.

(9) Such be termed in Greeke *συνεχόμενοι*. And  
if we may believe the Physiognomic delivered by *A-*  
*RISTOTEL*, they be by nature deceitfull and wile,  
given to circumvent, contrap and supplant others.

(10) *CORNELIVS CALPVS*, among other  
good rules and precepts of Health, writeth thus,  
*Somno homo qui et bene valet et sua sponte est, nullis*  
*vitare se legibus debet, ac ne medicis neque alpha ogeret,*  
*&c.* But give he what directions he will, and let us  
say what wee can to this point, that men and women  
may be Physicians to themselves, such is there mis-  
government in diet and otherwise, that Physicians  
shall never want imployment. And as touching thirty  
years, of age *TACITVS* addeth moreover & saith,  
That 'he was wont to mock those and hold them to  
be fooles, who after the laid years had neede of o-  
ther mens instructions, to know what was good or  
harmfull for their bodies. Whereupon might arise  
our English proverb, *A foole or a physician*.

(11) *SVEN* as were lung to the Harpe. In which

70 kinde *Pindarus* excelled among the Greekes, and



*Horae* among the Romans.

(12) Once of *AVGVSTVS* [adopted] sonnes. Yet  
some read *IVLLIVS CAESAR*.

(13) A word usual with us in these daies, for who  
knoweth not that *Moropolis* is, when one man ca-  
gratious hee come commodious into his owne handes,  
that none may sell the same but himselfe, or from  
him?

(14) It significth in this place a peece of workman-  
ship set upon a cup or other vessel of Gold or silver  
to garnish the same, so fixed, as it may be put to, or  
taken away at our pleasure. The ancient Poets in *La-*  
*tin* called such daies *Inferias*.

(15) Contrarie to *AVGVSTVS CAESAR*, whose  
manner was ever and anon in his speeches and writ-  
ings to interlace Greeke words and sentences.

(16) A place neere the river *Tiberis*, so called of a  
Navell fight exhibited sometime there, by *Tiberius* *Ca-*  
*esar Dictator*, within a spacious pit receiving water for  
that purpose.

(17) In the port high waies from *Rome*, the manner  
of the Romans, was at everie miles end to pitch  
downe a great stone, and according thereto were the  
miles reckoned, like as with us in some places there  
stand crosses of wood or stone to that end.

(18) i. A creeping Dragon. Which implicth, that  
there be others winged, or at least wile supposed to  
flye, in the common opinion of men. For the at-  
tribute, Serpens, significth Creeping. Now, be-  
cause all of them use most so to do, the general name  
of Dragons, goeth under Serpents. And as for the  
word Dragon, it is given to the whole kinde of thie  
quicke fight, coming of *serax*, in *Latine*, and *δρακων*  
in Greeke, *serax* is *δρακων* i. of seeing.

(19) *Requidra prior radice*, say the Physicians. The  
relapso unto a former disease is more dangerous, than  
it was before.

(20) It tooke the name of *L. LVCILLVS*, the  
Lord thereof.

(21) A towne in *Compendia* where he tooke to great  
delight, and a place infamous for the licentious life  
of the inhabitants, whereupon grew the name of  
those lascivious and filthy Comedies, *Atellanae*. A  
plague I say smiting wile to his heauly behaviour, as  
if he had beene unworthie to be conveyed to *Rome*,  
the Citie which so long before he had abandoned.

(22) As poore begger bodies were wont to be ser-  
ved in haile, by the common bearers, and not fully  
burnt with leasure.

(23) Where malefactors ordinarily were burnt.

Anno-

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Caius Caesar Caligula.



CALLED by some, *Amale* or *Amerie*: of o-  
thers, *Cemiales*. By  
which provided it was,  
in what yeares of a mans  
age, he was capable of  
Questure, Preture, Con-  
sulate, or any other like  
Office of State: as also,

it was limited, within what time betweene, one might  
effloresce beere the same Office againe. Item, what  
the terme of everie Magistracie should be: &c. And  
also the ancient Romanes had no such lawes, but  
(as *CORNELIVS SCIPIO* at his petition of  
Aedilship made answer, when exception was ta-  
ken against him for his young age) whomsoever the  
Questures would charge to be a Magistrate, hee had  
years enough on his backe, yet afterwards, sundrie  
Statutes were enacted in that behalfe: although by  
verme of speciall privileges, the same were not duly  
observed. By the Chronologie it appeareth, that he  
was but nineteen yeares old when he became *Que-*  
*stor*, like as *TIBERIUS* before him.

(2) Which *TIBERIUS* envying his greatness,  
wroughte, thereby to expose him unto greater dangers.

(3) *WILL* might this unfavourable exercise puff  
up and fill his skin with cruell and foggie humors,  
but hurtfull unto his health it was, and broughte upon  
him diseases, and namely, that, called *Cardiacus*, of  
which, some say, he died. Let them looke to it ther-  
fore, who, because they would be fat, not only fall to  
bodily exercise out of time, even upon full stomacks,  
but also every morning eate in their beds and sleepe  
out it, yea and ordinarily take a nap at noone, so  
soone as their meat is out of their mouthes.

(4) By this Attribute, *Civill*, in our Author, ye  
must understand, Courtlike, Affabillie, and a part  
not exceeding that of private Citizens, without ta-  
king any state.

(5) As if the Gods, whose Images were shined  
within, were not to be honoured any longer as Gods,  
suffering so good a man as *Germanicus* was, to die.  
For, as in token of honour, the people used to adorne  
the Statues and Images of famous persons with  
flowers and greene leaves, to whom they did wilspend  
and despise, they were wont to cast stones at their  
Images and Statues.

(6) The Turtlarie Gods of the house which ordi-  
narily stood within a closet, called thereupon *La-*  
*tariuum*.

(7) For, to what end should they reare children  
any more? since *Germanicus*, grown to so good  
proofe, need no better, but was taken away by un-  
timely death.

(8) In this place, the circumstance sheweth, that  
the King of *Parthia* in person, how over the *Per-*  
*sian* King and such mighty Monarches, having un-  
der their Dominion other petty Kings as *Tribu-*  
*naries* or *Homagers*, hee to be called: like as *AGA-*  
*MEMON* also in *Scythia*.

(9) Which, at Rome brookened, a generall mourning,  
occasioned upon some extraordinary calamitie,  
or feare of publicke danger, even as wash vs, the  
shutting in of Shop-windowes, &c.

(10) About the mids of this month, began the  
feast *Saturalia*, celebrated with good chere, with  
revels, dances, gaming and all kinde of liberte.

(11) For, common soldiers wore a certaine shad-  
ded shoe, named *Caliga*.

(12) Which was better than the ordinarie time,  
by reason of *Tiberius* his long cringe. For, usually these  
complements were performed at 47 yeares of age.

(13) In this habite and manner of attire, con-  
taining a woman, thereby to decline suspition  
when he entered into other mens houses for to dis-  
honour them and abuse their wives, whom our  
author termeth here *Adulteris*, *pro adulteris*, as else  
where, *conjugis*, *pro conjugibus*.

(14) The fabulous Historie of *Phaeton* is well  
known, namely, how by misgovernment of the Reeds  
which drew the Chariot of the Sunne his Father,  
he set the whole world on fire: By *Phaeton* therefore  
is meant, a combustion (as it were) and generall  
confusion of the Provinces, like as by the waterflood,  
the veriebane and payson of the Roman State.

(15) To doe him the greater honour, they ister-  
tine him upon the way (as the manner was), with  
Sacrifices, Torches, Tapers, and was lighted.

(16) An opinion there was deeply letted in mens  
heads, that the death of one man might be excused  
and redeemed, with the death of another.

(17) The two hundred penie.

(18) His halfe image downward from the head  
to the waist, portrayed with a Shield or Scutcheon:  
the same was commonly set out with the largest. Here  
upon, *M. TVLLIVS CICERO*, when he saw such  
a demie personage representing his brother *Q. VI-*  
*TVS* in the province that he governed (& a very little  
man he was of stature) My brother, quoth he, in  
his halfe part, is greater than in the whole.

(19) A festall holiday solemnized by heardsmen,  
in the honour of *Palus* their Goddesse and *Patro-*  
*neffe*. Vpon which day, the foundation of *Rome*  
Cittie was laid. This feast they kept, the 12. day be-  
fore the Kalends of May, to wit, the 10. of April.

(20) *Messius*, a riotous unthrift, when he had wa-  
sted his Patrimonie and sold his Capitall house in  
*Rome*, excepted in the sale, and reserved to himselfe  
and

and his beires, one Colonne or Pillar, from which he projected and put forth into the street a jettie, and upon it built a gallerie: out of which he might behold the sword-fencers in the market place, whereunto he had a faire prospect from the said Pillar. Whereupon all such galleries or buildings jettie out in the street, be called *Mansions*.

(4) *T H S* end of one verse, and beginning of another, cited out of *Heuer* in the second of his *lines*. The Poet ascribeth them unto sage *Phylus*, in this sense.

One *Soveraigne* Lord,  
One *King* let there be.

(5) By exchanging the enligens and Ornaments of the Roman Sovereignes or Emperors, with the Regall Diadem, purple Robe and Scepter.

(6) *Phoeniceum* is a water foule haunting lakes and fennes, and the river *Nilus*, as *Hesiodus* writeth. The feathers be of colour red, or purple. Whereof it taketh the name: and the tongue is a most daintie and pleasant motzell. So said *Astius*, *superum omnium abstinens gurgis*. Of this Bird *Martiall* made an Epigram.

*Daemnis penne rubens membra: sed lingua gulae  
Nictus sapit. Quid hic garrula lingua feres.*

My name I take of wings to red, but unto glutious talk,

My tongue right pleasing is: oh, what, if it could prate as fast.

(8) Some take them for Bistards: Birds decked, no doubt, with most beautifull feathers: as may appear by *Tertullian* against *Marcius*, in these words: *Vna Tertullianus penulae, (sacer de pavo) ferdidum arissem pronuntiabit tibi Crastinum*.

(9) They are thought to be Hens of Guinny. By the description of *Class*, they be our *Turkies*.

(10) The Pheasant called in old time *Nilis*, (which was the sonne of *Tereus* and *Progne*, transformed, as Poets feigne, into this Bird) and afterwards *Phaenax* or *Phasianus* [*avis*], took his name of *Phasis* a river and Citie in *Calche*, according to this Epigram of *Martiall*.

*Argive priusquam sum transportata Carina:  
Aeneas multa iussu mihi nupsit Phasi erat.*

In *Argive* ship transported first, I was to forraigne land:

Fare hence, nought else but *Phasi* towne, I knew,  
or *Phasi* strand.

(11) *PHILO* reporteth this farr otherwise, and telleth a pitifull Narration: How, by commission from *Caesar*, certaine Colonels and Centurians came to young *TIBERIUS*, commanding him to kill himselfe: because, forsooth, unlawfull it was for any other to murder a Prince of the Imperiall blood. The youth, who had never seene any man killed, and by reason of his tender yeares was nothing at all experienced in the world, requested first of them, who were come thus to him, for to strike off his head, which he held out unto them: but seeing his request would not be heard, he desired them yet, to instruct him, in what part of his bodie he should stab himselfe for the speediest death? And so by instructions from them he was his owne executioner.

(12) *ROMULUS* ravished the Sabine virgins:

and *AVERTIVS*, by force tooke from *TIBERIUS* vs his wife *LIVIA*.

(13) *Solema*, in Greeke, signifieth the Moone. And well knowne it is, that as *M. ANTONIVS* the *Triumvir* called himselfe *BACCHVS* and *OSIRIS*, so, *CLEOPATRA* his wife, took pleasure to be named *Luna*, i. the Moone, and *Isis*. Whereupon they gave to their sonne *ALEXANDER* begotten betweene them, the name of the sunne, and to their daughter *CLEOPATRA* the name of the Moone, or *Solema*, which is all one.

The Consuls were reputed still (in onward time) Sovereigne Magistrates, although indeed, that *Caesars* carried all before them, and were absolute Monarches.

(14) Some read, *Tullius decima citius*. i. Before the tenth houre, or four of the clocke after noone, for so long continued the Stage-plays ordinarily. At which time, the Emperours were wont to bestow their Tickets or Talcs among the people, by vertue whereof they received such and such gifts.

(15) There be learned Criticks that expound this place farr otherwise, reading *Pygmaeus* in stead of *Pygmaeus*, and vnderstanding thereby such sword-fencers, whose good hap it had beene to escape with life, the fall from those Frames or Pageants called *Pygmaeus* or *Pygma*, which with certaine vices or Skewes were set up, and let downe, vpon which as on scaffolds, malefactors were brought forth, eyther to exhibit a shew unto the people, fighting one with another at sharpe, to the entrance, or to make them sport, by falling downe into a pit underneath, where eyther wild beasts were readie to devour, or fire to consume them. A device wrought by dissembling the joyner of the said *Pygmaeus* under them. And in this sense they interpret the rest that followeth, concerning *patrifamilias*, i. good honest Citizens house-holders.

(16) *H S* had epike in the multitude of those prisoners and malefactors, two with bald heads, distant farr a sunder, and happily, as much as from the one end of the place unto the other: all those betwene, without respect of their cause, he commanded to be put to death indifferently.

(17) An ordinarie thing it was at *Rome*, to sweare by the *Genius*, as also by the Fortune, the health &c. of their Emperours. And what a devout oath this was, per *Genium*. i. the *Demon*, the spirit, or superintendent Angell of the Prince, which I take to be as much, as by his owne good selfe, as appeareth by *Tertullianus Apolog.* cap. 28. *Critus apud nos per omnes deos, quoniam per Genium principis pietatur.*

(18) *Seneca lib. 2. de Ira. cap. 33.* reporteth the like example of *Caesar* a right worshipfull Gentleman of *Rome*, whose sonne, the same *CALPURNIA*, upon *seneca* enuie that the young man was a proper and beautifull person, put to death in his fathers sight, and then invited the old man to supper, provoked him to carouse and be merie, which the good father was faine to endure and make semblance of contentment, for feare, lest the Tyrant would have done as much by another sonne, whom he had living.

(19) *Ceteris verberatum*. Among other chasticements of the bodie, there is reckoned *Pinularum verberatio*, as *Callistratus* witnesseth, lib. 7. de *paenis*. The



## ANNOTATIONS VPON Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.



(1) He meant not a Physiognomer, who hath taken upon him by inspection of eyes, forehead, face, &c. to tell ones nature and disposition: such an one as *ZOPTRYS* was, who noted *SOCRATES* for to be by naturall inclination a wanton lover of women: but a fortune teller, by looking on the forehead onely. Such as in these daies, by the art of Palmestrie, for looth, can assure folke, how long they shall live, and what not? If they do but see lines in the palmes of their hands, or by fixen in the forehead, will say, how many wives a man shall have: &c. As vaine as those, who by counting the letters of the husbands and the wives name, will confidently pronounce, whether of them shall burye the other?

(2) By rules in this place, and many others of *SYNTONIVS*, art to be understood interpretations, testifying for what considerations such Statues were erected. Such also were usually set up at publicke executions, to shew the offences and causes why any suffered. A thing usuall among the Romanes, and in their government, in what Province so ever, as may appear by that which stood vpon the Croffe of our Saviour Christ.

(3) THAT is to say a white band or ribband: Such as the Royall Diademe at first was.

(4) Of these Banes, with what speede and celerity they were finished, *MARTIALIS* writeth thus:

*hic ubi miramur velocem manum, Therasus.*

(5) DOOTING them thus much credit in the eyes of the world, as to give the allowance and approbation, or otherwise, of the weapons where they should fight. For, in this sense may Ornaments be taken: the rather, because some copies have *Ferramenta*. Or this place may be understood of other furniture, as well as armes, where they should come appointed into the lists.

(6) *T H S* hath bene offered in all ages, to fore-runne the death of some Prince. Thus, before the end of *Ismae Caesar*, as *Virgil* writeth,

*Non alius laus occiderunt pietas ferocem  
Pulcrum, &c.*

Horace likewise.

— Per perisum iuvenat

*Ego equos volucresque currum.*


Our owne *Chronicles* also exemplifie no lesse, for the To say nothing of the fresh resemblance of death of that, which happened with us three yeares since, King Henry the second.

(7) SOME write, and *TERTIUS* by soane, that hee was poysoned with eating of Sea-bares.

Anno-

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

*Flavius Domitianus.*

1 (a)  HIS was some Satyricall Poeme, of which IULI-  
MALIS writeth thus:  
*Impudens Satyrus fabulosus*  
*Crucis & Nigros*

(b) A vestment of white linnen, after the manner of a Surplice: for such priests

theretupon were named *Lingieri*.  
(c) *Toga Craticula*. Which is spoken *Craticu-  
m*, *pro clamyde*. i. a clecke or ioule cassoche. For  
*Toga* was *Remanorum*.

7 (d) PHILOSTRATUS alledgeth another reason of this Edict, namely for that many defen-  
sious and commotions were occasioned by drun-  
kenness.

(e) Or rather, as *(a) abbas* expoundeth *[seminis  
capitis]* that two legions should not encampe in one  
leaguer. For, the pollution of warre found the same  
alwaies dangerous, in regard of murthers, that by oc-  
casion thereof might arise. *Sanguis*, as *Dion* writeth,  
*ante hoc tempus in Macedonia profusus*, i. Seeing  
that his owne numbers great, grew to be floure and  
malapert.

(f) For, before time, it was thought good Policy,  
that soldiers should lay up a portion of their con-  
tribute, about the Ensignes within the campe, and not  
spend all their Rokes, (which commonly they are  
given unto,) whereby they might be put in mind to  
fight more valiantly, and not to forsake their colours,  
so long as they had somewhat to save or lose.

8 (g) NAMELY, so be hurried quicke under the  
ground, that is to say, to be let downe into some grot  
or vault, and there to be starved to death.

10 (h) PATRIBUS ILLIS. A good honest  
Curien of Rome, such as came to behold the  
Games.

(i) Under these Tyrannicall Emperours of Rome,  
that favored some this faction of Fencers and Chi-  
erimancers, others that, it was high Treason and Im-  
pudencie, for men to speake a word, not in open place  
only, and in the Theatre, but also at home in their  
houses, even in table talk, in commendation of the  
aforesaid faction, by way of comparison. *Martial* in-  
viting a friend to his board, and promising that no  
word and free speech at meat should turne him to  
any danger and displeasure, writeth thus unto him,

*De Praefata convivia meum veniscone loquatur:  
Nec facient quicquam puelle nostra tuum.*

Now, it is to be understood, that *Domitian* affec-

ted the fencers called *Mirmillones*, against the others  
named *Thraues* or *Thraues*, whom his brother *Tra-  
nus* favoured.

(j) By *Parmalesius* understood, him that speake  
favourably in the behalfe of those fencers, named  
*Parmalesius*, of the little bucklers, wherwith they were  
armed: otherwise called *Thraues*, (as one would say  
*Thraues*, whole armature they had) in opposition  
of others which were the *Mirmillones*, who were  
otherwise appointed after the French fashion,  
and therefore tooke the name otherwise of *Gallis*,  
and so is that verse of *Horace* to be expounded.  
*Thraex an Gallus Syro par?* As touching blasphemie,  
no mervaile, if these Tyrants taking upon them  
to be Gods heere upon earth, held evrie word de-  
rogatorie any waies unto their Majestie, high Treason  
and Impudencie.

(k) *Domitian* and other such mercurious Ty-  
rants, as namely *CALIGULA*, envied all per-  
fous and things that were excellent. It behooved  
therefore *Lamius* to be silent, and to dissemble  
what he thought, as well as he might: although, for  
griefe of heart, happily, hee could not chide  
but fetch a secret sigh to himselfe with a *Hu-  
i. Huius*.

(l) I observe a double acception of this word  
*CASSAR*, in this Historie penned by *SYNTONIS*.  
First for a noble house in Rome: wherof  
*IULIUS CAESAR* DICTATOR was descended.  
Whole line, cyther in blood or by adoption, were  
called *Caesars*. And in this sense it is truly said, that  
*Progenies Calurni in Nigros desert*. i. that the race of the  
*Caesars* was extinct in *Nigros*. And in this sense the  
beares apparent of the Emperours in that line were  
named *Caesars*. Secondly for all the Sovereigne Em-  
perours of Rome after *Iulius Caesar*. So *Gallus* and the  
rest, his successors were styled *Caesars*.

(m) This exaction levied of the Jewes, which  
he calleth *Iudeorum fiscum*, was for the profession  
and exercise of the religion within Rome: who, as  
*Nipharius* writeth, were permitted before, by *Pom-  
pilius* his rather, to observe the rites and ceremonies  
of their owne religion, paying a yearly Tribute,  
to wit, a Dictadime. i. two Roman annies,  
or fifteene pence with us. And to the Christi-  
ans afterwards for a time had the same Indul-  
gence.

(n) In some copies are inserted these words,  
*Arcum & Calurnium*, to witte, unless ye would  
have him thereby rodd, for his false-esse  
and fall of hayte, which some Physicians call  
*Ara*.

(o) This

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

*Antus Vitellinus.*

1 (a)  HIS QUINTVS  
EVLOGIVS, was  
the freed man of  
the said QVIN-  
TVS VITELLIVS  
(b) Some read  
*Selutianus* or *Seu-  
tius*: expounding it  
thus, as if his foeme  
had beene not a cob-  
ler, but a shoemaker indeed, occupied in cutting  
of new shoes and sewing them together.

(c) These kinde people, so double diligent about  
the feminine sexe, be fitly called good womens-men:  
and doing overmuch upon their wives, *Paras* in La-  
tin, as one would say Bridgroomes still. Such an  
one *SENeca* makes report he knew, who could  
not endure to be without his wives company, one  
minute of an houre: and if upon necessitie he went  
abroad into the towne, yet would he take with him  
a stomacher of hers, and wear it ever next his  
heart, &c.

(d) No doubt the same was garnished with Gold,  
rich stones and pretious pearles. See *Plin. lib. 9.  
cap. 35*.  
(e) It may be gathered it was *Hemiplegie*, which  
we call the dead Palley, taking the one side of the  
bodie, and most commonly ensuing upon an Apo-  
plexie, if it were not the verie Apoplexie it selfe,  
(which is none other but an universall pally) con-  
sidering the quick dispatch it made.

7 (f) He meant the crew, or faction of charioteers  
holding of the blew or watcher colour: which *Fi-  
rellius* and *Galsus* both affected.  
(g) So called, of an unfortunate battaile fought  
that day neere the river *Alia*: in which, the Ro-  
mans were overthrowne by the French: who follow-  
ing the train of their victory, advanced their engines  
to Rome, forced the Citie, and put it to the sacke.

11 (h) Some read *De Domitico*, i. out of *Domitius*: for  
so it may seeme, was the booke of *NEROES* Ca-  
nticles entitled, alinding to him selfe, who would be  
called *Regem Domitianus*, i. Lord of the world.

(i) *CORNELIVS CALPVS* findeth no fault  
with *Astipolides*, who condemned vomiting, *Offensas  
corpus confutandum, qui quodlibet succedo vomitu  
facilem moluimus*. i. as utterly disliking this manner,  
who by daily casting up their gorge, seek to enable  
themselves for beauly gourd and diet. And to the same  
purpose he saith: *Non lucerna causa fieri non oportet*.  
1. That this ought not to be put in use, for to main-  
taine riotous excedde. He admonisheth alle, *Ne quis  
qui valere & sanare vult, hoc quodammodo faciat*.  
That no man who desireth to live long and in health  
would make it a daily practise. But *Seneca* repre-  
senth such verie aply in these words,

*Edens ut vomat, vomat ut edat*.  
They cast to vomit, and they vomit, to eat.

(j) If *Seneca* were not the guilt head, a delicate  
fish no doubt it was in those daies, and better ef-  
fected than the *Acipenser*. i. the Surgeon. It cheweth  
out, and bath plainc teach to grind withall, not in-  
dentated like acombe or saw.

(k) *Peraculis* or *veraculis*, or *divinaculis*: all to one  
sense, Such as will take upon them to tell fortunes,  
&c. Women of this profession *Apollinis* cernere ve-  
races.

(l) *Bonum factum*. The usuall price or priceable  
promised before Edicts and Proclamations, *Boni omni-  
nis causa*.

(m) By this ceremony, he seemed to resigne up  
his Emperre.

16 (n) Making semblance thereby, that he was fled  
and gone, for the manner was, at the Porters lodge  
downe, if no bodie were within, to tie up a matthe  
dore, for to give warning abroad if any man came.  
And not farre from the said lodge, such a dog, with  
a chain, was usually pained upon the wall, with  
these words, in great letters,

CAVE, CAVE CANEM. i. BEWARE,  
BEWARE THE DOG.

(o) He meant that *Gallus Gallinaceus*, or  
dunghill cocke, that before had perched upon his  
head and shoulders, alluding to the French, who are  
likewise named *Galli*.

Anno-





(4) A Column erected in the upper end or head of the *Forum Romanum*: at which, all the principall high waies in *Italy* began, with directions therein engraven, to every gate of the *Ciuitas*, leading into the said high waies.

(a) This bread was made of Beane and Rice flower, of the finest wheat also, a verse *Phylotus* as the Physicians terme it, or a Depilatorie, to keepe haire from growing, especially being wet and soaked in some juyce or liquor appropriate therefore, as the blood of bears, frogs, or the Turke fish, &c. To this effeminacie of *Orino*, alludeth the Satyricall Poet *JUVENAL* in this verse.

c. *Et proffusus in faciem d'igitis expendere panem.*

**Sette**

Anno-

(c) It is evident hereby, as also out of that verse of *Isaiah*.

*Et latibaturis omnes & torquibus omnes*

33 (c) In this verse *Morari*, there is couched a double simile, which gives the grace unto this pleasant scoff. For, being a mere Latin word, and having the first fillable by nature short, it signifieth, to have or to make long abroad, and taking it thus, IN A *CLAUDIUS* might be thought to imply, thus much, that *CLAUDIUS* was now departed out of the company of mortal men, and ranged among the spirits of the winged, but take the same word, as *CLAUDIUS* spake it, derived of *CLAUDUS* in Greeke, which signifieth, a fool, and hath the first syllable long, it importeth that *CLAUDIUS* played the fool no longer here in the world among men. Read the little pamphlet of *Sedulius* entitled *ambrosius aurei*, if you would see *CLAUDIUS* determined in his colours, and in a foole's coat which be, as it may appear, composed of purple and white. Now in this humour of his.

(b) The Greeks call this *Kavros* or *tuber*. And the Romans in honour of their Princes, were wont to compass the same all about with a wall of flint or other durable stone, as marble.

34 (a) It may be it was in the same form, that is,

mass. After the sixth out of Orpheus.

સુબેદર ડૉ. બૌદિસના કિનારે:

Which *Virgil* in some sort hath expressed thus.

*Procul este profani.*

*Græffus remouere profani.*

37 (4) THE like example is reported by *Pepiscus* in  
*Aurelianus*, who tooke wonderfull delight in a migh-  
 ty \* Eater, that in one day before his owne table,  
 phagous.

devoured a wild doe-fall and whole, an hundred  
loaves of bread, a warby gournon, and a pig.

(a) This *Lambick* verse as *Dion* winneth, was nife  
also in *Tiberius* *Caesars* mouth.

(2) Aiden this word, *Insula*, beside the common signification of an Island, is taken for an house standing entire by itself, a part from other, yet in other Author I observe that it is put els where for other houses also and tenements let out to tenants by the owners and Landlords, who are called *Dominus Insularum*. And even in this acceptation, it may well goe in this place.

(c) This tour ~~Here~~ describeth. *exam. lib. 3-0d*  
 is in these words.

*Ad leuē propinquam nubibus arduis, &c.*

(A) WHICH number ariseth to ten thousand  
a month. A mortallitie nothing comparable to that  
which as *Eusebius* reporteth, reigned at Rome in the  
daies of *Pestepian*, in which there died of the pesti-  
lence ten thousand a day, nor to that in *Constan-*  
*tinople*, when many daies, there were likewise ten  
thousand dead bodies caied forth. *Prosop. lib. 2. de*  
*heillo pestice.*

(b) Such a rumor in deed ran rife, but untrue.  
Tacitus.

(c) *Orestes* to revenge his father Agamemnon's death wrought by *Clytemnestra* his mother and *Aegisthus* the adulterer, murdered her.

(4) Alcinoon sonne of Amphiarins and Eriphyle,  
killed her, by cause stee had contrived his fathers  
death.

(c) Aeneas carried his old father *Achilles* upon his shoulders out of the fyre of Troy when it burned. Here is to be noted the duplicate lesson of the verb [*Sa fluit*] in one and the same Latin verse: For in the former place, it significeth to *kill*, or *make away*, as *Nere* did his mother, in the later, to *take up* and *carry*, as *Nere* did his father. This ye cleeth an elegit grace in Latin and cannot so well be expreſſed in English.

(L) *Apollon* was foremost to *Phaon* the *expulsion* in *Greek*, which signifies to *strike*, or of *action*, *myself* and *alley* *power* as being a *God*, that both *endeth* *difficulties*, *it* *also* *cured* them. But commonly the *Romans* term him *Mercur* in this latter and better *sense*. He is styled *king* of *Homocides* in *Greek*, which is as *flyed* like as *shooting* or *wounding* from *start*. In these *above* significations and obscure terms therefore this *Apollon* is *imply* much: That whilst now in the *habit* of *Apollon* *placeth* upon the *harpe*, and would *fence* to be a *milde* and *gracious* *Prince*; the *parthian* *king* with bow and arrows representing *Apollon* likewise, *endangered* the *Empire* of *Rome*. and all, through the *lupine* *negligence* of *Nepos* given to his *Mullock* and other *vanities* *excessively*.

(g) This is meant by that huge house of *Rome* building, and hath a reference to that desolate estate of *Rome*, when it was sacked and burnt by the French, after the unfortunate battle of *Albia*, what time the *Romaines* were in confusion to abandon the *Cities* and depart to *Veij*, there to inhabit.

C

(b) 11





were there likewise of *Adversus* and players, whereupon many raucous, outrages Fraises and matters were committed.

- 17 (a) It should seeme, that for the pleading and trial of causes, such Trimmell seats, puz benches & borne, were erected at first, for the present occasion, and taken down againe by certain persons, who gathered thereto a rent of shille that went to law.

- 18 (a) Divers Kings of *Pontus* were named *Polemones* as of Aegypt *Phelmones*, whereupon the realme *Pontus*, is by *Polipolis* called *Polemonia*, like as the *Alpes* *Centia* of *Centis*.

- (a) Many had attempted this beside him: but all their cost and labour came to nought: *επειδὴ πολλοὶ ἀπέβησαν τοὺς δόκους ἀδύνατοι*

- (b) *οὗτος δὲ βασιλεὺς προέβηκεν αὐτῷ τῷ δόκῳ*  
(a) In respect of a former fleet, that was wont to come before, and bring newes of the second laden with marchandise and vnder saile. Therefore those ships were called *naves Tabellariae*, *Senecae*.

- (b) *Bombes*, resembling either the buzzing and humming noise of Bees, or the sound of tum-pets.

- (c) *Imbrices*, much after the manner of that ratching, when a sodaine there makes upon the tiles of an house, or the sound that cleft tiles or gutter tiles may make.

- (d) *Tefas*, to expresse the crashing of potheards or earthen pots, clattering one against another.

- (e) *Insignis pinguis*, *in summa coma*. In which sense we read of *pinguis toga* and *Lactum*. Yet some understand thereby *κατασκευασμένη*, i. whole lokes and fax were so sicke and glib with sweet oyles, that they thone againe.

- (a) For, so would he have it to be called. And *Threscestus* *Patus* was iudicially convicted, and deeply charged, because he had neuer offered sacrifice for that heaumenly voice of his. *Tacit.*

- (b) who was with child by her owne brother *Macerus*, whereupon her father *Antius* caused the child new borne to be cast before hungry dogs; and sent a sword to his daughter to kill her selfe with.

- (c) In revenge of his father *Agamemnon* death, by her murdered, whereupon he fell into a furious kind of deepe melancholie.

- (d) who unwitting killed his owne father *Laius*, as ignorantly wedded his owne mother *Jocasta*.

- (e) By putting on a garment next his skinne, envenomed with the poison of *Nessus* the Centaure, and so sent unto him as a token, from his wife *Desimona*.

- 14 [a] It may be thought, that he then asked Oedipus or Creon, or some other King, and therefore carried in his hand a regal staffe or *Sceptra*. Yet some interpret this of a Lawer rod or branch, such as Actors beare in their hands whilst they sing.

- (b) For, as *Olimpia*, were Games also of Criers, striung who could cry lowdest, for the prize.

- (c) These were called *Morvices*, as one would say, *σερὸν μάχης*, to witt at the Iokune games in Greece, *Nympha*, *Pythia*, *Alma*, and *Olimpia*.

- 15 (a) Five thousand were there of these Gallants, as *Nihilinus* writeth ready to applaud him when he chaunced.

- (a) He misseeth eyther a peruke & cap of counter-fair haire, *καπελὸν ὑπερβόρην*, *Diomedes* thereby disguising himselfe: the same then in *Calpurnia* he termes *Calpurnia*, or else some hood covering his head all over the eyes, *Julius Cæsar* *Calpurnia* caletis it *Quæstione*, wherewith the Emperor *Ferus* played such parts by night, in imitation of *Calpurnia* and *Nere*.

- (b) *Quæstione*, was a Gate or Street rather in the Roman Campe, wherein was usually kept, *Forum rectoris* *mercurii*, in resemblance whereof, he termed a certain place in his house *Quæstione*, in which he made sale of such wares and commodities, as he had gotten together by using and robbing.

- (c) It appeareth by *Tacitus*, that this was *Julius Montanus*, who, albeit he had not sitten in counsell as Senator, yet was *Latitarius*, and wore the Senators Robe. Such Gentlemen were called *latrones* *bonis* *ordines*, in distinction of those of the Imperiall house, or otherwise were all vnto the Emperor.

- (d) The manner was in old time to employ the day in businesse, and therein to take no liberrall meales, putting off the full refectiō, and cherishing of the bodie until night. *Cicero* *de die*, argued Intemperance, much more then, stealing from none to midnight.

- (e) *Ambubæatorum*. These tooke their name (as most expoliators have conjectured), *Quædæ* *causæ* *referuntur*. Yet some learned men of later time fetch the laze from this Syriack word *Ambubæa*, as if such were Syriac women, who being otherwise naughtie packes and callots, gat their living alle by playing upon certain instruments of musick, which they brought with them out of their native country.

- (f) *Copæ* *imitationum*. Although *Copæ*, properly be such women as keepe vntuall houses, rectie not onely to entertaine, but also to invite and call in guests, yet because these commonly are verie bold and unblamefaced, this terme goeth indifferently for strumpets and curtisians. For seldom shall a man see an impudent woman that is not withall incontinent, so inseparably is modicke joyned with Chastitie.

- (g) The corrupt text in this place, hath given occasion of much obscuritie, and muddled matter enough for Criticks to worke upon, while some read *Mellina*, others *Amyntichia*. By which are meant certaine sweet junkets, as drinke waters, &c.

- (h) This may be thought incredible, That banqueting concerts at one sitting should cost so much, and the asperion of tole or other odorous liquors arise to more. Where is to be noted the observation of some, who for, *ab Syria* *rosmæ*, read *perso* *rosmæ*, that is to say, the artificiall beprinkling and aromatizing (as I may so say) of banquetting rowmes, out or pipets and pipes, conveying odoriferous waters and oyles, going under the name of *Rosaria*. Which spouts, if they were made of filver or gold, (as we read they were at the feast of others, when he gave *Nero* entertainment) might some amount to that summe. To say nothing of the costly compound distilled waters, or extracts and oyles, themselves drawn out of most precious simples and spices.

(a) Him

The ignorance whereof, hath made some to read, in *Cæsar* *verberatum*, i. bound in chains, and then beate, others, *hæretus*, for *Cæsar* as if he had bene well limged with lether thonges, or halter strids, as slaves were wont to be served by the *Lararii*.

- 23 (a) *ALBERTI*, the proper use of these *Graphia* was to cut or engrave letters onely, in tables of bark or soft wood: yet, because it was unlawful to wear weapons in the Senate house, some, of a mischievous minde, made those writing Rules or Steeles, as they might kill therewith, Enacted therefore it was, that no man should carie about him such writing instruments of yron or Steele, but of bone onely. And yet even these, as others also of reeds and quils, were made so keene and sharpe, that they were able to give a mortal wound.

- (a) For the manner of the Roman Emperours was, upon disputation, to send men and women away into some desert illes, and there to confine them,

- (b) *Elisæa*, that groweth in the illes *Anc*, cite, is of most eff. Ruall operation. The roote is that, whereat is made our sneeling powder, it purgeth extremely by vomit. Thereupon ariseth the Proverb, *Naviget Antiochiam*. i. Let him sayle to *Antiochia*, applied to one of all cholericke in the highest degree, and little better than mad. See *Plinius*, *Naturali*, *lib. lib. 35. cap. 5.*

- 33 (a) Some conjecture verie well, that this *Ternarius* was not named *L A T R O*, being the addition appropriate to the noble Family of *Rome*, of the *Patris*, but a notorious theefe or robber, such as in *Latin* is called *Latre*. And of that sort commonly were they that persecuted before the people this blasphemous fight with uncreated words, without toiles. And no marvelle, if he terrified all the Citizens there assembled *Ternarius*. i. Thieves, considering he wished before, that he could cut off all their heads at one blow.

- (a) He suspected, that he had given him some lovedrinks.

- 33 (a) *P R A E T A R æquum*. How this can stand with his pride or malice, which our author hath propounded to exemplifie, I cannot see. In some copies we read, *prætor cum*. i. beside him, that is to say, or otherwise that he would have them, or approve. And one Critick or Iudicious Lawier, *Franc. Mortemus*, as also *Coracius*, read, *prætor Ecum*, as if he should say, All Lawyers shall give none other answers but this, referring the decision of all matters to his will and pleasure. Nay, *Ternarius* concludeth the Period thus, *Legibus respondere sunt*. i. That they should give no answer at all. And for *prætor æquum*, &c. he putteth *prætoræ* i. Moreover, for a beginning of the next chapter.

- 34 (a) *COLOSSEOS*, seemeth to be a word compounded of *Colossus* and *Eros*. The one importeth his tallness, referring to the stately and Giantlike peronages called *Colossi*, and the other, his lovely visage, representing *Eros*, even Love, or *Cupid* it selfe.

- (b) These fenceers, called *Thracones* *Thracones*,\* thought to be the same that *Remus* were highly appointed to be armed, and put to desperate fight, as having all parts of their bodies exposed to danger, whereupon they were called also *Tomacis*, & were matched in oppositiō with the *Mirmillones*, as this verse of *Antonius* importeth,

*Quas mirmillones\* compositos æquumans Thracon.*

Whereas the other named *Hoplomachi*, had for their defence, head peeces and targets *Sene. lib. 1. Epist. 7.*

- (c) The preff, called *Rex Nympharum*, of a place where *Diana Aricia* was worshipped, within a temple beautified with a grove about it, by a barbarous custome of the Scythians, so long onely held his place, until after one yeares revolution, some one stronger than himselfe, flippet upon him and overcame him in single fight, and so deposed him, like as, by the first infusion, himselfe, soying another in combat attained thereto.

- (d) *Senece* writeth, *Quæst. ad Helv.* That it was ordinarie with him, to confume at one instant ten millions of seltences, and who studied himselfe, and laid his head to others, how he might at one supper make an even hand with the revenewes and tributes of all the provinces belonging to the state of *Rome*.

- (e) Somewhat for [at *Cædri*] *Decores*, after the force of *Manures*, meaning by *Decores* a nightingale furnished with ten ranks of *Oares*, to teach the Greeks call *Saxoni*.

- (f) *Domus* *invenisse* *seren*, Which may be expounded otherwise thus, when as many things were forfeited and confiscated.

- (g) Taking the name from *Exploratores*, a militarie terme, signifying the Avant-couriers and foreriders, to discover the enemy, & to cleere the roads.

- (h) Yet *Dion* reporteth of him, that otherwise, when it thundered aloft, he would seeme to doe the like beneath with a thunder barrell, or such a kinde of device when it lightened, to make flashes with fireworks: and if a thunderbolt fell, to discharge likewise some stone out of an engine.

- (i) Which ornaments belonged to *Jupiter* and *Aethelina*.

- (j) Resembling thereby *Nessus*, *Sæa* for it Symbolizeth his power over Rivers, Lakes, waters in

- (k) The Engine of *Atterey*, betokening his Eloquence.

- (l) So called, because they were exhibited in the *Palatium*.

- (m) *Capitulum*, although *καπίτιον*, it was the stately mount or Cattle of *Rome*, yet it became a general name of all Citadels and strong Castles built for the defence of any Citie.

- (n) Meaning the murder of *Caius Julius Cæsar* Dictator.

- (o) Bearing the name of a notorious theefe, or Capayne rather of thieves, crucified for his detrects.

# ANNOTATIONS VPON

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Caesar.



LIKE as in Rome, the gate called *Porta solitaria*, and the *Struttesium* celebrated upon memorable unfortunate accidents.

(a) Whereas, by usual custom such were brought into the *Forum* or common hall.

(a) By virtue of this Act, himselfe, his lands and goods were proscribed and exposed to open sale, in a Table hung up by an Edict from the masters of the Exchequer or Civic-Chamber. And if within the time appointed, he came not in, to satisfy the debt, nor any chapman or surety to undertake it, he and his whole estate, fell by edicte as forfeit and confiscate into the Princes hands.

(a) These Islands are situate in the mouth of the River *Rhydanus*: and they be so called of the order in which they lie.

(a) This name of this Fencer *Palemonis*, signifies also in the Latin tongue a Stock-dove, which gave occasion unto him, to come out with this odd jest.

(a) PROVIDED it was by the law *Papia*. That no woman under fiftie yeares of age should be married to a man three-score yeares old or upward. Item, That no man under three score yeares, or upward might wed a woman, fiftie yeares old or above. Where, note: That these words [*et Tiberio*] as if he added the said Branch, seeme to have beene foisted in: considering that as it appeareth by *TACITVS* the Emperour *TIBERIUS* went about to moderate the foresaid law, and not to make it more strict by annexing such a clause.

(a) For feare of breaking up the pavements, if they rode in coach, wagon, chariot, or on horseback.

(b) In divers Greeke and Latin writers, the names of Jewes and Christians were confounded: so as by Jewes they understood Christians.

(c) *Orchestra* was that place in the fore-front of the Theater or Scaffolds, and nearest unto the Stage, wherein the Senators ordinarily sat, and sometime the Emperour himselfe.

(d) *Popularia*, were seats within the scaffolds and Theater, most remote from the Stage, wherein the common people were allowed to stand or sit. Betweene the said *Orchestra* and these *Popularia* were ranged the Knights or Gentlemen of Rome, and their ranks bare the name of *Equestris*.

(e) So called, of the mountaine *Eryx* in *Sicilie*, where the was highly worshipped, and where she had a Temple.

(a) As for *Drusilla* his wife, a Jew borne, she had bene married indeed before to king *Alexas*, as *Ta-*

*sephus* writeth: but as touching the other two Queens, whosoever they were, he was acquainted with them otherwise, and not in way of marriage, so farre as I can finde.

(b) For every man might not so doe, unless he had a Knights estate, which was foure hundred thousand *Sestertii*, or were free borne: Neyther Libertines nor Mechanicall persons living by base trades and occupations were allowed.

(a) Other writers, as *Philostrophus* and *Julianus*, say moreover, That without his wife and freed men, he was *pauperis*, and *dispositus* *et* *laetitia*, much like to a player in a dumbe shew, and the bare image of a Kings Majestie, as *Plutarch* reporteth of *Arvidaus*.

(a) This disease, some Physicians name *Kardia-*  
*cia*, i. the heart-ach, or *Cardiacum* *passionem*, seated in the orifice of the stomach, which is called *Kardia*. The paine whereof, *PLINVS* affirmeth to be most intolerable, next unto the passion of the frangury.

(a) *Platum crispianque ventris*,] By *Platum*, understood that riddance of wind downward, *quis necesse ferit, non curat*. Which in English cometh next unto the Latin word, *Pissa*, for that the verb *Pissa*, is the same, as *ferit*. As *CICERO* in his Epistles hath well, but covertly observed, out of the word *Dorsis*, Wherein he noteth *Quidam* *Cacoemphoton*. Which place some interpreters, for ignorance of the said verb *Pissa*, have expounded very absurdly.

(a) So sumptuous were these feastes, that *Pomificum* *Cena*, and *Salvatoris* *Epula*, grew into a proverb, to expresse exceeding great bellic cheere, and most delicate fare.

(a) *Seneca*, lib. 3. *De Clementia* writeth, That *Claudius* caused more Pericides to be bowed within a leather male, &c. in five yeares space, than had bene ever before his daies.

(b) Whether they were hired thereto, or presuming of their owne strength, voluntarily entered upon such a combat, or forced to undergo that dangerous fight, or else exposed unto their greedie jaws for to be worried and devoured by them.

(c) This devile called heere *Automaton*, *Horace* by a Periphrasis, pretely expresteth thus, *Nervus animi mobile signum*.

(a) For with their *Gravitas*, as hath bene noted before, they might do a mischief.

(a) *Ira* etque *Iracundia*. *Ira* signifyeth the hote and momentanie passion of anger, soone enflamed and as soone quenched, and *Iracundia* seemeth to be taken heere, for the continuance of the said anger, and an inveterate settled wrath. Howsoever our Dictionaries would teach us the contrary. The one may be called Gall or Choler, the other spleene or Melancholy.

(b) *Stultitia*

(b) This *FLAVIUS CLEMENTIS*, is thought to have bene a Protidice, and convert to the Jewish Religion, by reason whereof, being somewhat mortified, and making conscience to do evill, he was reputed base minded, and as *SEXTONTIVS* saith, *conscriptissimus iernis*. Impunitions charged by Paganes upon Christians, and the true servants of God, for their quiet cariage and modest behaviour.

(b) Whole forces, I would not else, he would be thought, as who put one to death, he should in his public prayers he had not made mention of him, as the sonne of *Miserva*, *Philostrophus*, lib. 7.

(a) Little Images, which *Painini* devoutly kept and worshipped, (as the Turtare Gods of their bedchamber) within a certaine Closet called *Lecturium*.

(a) It may be thought by the circumstance of this place, that this *Ruber vulnus* in *Domitian*, was a tincture of verree and modestie. But there was nothing lesse in him, so that it was rather an hypocriticall visard and maske, under which was couched a most fell and cruell nature, as being by the judgement of *Tacitus* more sanguinarie than *Nero*. For

whereas *Nero*, *subveniens senibus, infestusque senibus, plus sollicitus, sub Domitiano pauciores infestioresque pueri erant videndi et afflicti, cum domitiano in hominum pelleretur, infestior servitille Domitiani vulnus et ruber, quo se compa-poderent monstrar. A flinking red therefore is an allegorie a signe of grace.*

(a) At *Alexandria* in *Aegypt*, was that famous Librarie of King *Ptolemeeus Philadelphus* and the other *Ptolemeeus* his progenies and successors, conspaining to the number well neere of 700000 bookes, and *Cassiodorus*, *Antic lib. 2. cap. 17.*

(a) *ACCURATIONS* must be restrained hence on the workes scide, for all manner of Curses and Decimations, such as before were taken up by the people in this time, *Tiberianus in Tiberian*, and afterwards by the Senate, against *Commodus*, that wicked Emperour, in these termes, *flagit parva bonorum detrahatur, pericula tribuantur, bellis decem, carnis senatus uno trahatur, in solacio penitus* &c.

(b) *Nero*, *Trachinus*, *Hedrianus*, &c. Of whom, *Seneca* *Laetius* writeth thus. *Quid Nero prodentis aut moderatus? Quid Trachinus dirivimus? Quid praestantius Hedrianus?*

Anno-

